

43

1 July – 31 August 1958

Second Series

Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru



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“So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the ‘third world’ as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote.... the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.”

Indira Gandhi







**Selected  
works of  
Jawaharlal  
Nehru**





AT THE RED FORT ON INDEPENDENCE DAY, 15 AUGUST 1958

# **Selected works of Jawaharlal Nehru**

**Second Series**

**Volume Forty Three**

**(1 July - 31 August 1958)**

A Project of the  
Jawaharlal Nehru  
Memorial Fund

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PUBLISHED BY

Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund  
Teen Murti House, New Delhi 110 011

ISBN : 0 19 807719 X

ISBN : 9 780198 077190

DISTRIBUTED BY

Oxford University Press

YMCA Library Building, Jai Singh Road, New Delhi 110 001

Mumbai Kolkata Chennai

Oxford New York Toronto

Melbourne Tokyo Hong Kong

PRINTED AT

Rekha Printers Private Limited

A-102/1, Okhla Industrial Area, Phase II

New Delhi 110 020



Edited by  
Aditya Mukherjee and Mridula Mukherjee



## FOREWORD

Jawaharlal Nehru is one of the key figures of the twentieth century. He symbolised some of the major forces which have transformed our age.

When Jawaharlal Nehru was young, history was still the privilege of the West; the rest of the world lay in deliberate darkness. The impression given was that the vast continents of Asia and Africa existed merely to sustain their masters in Europe and North America. Jawaharlal Nehru's own education in Britain could be interpreted, in a sense, as an attempt to secure for him a place within the pale. His letters of the time are evidence of his sensitivity, his interest in science and international affairs as well as of his pride in India and Asia. But his personality was veiled by his shyness and a facade of nonchalance, and perhaps outwardly there was not much to distinguish him from the ordinary run of men. Gradually there emerged the warm and universal being who became intensely involved with the problems of the poor and the oppressed in all lands. In doing so, Jawaharlal Nehru gave articulation and leadership to millions of people in his own country and in Asia and Africa.

That imperialism was a curse which should be lifted from the brows of men, that poverty was incompatible with civilisation, that nationalism should be poised on a sense of international community and that it was not sufficient to brood on these things when action was urgent and compelling—these were the principles which inspired and gave vitality to Jawaharlal Nehru's activities in the years of India's struggle for freedom and made him not only an intense nationalist but one of the leaders of humanism.

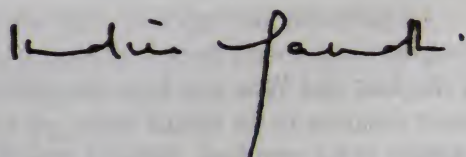
No particular ideological doctrine could claim Jawaharlal Nehru for its own. Long days in jail were spent in reading widely. He drew much from the thought of the East and West and from the philosophies of the past and the present. Never religious in the formal sense, yet he had a deep love for the culture and tradition of his own land. Never a rigid Marxist, yet he was deeply influenced by that theory and was particularly impressed by what he saw in the Soviet Union on his first visit in 1927. However, he realised that the world was too complex, and man had too many facets, to be encompassed by any single or total explanation. He himself was a socialist with an abhorrence of regimentation and a democrat who was anxious to reconcile his faith in civil liberty with the necessity of mitigating economic and social wretchedness. His struggles, both



within himself and with the outside world, to adjust such seeming contradictions are what make his life and work significant and fascinating.

As a leader of free India, Jawaharlal Nehru recognised that his country could neither stay out of the world nor divest itself of its own interests in world affairs. But to the extent that it was possible, Jawaharlal Nehru sought to speak objectively and to be a voice of sanity in the shrill phases of the 'cold war'. Whether his influence helped on certain occasions to maintain peace is for the future historian to assess. What we do know is that for a long stretch of time he commanded an international audience reaching far beyond governments, that he spoke for ordinary, sensitive, thinking men and women around the globe and that his was a constituency which extended far beyond India.

So the story of Jawaharlal Nehru is that of a man who evolved, who grew in storm and stress till he became the representative of much that was noble in his time. It is the story of a generous and gracious human being who summed up in himself the resurgence of the 'third world' as well as the humanism which transcends dogmas and is adapted to the contemporary context. His achievement, by its very nature and setting, was much greater than that of a Prime Minister. And it is with the conviction that the life of this man is of importance not only to scholars but to all, in India and elsewhere, who are interested in the valour and compassion of the human spirit that the Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund has decided to publish a series of volumes consisting of all that is significant in what Jawaharlal Nehru spoke and wrote. There is, as is to be expected in the speeches and writings of a man so engrossed in affairs and gifted with expression, much that is ephemeral; this will be omitted. The official letters and memoranda will also not find place here. But it is planned to include everything else and the whole corpus should help to remind us of the quality and endeavour of one who was not only a leader of men and a lover of mankind, but a completely integrated human being.



New Delhi  
18 January 1972

Chairman  
Jawaharlal Nehru Memorial Fund

## EDITORIAL NOTE

The volume starts with a very important note by Jawaharlal Nehru called 'The Basic Approach'. Here we see Nehru agonizing over the complex issues of the day faced by mankind in general and their implications for India. While envying those with "fixed ideas" based on "some religion or ideology" who "are not troubled with...mental conflicts," he chooses not to be complacent with fixed ideas but struggles with the myriad contradictions of an age seeing rapid and momentous changes,unprecedented in history. He sees the conflict between religion and rationality and yet the need not to "forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilisation"; a great votary of scientific progress he worries about the wrong use of science threatening the very survival of mankind; while greatly admiring the achievements of the Soviet Union he frets over the means distorting the ends, the close association of communism with violence tainting the end result and reiterates his faith in the Gandhian approach of peaceful attempts at social transformation. He points to the dangers of neo-colonial economic dependence in countries which may have attained political independence, notes the problems of trying to build socialism in a backward country, sees the events in Hungary not as "conflict between communism and anti-communism" but as "nationalism striving for freedom from foreign control". He goes on to flag major issues concerning democracy, capitalism, freedom of the individual, socialism, planning, land reform, health and education. In short thirty paragraphs, he traverses a very wide canvas. Many of these issues we see unfolding in greater detail in the rest of the volume.

During the period from 1 July to 31 August 1958, covered in this volume, the world was on the brink of a possible major conflagration on account of multiple crises in West Asia and the intervention of the Great Powers. The rise of Arab nationalism, conflicting interests of the leading nations of the world caught up in cold war politics, particularly their stake in the oil-producing areas, resulted in the landing of foreign troops in the Middle East. This led to a flurry of diplomatic activity and Nehru was in the thick of it all. Presidents and Prime Ministers of all major nations corresponded with him on this issue. Some wanted Nehru to use his good offices to prevent the outbreak of a major war, others explained their position to him and still others sought his advice. Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev wanted Nehru to participate in a summit meeting to discuss the Middle East crisis with



Eisenhower, Macmillan, Charles de Gaulle and UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld.

Incursions and firings by Pakistan across the eastern border continued during this period and Nehru entered into correspondence with Prime Minister Feroz Khan Noon of Pakistan regarding cross-border firings and the canal waters issue. Another irritant was the India-China boundary question.

On the domestic front, food scarcity and inflation, due to drought and floods during three consecutive years particularly in north and east India, posed a major challenge to Nehru. Even as the government had to import more foodgrains to meet the immediate shortfall, Nehru went around the drought affected areas exhorting the farmers to produce more food, advising them to form village cooperatives to increase productivity and asking the administration to take effective measures against hoarding and profiteering.

The need to import food impacted adversely the foreign exchange reserves of the country which was already short of funds to finance the Second Five Year Plan and Nehru sent Finance Minister Morarji Desai and B.K. Nehru, Secretary in the Finance Ministry, to world capitals to solicit foreign loans for India. Interestingly, foreign donors raised the issue of India's ability to repay loans given the size of the funds required for the five-year plans. They also raised questions about India's inability to exploit oil reserves of the country so as to reduce its import bill.

Oil exploration in India was another area that claimed Nehru's attention during this period. He visited ONGC headquarters in Dehra Dun to see for himself the work being carried on there and also advised the Minister for Oil, K. D. Malaviya, to get the right consultants and foreign experts to advise the ONGC on oil exploration and production. Nehru also highlighted the need to invest in research in nuclear energy, the energy of the future.

Nehru was quite disturbed and distressed by the developments in Kerala, where the first democratically elected Communist government had been in power since April 1957. The agitation against the government was gaining momentum. Police firings and incidents of violence involving the Communist Party cadre created a sense of insecurity among large sections of the people. All this found an echo in Nehru's correspondence with Chief Minister Nambudiripad. Nehru also intervened in the organisational problems of the Congress, particularly in UP where factionalism was rampant, and in West Bengal, where there was dissatisfaction with the leadership of Atulya Ghosh, the long-serving PCC president.

Amidst all these problems, Nehru found time to spell out the Government's policy on the promotion and protection of Urdu. He also explained his views on the position and role of the Governor. Baffled by the burgeoning bureaucracy, he instructed the Cabinet Secretary to streamline the procedures, reduce the size and improve the efficiency of the administrative machinery in order to avoid delays. He also undertook a similar exercise regarding the External Affairs Ministry. The problem of the ever increasing number of *chaprasis* too did not escape his attention.



His unwavering focus on education at every level is worth emulating even today. While emphasising the need to spread education, he was also concerned about indiscipline and groupism in universities, the Banaras Hindu University being a case in point. He was equally worried about political parties using students for their own purposes. Education, cooperatives, community development schemes and the need to enhance productivity, all these were constant refrains in many of the speeches that he gave during this period in different parts of the country. He continued to enlighten and educate his audiences on international relations, on domestic problems and on nation-building.

The Nehru Memorial Museum and Library has, as in the past, granted access to the papers of Jawaharlal Nehru and other relevant collections. Shrimati Sonia Gandhi graciously permitted us to consult the papers in her possession, referred to as JN Collection. The Secretariats of the President and the Prime Minister, the Ministries of External Affairs, Home Affairs, and Irrigation, the National Archives of India, the Sahitya Akademi, the Planning Commission, and the All India Radio have allowed us to use the relevant material in their possession.

Last but not the least, it gives us pleasure in acknowledging the help and support we received from our colleagues in the creation of this volume. Indeed, we are deeply indebted to Consulting Editor Antony Thomas and to Sangam Lal, Geeta Kudaisya, Etee Bahadur, Syed Ali Kazim, Anish Raveendran, Saumya Dey, Fareena Ikhlas Faridi, M. Christhu Doss, and Habib Manjar, all of whom rendered scholarly assistance in the collection of archival and other material and its subsequent organisation. We are no less deeply indebted to Malini Rajani, N.C. Bali, B.C. Minhas and Chandra Murari Prasad for preparing the text for printing. Administrative support by Mr Rajendra Prasad has been invaluable. With their labour and commitment, it has been possible to place this volume, with its rich historical data, before the scholarly community and the general public, interested in the life and works of Jawaharlal Nehru.



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## ABBREVIATIONS

AITUC	All India Trade Union Congress
AMU	Aligarh Muslim University
BHU	Banaras Hindu University
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office
CrPC	Code of Criminal Procedure
DDA	Delhi Development Authority
DMK	Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam
ENI	Ente Nazionale Idrocarhuri
FLN	Front de Liberation Nationale
FRS	Fellow of the Royal Society
GSI	Geological Survey of India
HMG	His/Her Majesty's Government
I&B Ministry	Information and Broadcasting Ministry
ICS	Indian Civil Service
ICSC	International Commission for Supervision and Control
INTUC	Indian National Trade Union Congress
KPCC	Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee
LIC	Life Insurance Corporation
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs
MHA	Ministry of Home Affairs
MP	Member of Parliament
MSc	Master of Science
NCC	National Cadet Corps
NEFA	North East Frontier Agency
NMML	Nehru Memorial Museum and Library
OAS	Organisation of American States

ONGC	Oil and Natural Gas Commission
PCC	Pradesh Congress Committee
PIB	Press Information Bureau
PM	Prime Minister
PMS	Prime Minister's Secretariat/Provincial Medical Service
PPS	Principal Private Secretary
PSP	Praja Socialist Party
PWD	Public Works Department
SEATO	South East Asian Treaty Organisation
UAR	United Arab Republic
UN/UNO	United Nations Organisation
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNTSO	UN Truce Supervision Organisation
UP	Uttar Pradesh
UPPCC	Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee
UPSC	Union Public Service Commission
USA	United States of America
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WAY	World Assembly of Youth
WH&S	Works, Housing and Supply

# 1 GENERAL PERSPECTIVES





## 1. The Basic Approach<sup>1</sup>

We have many grave internal problems to face. But even a consideration of these internal problems inevitably leads to a wider range of thought. Unless we have some clarity of vision or, at any rate, are clear as to the questions posed to us, we shall not get out of the confusion that afflicts the world today. I do not pretend to have that clarity of thinking or to have any answers to our major questions. All I can say, in all humility, is that I am constantly thinking about these questions. In a sense, I might say that I rather envy those who have got fixed ideas and, therefore, need not take the trouble to look deeper into the problems of today. Whether it is from the point of view of some religion or ideology, they are not troubled with the mental conflicts which are always the accompaniment of the great ages of transition.

2. And yet, even though it may be more comfortable to have fixed ideas and be complacent, surely that is not to be commended, and that can only lead to stagnation and decay. The basic fact of today is the tremendous pace of change in human life. In my own life, I have seen amazing changes, and I am sure that, in the course of the life of the next generation, these changes will be even greater, if humanity is not overwhelmed and annihilated by an atomic war.

3. Nothing is so remarkable as the progressive conquest or understanding of the physical world by the mind of man today, and this process is continuing at a terrific pace. Man need no longer be a victim of external circumstances, at any rate, to a very large extent. While there has been this conquest of external conditions, there is at the same time the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fibre and of self-control in man as a whole. Conquering the physical world, he fails to conquer himself.

4. That is the tragic paradox of this atomic and sputnik age. The fact that nuclear tests continue, even though it is well recognised that they are very harmful in the present and in the future; the fact that all kinds of weapons of mass destruction are being produced and piled up, even though it is universally recognised that their use may well exterminate the human race, brings out this paradox with startling clarity. Science is advancing far beyond the comprehension of a very great part of the human race, and posing problems which most of us are incapable of understanding, much less of solving. Hence the inner conflict and tumult of our times. On the one side, there is this

1. Note, New Delhi, 13 July 1958. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. Also available in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 5, pp. 80-90. This note was published in the *AICC Economic Review* of 15 August 1958.

great and overpowering progress in science and technology and of their manifold consequences and, on the other, a certain mental exhaustion of civilisation itself.

5. Religion comes into conflict with rationalism. The disciplines of religion and social usage fade away without giving place to other disciplines, moral or spiritual. Religion, as practised, either deals with matters rather unrelated to our normal lives and thus adopts an ivory-tower attitude, or is allied to certain social usages which do not fit in with the present age. Rationalism, on the other hand, with all its virtues, somehow appears to deal with the surface of things, without uncovering the inner core. Science itself has arrived at a stage when vast new possibilities and mysteries loom ahead. Matter and energy and spirit seem to overlap.

6. In the ancient days, life was simpler and more in contact with nature. Now it becomes more and more complex and more and more hurried, without time for reflection or even of questioning. Scientific developments have produced an enormous surplus of power and energy which are often used for wrong purposes.

7. The old question still faces us, as it has faced humanity for ages past: what is the meaning of life? The old days of faith do not appear to be adequate, unless they can answer the questions of today. In a changing world, living should be a continuous adjustment to these changes and happenings. It is the lack of this adjustment that creates conflicts.

8. The old civilisations, with the many virtues that they possess, have obviously proved inadequate. The new Western civilisation, with all its triumphs and achievements and also with its atomic bombs, also appears inadequate and, therefore, the feeling grows that there is something wrong with our civilisation. Indeed, essentially our problems are those of civilisation itself. Religion gave a certain moral and spiritual discipline; it also tried to perpetuate superstition and social usages. Indeed, those superstitions and social usages enmeshed and overwhelmed the real spirit of religion. Disillusionment followed. Communism comes in the wake of this disillusionment and offers some kind of faith and some kind of discipline. To some extent it fills a vacuum. It succeeds in some measure by giving content to man's life. But in spite of its apparent success, it fails, partly because of its rigidity, but even more so, because it ignores certain essential needs of human nature. There is much talk in communism of the contradictions of capitalist society and there is truth in that analysis. But we see the growing contradictions within the rigid framework of communism itself. Its suppression of individual freedom brings about powerful reactions. Its contempt for what might be called the moral and spiritual side of life not only ignores something that is basic in man, but also deprives human



behaviour of standards and values. Its unfortunate association with violence encourages a certain evil tendency in human beings.

9. I have the greatest admiration for many of the achievements of the Soviet Union. Among these great achievements is the value attached to the child and to the common man. There the systems for education and health are probably the best in the world. But it is said, and rightly, that there is suppression of individual freedom there. And yet the spread of education in all its forms is itself a tremendous liberating force which ultimately will not tolerate that suppression of freedom. This again is another contradiction. Unfortunately, communism became too closely associated with the necessity for violence and thus the ideal which it placed before the world became a tainted one. Means distorted ends. We see here the powerful influence of wrong means and methods.

10. Communism charges the capitalist structure of society with being based on violence and class conflict. I think this is essentially correct, though that capitalist structure itself has undergone and is continually undergoing a change because of democratic and other forces. Still, it is obviously true that there are class struggles and inequality. The question is how to get rid of this and have a classless society with equal opportunities for all. Can this be achieved through methods of violence, or can it be possible to bring about those changes through peaceful methods? Communism has definitely allied itself to the approach of violence. Even if it does not indulge normally in physical violence, its language is of violence, its thought is violent and it does not seek to change by persuasion or peaceful democratic pressures, but by coercion and indeed by destruction and extermination. Fascism has all these evil aspects of violence and extermination in their grossest forms and, at the same time, has no acceptable ideal.

11. This is completely opposed to the peaceful approach which Gandhiji taught us. Communists as well as anti-communists both seem to imagine that a principle can only be stoutly defended by language of violence, and by condemning those who do not accept it. For both of them there are no shades, there is only black and white. That is the old approach of the bigoted aspect of some religions. It is not the approach of tolerance or of feeling that perhaps others might have some share of the truth also. Speaking for myself, I find this approach wholly unscientific, unreasonable and uncivilised, whether it is applied in the realm of religion or economic theory or anything else. I prefer the old pagan approach of tolerance, apart from its religious aspects. But whatever we may think about it, we have arrived at a stage in the modern world when an attempt at forcible imposition of ideas on any large section of people is bound ultimately to fail. In present circumstances this will lead to war and tremendous destruction. There will be no victory, only defeat for everyone. Even apart from this, we have seen in the last year or two, it is not easy for even the Great

Powers to reintroduce colonial control over territories which have recently become independent. This was exemplified by the Suez incident in 1956.<sup>2</sup> Also what happened in Hungary demonstrated that the desire for national freedom is stronger even than any ideology and cannot ultimately be suppressed.<sup>3</sup> What happened in Hungary was not essentially a conflict between communism and anti-communism. It represented nationalism striving for freedom from foreign control.

12. Thus, violence cannot possibly lead today to a solution of any major problem because violence has become much too terrible and destructive. The moral approach to this question has now been powerfully reinforced by the practical aspect.

13. If the society we aim at cannot be brought about by big-scale violence, will small-scale violence help? Surely not, partly because that itself may lead to the big-scale violence and partly because it produces an atmosphere of conflict and of disruption. It is absurd to imagine that out of conflict the progressive social forces are bound to win. In Germany both the Communist Party and the Social Democratic Party were swept away by Hitler.<sup>4</sup> This may well happen in other countries too. In India any appeal to violence is particularly dangerous because of its inherent disruptive character. We have too many fissiparous tendencies for us to take risks. But all these are relatively minor considerations. The basic thing, I believe, is that wrong means will not lead to right results and that is no longer merely an ethical doctrine but a practical proposition.

14. Some of us have been discussing this general background and, more especially, conditions in India. It is often said that there is a sense of frustration

2. The Israeli and Anglo-French offensive, launched at the end of October 1956 against Egypt for nationalising the Suez Canal Company on 26 July 1956, came to an end on the night of 6 November with all the parties agreeing to a ceasefire. On 7 November 1956, the UN General Assembly called on Britain and France to withdraw their forces from Egyptian soil. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 389-449.
3. In Hungary, in the last week of October 1956, widespread protests against the ten-year-old Soviet domination of the country led to the formation of an all-party government led by Imre Nagy, an ex-premier. Nagy, after assuming power, ended one-party rule and announced free elections. He also announced the withdrawal of Hungary from the Warsaw Pact and called for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the country. The Soviet Government first agreed to withdraw their troops but on 4 November installed a new government led by Janos Kadar and Nagy was arrested on 22 November. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, pp. 450-485. Imre Nagy and his colleagues were executed on 16 June 1958 in Budapest. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 650-651.
4. In the Reichstag elections of July 1932, the Nazis obtained 230 seats and became the largest party.



and depression in India, and the old buoyancy of spirit is not to be found at a time when enthusiasm and hard work are most needed. This is not merely in evidence in our country. It is in a sense a world phenomenon. An old and valued colleague said that this is due to our not having a philosophy of life and indeed the world also is suffering from this lack of a philosophical approach.<sup>5</sup> In our efforts to ensure the material prosperity of the country, we have not paid any attention to the spiritual element in human nature. Therefore, in order to give the individual and the nation a sense of purpose, something to live for and, if necessary, to die for, we have to revive some philosophy of life and give, in the wider sense of the word, a spiritual background to our thinking. We talk of a welfare state and of democracy and socialism. They are good concepts but they hardly convey a clear and unambiguous meaning. This was the argument and then the question arose as to what our ultimate objective should be. Democracy and socialism are means to an end not the end itself. We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from and transcending the good of the individuals composing it? If the individual is ignored and sacrificed for what is considered the good of the society, is that the right objective to have?

15. It was agreed that the individual should not be so sacrificed and indeed that real social progress will come only when opportunity is given to the individual to develop, provided the individual is not a selected group, but comprises the whole community. The touchstone, therefore, should be how far any political or social theory enables the individual to rise above his petty self and thus think in terms of the good of all. The law of life should not be competition or acquisitiveness but cooperation, the good of each contributing to the good of all. In such a society the emphasis will be on duties, not on rights; the rights will follow the performance of the duties. We have to give a new direction to education and evolve a new type of humanity.

16. This argument led to the old Vedantic conception that everything, whether sentient or insentient, finds a place in the organic whole; that everything has a spark of what might be called the divine impulse, or the basic energy or life force which pervades the universe. This leads to metaphysical regions which tend to take us away from the problems of life which face us. I suppose that any line of thought, sufficiently pursued, leads us in some measure to metaphysics. Even science today is almost on the verge of all manner of imponderables. I do not propose to discuss these metaphysical aspects, but this very argument indicates how the mind searches for something basic underlying the physical world. If we really believed in this all-pervading concept

5. The reference is to Sampurnanand's article 'Congress Ideology and Programme', published in the *AICC Economic Review* dated 1 August 1958, pp. 7-9.



of the principle of life, it might help us to get rid of some of our narrowness of race, caste or class and make us more tolerant and understanding in our approaches to life's problems.

17. But obviously it does not solve any of these problems and, in a sense, we remain where we were. In India we talk of the welfare state and socialism. In a sense, every country, whether it is capitalist, socialist or communist, accepts the ideal of the welfare state. Capitalism in a few countries at least has achieved this common welfare to a very large extent, though it has far from solved its own problems and there is a basic lack of something vital. Democracy allied to capitalism has undoubtedly toned down many of its evils and in fact is different now from what it was a generation or two ago. In industrially advanced countries there has been a continuous and steady upward trend of economic development. Even the terrible losses of World Wars have not prevented this trend insofar as these highly developed countries are concerned. Further, this economic development has spread, though in varying degrees, to all classes. This does not apply to countries which are not industrially developed. Indeed, in those countries the struggle for development is very difficult and sometimes, in spite of efforts, not only do economic inequalities remain, but tend to become worse. Normally speaking, it may be said that the forces of a capitalist society, if left unchecked, tend to make the rich richer and the poor poorer and thus increase the gap between them. This applies to countries as well as to groups or regions or classes within the countries. Various democratic processes interfere with these normal trends. Capitalism itself has, therefore, developed some socialistic features even though its major aspects remain.

18. Socialism, of course, deliberately wants to interfere with the normal processes and thus not only adds to the productive forces but lessens inequalities. But, what is socialism? It is difficult to give a precise answer and there are innumerable definitions of it. Some people probably think of socialism vaguely just as something which does good and which aims at equality. That does not take us very far. Socialism is basically a different approach from that of capitalism, though I think it is true that the wide gap between them tends to lessen because many of the ideas of socialism are gradually incorporated even in the capitalist structure. Socialism is, after all, not only a way of life but a certain scientific approach to social and economic problems. If socialism is introduced in a backward and underdeveloped country, it does not suddenly make it any less backward. In fact, we then have backward and poverty-stricken socialism.

19. Unfortunately many of the political aspects of communism have tended to distort our vision of socialism. Also the technique of struggle evolved by communism has given violence a predominant part. Socialism should, therefore,

be considered apart from these political elements or the inevitability of violence. It tells us that the general character of social, political and intellectual life in a society is governed by its productive resources. As those productive resources change and develop, so the life and thinking of the community change.

20. Imperialism or colonialism suppressed and suppresses the progressive social forces. Inevitably it aligns itself with certain privileged groups or classes because it is interested in preserving the social and economic status quo. Even after a country has become independent, it may continue to be economically dependent on other countries. This kind of thing is euphemistically called having close cultural and economic ties.

21. We discuss sometimes the self-sufficiency of the village. This should not be mixed up with the idea of decentralisation though it may be a part of it. While decentralisation is, I think, desirable to the largest possible extent, if it leads to old and rather primitive methods of production, then it simply means that we do not utilise modern methods which have brought great material advance to some countries of the West. That is, we remain poor and, what is more, tend to become poorer because of the pressure of an increasing population. I do not see any way out of our vicious circle of poverty except by utilising the new sources of power which science has placed at our disposal. Being poor, we have no surplus to invest and we sink lower and lower.

22. We have to break through this barrier by profiting by the new sources of power and modern techniques. But, in doing so, we should not forget the basic human element and the fact that our objective is individual improvement and the lessening of inequalities; and we must not forget the ethical and spiritual aspects of life which are ultimately the basis of culture and civilisation and which have given some meaning to life.

23. It has to be remembered that it is not by some magic adoption of socialist or capitalist method that poverty suddenly leads to riches. The only way is through hard work and increasing the productivity of the nation and organising an equitable distribution of its products. It is a lengthy and difficult process. In a poorly developed country, the capitalist method offers no chance. It is only through a planned approach on socialistic lines that steady progress can be attained though even that will take time. As this process continues, the texture of our life and thinking gradually changes.

24. Planning is essential for this because otherwise we waste our resources which are very limited. Planning does not mean a mere collection of projects or schemes, but a thought-out approach of how to strengthen the base and pace of progress so that the community advances on all fronts. In India we have a terrible problem of extreme poverty in certain large regions, apart from the general poverty of the country. We have always a difficult choice before us:



whether to concentrate on production by itself in selected and favourable areas, and thus for the moment rather ignoring the poor area, or try to develop the backward areas at the same time so as to lessen the inequalities between regions. A balance has to be struck and an integrated national plan evolved. That national plan need not and indeed should not have rigidity. It need not be based on any dogma, but should rather take the existing facts into consideration. It may and, I think, in present-day India it should, encourage private enterprise in many fields, though even that private enterprise must necessarily fit in with the national plan and have such controls as are considered necessary.

25. Land reforms have a peculiar significance because without them, more especially in a highly congested country like India, there can be no radical improvement in productivity in agriculture. But the main object of land reforms is a deeper one. They are meant to break up the old class structure of a society that is stagnant.

26. We want social security, but we have to recognise that social security only comes when a certain state of development has been reached. Otherwise we shall have neither social security nor any development.

27. It is clear that, in the final analysis, it is the quality of the human beings that counts. It is man that builds up the wealth of a nation, as well as its cultural progress. Hence education and health are of high importance so as to produce that quality in the human beings. We have to suffer here also from the lack of resources, but still we have always to remember that it is right education and good health that will give the foundation for economic as well as cultural and spiritual progress.

28. A national plan has thus both a short-term objective and a long-term one. The long-term objective gives a true perspective. Without it short-term planning is of little avail and will lead us into blind alleys. Planning will thus always be perspective planning and have in view the physical achievements for which we strive. In other words, it has to be physical planning, though it is obviously limited and conditioned by financial resources and economic conditions.

29. The problems that India faces are to some extent common to other countries, but, much more so, there are new problems for which we have not got parallels or historical precedents elsewhere. What has happened in the past in the industrially advanced countries has little bearing on us today. As a matter of fact, the countries that are advanced today were economically better off than India is today, in terms of per capita income, before their industrialisation began. Western economics, therefore, though helpful, have little bearing on our present-day problems. So also have Marxist economics which are in many ways out of date, even though they throw a considerable light on economic



processes. We have thus to do our own thinking, profiting by the example of others but essentially trying to find a path for ourselves suited to our own conditions.

30. In considering these economic aspects of our problems, we have always to remember the basic approach of peaceful means; and perhaps we might also keep in view the old Vedantic ideal of the life force which is the inner base of everything that exists.

## 2. Challenges before the Indian People<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

Sharmaji<sup>2</sup> just now said that I had come here on the recommendation of Lal Bahadur Shastriji.<sup>3</sup> First of all, I do not need any recommendation. The fact of the matter is that the decision to come here was entirely mine and I merely informed Shastriji. I agree that he accepted and welcomed my decision.

Sharmaji said that in spite of difficulties and problems, freedom was getting established more firmly and the world was going in the direction of democracy. It is not very clear to me. It is very difficult to say in which direction the world is going. But wherever it is going, it is going very rapidly. Now, there are all kinds of reasons for this into which I will not go. But let me tell you a few broad facts. All kinds of things happen when the world is on the move. Wars create such chaos that the world is pushed to one side. But fundamentally, if you look at the history of the world, you will find that there have been wars which brought about ruin and led to victory or defeat, but they also brought about changes in the way of life of people. The world economy has also been changing rapidly because of the means of production and techniques have changed.

1. Speech at a public meeting, K. P. Inter College grounds, Allahabad, 15 July 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Chaturbhuj Sharma (b. 1901); participated in the freedom movement; appointed Divisional Superintendent, Rural Development in the Jhansi Division under the Congress Ministry, 1937; Member of Legislative Assembly, 1946-52; Deputy Minister and Minister in the G.B. Pant and Sampurnanand Ministries; Member of AICC, 1945-62; President, UPPCC, 1958; Minister of Local Self Government, UP, 1961; Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council, 1961-62.
3. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.

The progress of man can be measured by many yardsticks. One of them is the kind of tools he uses. More than 150 years ago, a famous American leader, Benjamin Franklin,<sup>4</sup> said that man is a tool-making animal. It is obvious that man uses various tools to lighten the burden of his tasks. If you visit museums, you will find that in the Stone Age, when man had not discovered iron, he used to make stone tools—axes and other weapons. Obviously, these tools were not very good. But it was a big step when man made a stone axe. It is obvious that a stone axe could not have been very sharp. But gradually metal began to be used and the Iron Age came. In this way man progressed gradually by making tools and implements which increased his ability to work. Physically, man was extremely strong in the pre-historic times. But he had not learnt to use his brain then. Now, for example, take the case of an animal. Even a weak man can kill an animal because he has strengthened himself by making weapons.

So, in a sense, the history of man can be traced to the gradual evolution of weapons and tools. In fact, man began to acquire the strength of a hundred, a thousand, a million people. This happened over a period of hundreds of years. Then another new thing happened. About two or three hundred years ago, steam power was discovered in England, steam engines and steamships were made. Man acquired a new source of power by discovering something which was already there in nature. Merely by recognising it and harnessing it man's strength increased immediately. I have given you an example of what happened in Europe. Science made tremendous progress and all kinds of new sources of power came into the hands of man, and his capacity to work increased. He began to produce crops from land and various things from industries and all sorts of new weapons came into his hands. The result was that in the West, where the Industrial Revolution took place a couple of centuries ago, countries became very wealthy and powerful. Then came the discovery of electricity which enabled the European countries to dominate practically the whole of Asia and Africa. Thus, the European countries became very powerful with the new weapons and means of production. All this happened due to steam power and electricity.

This process, which started about 250 years ago, changed the world gradually. The world, which had remained more or less constant for thousands of years except for a few changes, began to change quite rapidly in the last 100 or 150 years. Ultimately, this process reached its zenith with the discovery of atomic energy. One of its offshoots is the production of lethal weapons like the

4. American scientist, statesman and inventor; a member of the Committee of Five who drafted the Declaration of American Independence in 1776.



atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. Atomic energy is also a force of nature and not something entirely new. Man merely lifted up yet another curtain covering the hidden mysteries of nature and recognised a terrible force which has not yet come completely under his control. The first task that atomic energy accomplished was the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki by hurling two atom bombs on them. However, it is a force which can be used for good as well as evil purposes.

In the last ten, twelve years, all kinds of new things have happened and the doors have opened into the mysteries of nature. Man has acquired new sources of power. Today the big question before the world is whether mankind will use these sources of power wisely or not. This is the most vital question because unlike in the past when mistakes could be rectified, there will be no opportunity of doing so in this atomic age. There is a grave danger that the world will be completely destroyed. Man has acquired such tremendous power that to what use he will put it then becomes a very important question. But more important than that is the question—to what extent will he be able to exercise self-control. A terrible power like this in the hands of a foolish man without self-control can lead to total disaster. Is this not something extraordinary? So, this is the question before the world today. Even in the past, the world was faced with this kind of question when good as well as bad results followed each invention. But it was never faced with this situation where a wrong step taken by a single stupid person can destroy the whole world.

We read about the atom bomb and many other such things in newspapers but the fact is that the majority of people do not know what they are all about. I do not mean that everyone can understand all the scientific intricacies. What I mean is that implications of these inventions have not yet been realised by us. The changing world has thrown up its own problems which were not there earlier. Every new age creates new problems and their solutions too. However, a problem that existed a thousand years ago cannot exist in the same form today. I am not referring at the moment to what you may call religious or metaphysical problems. I am talking of the problems relating to human beings which change with the changing times, and those who do not recognise this fact lag behind. If you do not know about the problems of the time, how can you hope to find their solutions? I have put this matter before you in very simple terms. But the matter is quite complex. Very often we tend to be fully absorbed in our old ways and think that shouting slogans will solve all problems. Times have changed and so have the problems. The problem presented by atomic energy and sputniks never came up before the world in this form. The harnessing of all these natural powers poses grave dangers and at the same time it has the potential to do much good to mankind.



For the first time it has become possible for us to eradicate poverty from the world altogether. But it cannot be done immediately or by some magic. The world now possesses the ability to do so because it is possible to produce enough food and cloth and build houses for all and provide health care and education to everyone in the world. I am talking of the combined potential of the whole world not that of India alone. On the other hand, there is also the potential to destroy the whole world. So there can be no greater challenge before mankind today than this: a single mistake can lead to complete ruin and a single step in the right direction can lead to tremendous prosperity. You might ask why the choice is naturally not the right one or why there should be any argument about it. But somehow, we seem to be confronted by a great challenge. How can we in India claim to have great wisdom and how can we denounce the people of America, the Soviet Union, England, China and Japan and call them fools? It is stupid on our part to even make such remarks. They are intelligent people, in some spheres far more intelligent and wiser than us. Why is it then that they are caught up in this vicious cycle of arms race and mutual fear when even a slight mistake can lead to a great war? Another peculiar thing is that though everyone talks quite loudly about peace and nobody claims to like war and big peace conferences are held, yet the prevailing atmosphere in the world is one of war. Even the word peace is uttered in threatening tones, almost as if it will be enforced by violence. It is not the question of a mere word but of the mentality behind it, individual as well as collective mentality of mankind, and if this mentality is not controlled the world will undoubtedly follow the wrong path and bring destruction upon itself. Then there will be neither freedom nor democracy. There will only be ruin. So I want you to think from this viewpoint.

There is no doubt about it that behind the tremendous tension that exists in the world today, there is a great thirst for freedom. But at the same time, the urge to suppress that thirst is equally strong and evident. Why? The old urge for colonial domination and imperialism is donning a new garb. The world today is divided into two armed camps, each trying to prevent other countries from joining the other camp and keep them under its own sphere of influence. Anyhow, I shall not go into details. But I want you to understand that the problems of the world are so complex and serious that even one wrong step, taken with the best of intentions, can destroy the whole world. Therefore, it is extremely important for us to keep ourselves and our minds and emotions under check. I mean that every single individual as well as the nation, particularly the people on whom the nation's responsibilities rest, should exercise self-control.

You must have read in today's newspapers about the revolt in Iraq. Detailed

reports have not yet come but the existing government has been overthrown and perhaps the King has been arrested and the Prime Minister assassinated.<sup>5</sup> I do not know the details except what I have learnt from the newspapers. It is obvious that what has happened is extremely serious. But the consequences that are likely to follow would be even more serious. If the Big Powers jump into the fray, it can even lead to a world war. These are the apprehensions. If there is a war, whether we take part in it or not, we will not remain safe or untouched. Hydrogen bombs and atom bombs will poison the entire atmosphere of the world. Therefore, it would not be wise to react to these developments in a fit of emotion or passion.

There are great problems before us in India today which worry us greatly. Let me tell you something about them. If you glance around you, at the countries which surround India and have recently become independent, you will find that their problems are far more complicated than those of India and their condition is far worse. Our problems are no doubt complex, but compared to those countries our condition is much better. Politically we are stable, and though there are tremendous economic problems, we are at least on the move. We are putting up industries and doing a thousand other things. The community development projects and national extension services are spreading. I agree that there are thousands of shortcomings in us and we are not moving at the speed that we should. But we are on the move and the world is aware of it. We are tackling tremendous problems and people who come from abroad are amazed and also happy to see what we have been able to achieve in ten years in spite of the fact that we are still undoubtedly, a poor country. Even the slightest failure of rains ruins millions of people, which is a sign of poverty. But, if you look around carefully, you will find how different the situation is in other countries. I do not wish to make a comparison. But if you take Iraq or some other countries, you will find that there is no stability there. I want you to keep these things in mind, for they are important. Many people in India are annoyed with the government, which is their right. I do not say that everything that the government does is good. We make innumerable mistakes. In fact, I would say that a government which is afraid of making mistakes is useless and can never lead to progress. Nobody makes mistakes deliberately. But we should have the ability to realise the mistakes and rectify them.

5. In a military coup in Iraq on 14 July 1958, King Faisal II and Prime Minister Nuri el-Said (Nuri Pasha) were assassinated and the Republic of Iraq was proclaimed by a group of army officers led by Brigadier General Abdul Karim Kassim.



The moment the struggle for political freedom was over we were confronted with the far more complex problems of economic freedom and progress. We decided to move in the direction of socialism. I do not know how many of us who talk of socialism have a clear conception of what it really means and how it can be achieved. The word socialism has a thousand meanings. It will become a long lecture if I were to go into them. However, we often talk about socialism. A resolution was moved in the Lok Sabha asking if we would achieve the goal of socialism by the next year. It is not clear whether the Member who asked this question knows what socialism means. Socialism means a change in the social organisation or in the relationship between individuals in society change in the society, in the minds and hearts of the individuals, and a thousand other complex things.<sup>6</sup> It cannot be achieved merely by passing a law.

Why did we adopt socialism as our goal? Forget socialism, our objective is to remove poverty and unemployment from the country. We want to build up a prosperous country, a welfare state, in which every human being has the opportunity to progress according to his ability. This is our goal. We want that there should be economic equality as far as possible and there should be no discrimination against any section of society. There is no doubt about it that this is not socialism. But these are the things in which even those, who are not socialists, more or less believe. It must be understood clearly that socialism means welfare of the people as a whole. Can anyone deny this? So far as the communists are concerned, they generally believe in violence as a technique of coming into power and I think even now this belief persists. So these are the various aspects of socialism. Now, nearly 150 years have passed since socialism was first expounded. The whole world has been completely changed by steam power, electricity and atomic energy. Therefore, it is obvious that the ideas that prevailed 150 years ago cannot prevail in the same form today. They have to be modified to suit the changing times. It is not a sign of wisdom to keep repeating the old slogans.

Our communist colleagues believe in an ideology formulated by two great scholars more than 80-90 years ago. They were undoubtedly great men and I respect them for what they formulated. But my mind refuses to accept that we should try to solve our problems today by following the principles which were relevant 80-90 years ago. What would it mean except closing our eyes completely to reality? My mind just refuses to accept this. If I do not accept it in the matter of religion, why should I accept it in economic matters? I respect religions because I think they contain some great philosophical thoughts. But I am not

6. For Nehru's views on socialism, see *ante*, pp. 8-9, and *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 19-20, 71-78 and 523-528.



prepared to accept anything blindly just because somebody once laid it down as the law.

Now you see that there are before us big economic problems concerning the uplift of the people and their prosperity. There are great scholars and pundits and professors in our universities, one section of whom believes in economic principles expounded in England, France and the United States and wants the same to be fully followed in India. Another section believes in the Marxist-Leninist theories. Both these approaches do not seem right for various reasons. Firstly, as I have already told you conditions prevailing in a country and the times people live in have to be taken into account. The problems that India is facing today do not exist in the same form anywhere else in the world. How can the example of the United States help us? It may help a little. But how can we adopt something done in the United States 150 years ago? The people of the United States have made tremendous progress during the last 150 years under unusual circumstances and we can learn a great deal from that. But the conditions in England, France or the Soviet Union were entirely different. In the Soviet Union the revolution took place after crushing defeat in the war followed by tremendous ruin.

So neither of these two approaches is viable for us though we take lessons from both. We will have to find out solutions to our problems ourselves. In fact, we must first comprehend the problems that India faces today and find the method to tackle them ourselves. There is no other way. We try to evolve policies through the Planning Commission and other institutions. We are often asked why we do not lay down categorically what is to be done. Human beings generally do not want to think for themselves. It is easier to keep chanting something learnt by rote. But it is not right to just follow the path shown by others. Moreover, the problem we are facing in India today is to uplift 37 to 38 million people. It can be done not by any outside agency or by passing a law. It can be done only by creating the ability in the people to stand on their own feet. How is that to be done? It is not easy. It will be done gradually by providing proper education to the people and training them so that by the time they grow up, they acquire the ability to be self-reliant. But that will take at least 20 to 25 years.

So the problem is enormous. Do you know what the per capita income of an average Indian is? It is so low that it is terrifying to know it. It is lower than what it was in England 200 years ago or in the Soviet Union before the Russian Revolution. So we have to work our way up from the bottom. Once we start, we will go on by our own momentum. We must progress faster. Once we start, things will move rapidly. For instance, just 12 to 13 years ago, Germany and the Soviet Union were completely devastated by the Second World War.

So were Japan and parts of China. But today if you visit Germany or the Soviet Union, you will find them completely transformed. Once again they are prosperous and wealthy, teeming with industries producing enormous amounts of goods for export. Millions of houses have been built. How? It is because the people had the ability to work. They were trained and hardworking people. Ultimately it is these things which count. If you go to an island completely uninhabited by man and put a million trained human beings there, you will find it making great progress within a couple of years. It is the human beings who count. If they are sheeplike, even if they are millions in number, a nation will remain downtrodden for centuries. So the task before us is to train people properly. Moreover, it is essential that they should have the strength of character and ability to work hard. We need to train people for specialised tasks, teach them science which is the basis of the modern world. These are extremely complex problems and cannot be solved merely by passing laws.

Well, anyhow, I have put some of these fundamental problems before you so that you may think about them. We will have to change much of our social and economic structures and it has to be done peacefully, because first of all, we believe that that is the only right way. But leaving aside principles, I would go so far as to say that no other method is feasible in our country because if any other method is adopted it would only lead to a civil war and create tension in the country. I am not referring to the communist type of civil war which is something different and bad. I am merely pointing out that the moment force is used to achieve something, a nation starts breaking up with different groups pulling in different directions. Somehow, separatism has become such a bad tendency in our country that we tend to fight even over small issues. There are communalism, provincialism and casteism, so much so that there are several groups even in *gram* panchayats and Congress committees. It is really exasperating. I do not know why we indulge in such things. It is an offshoot of the caste system which has taught us to live in separate compartments. In my opinion, the caste system has done terrible harm to India and it should be ended completely.

There is groupism all over in our politics. I am really amazed at it. My association with the Congress dates back to 50 years at least but I am amazed to see the ease with which Congressmen divide themselves into groups. They do not seem to be aware where the world is going, and that their ways will lead to ruin. It has become a habit with them. Once we lean towards violence, there will be no question of progress. We will go down rapidly even if the violent means are meant for a good end. So violence in itself is bad.

You must remember that it is an enormous task to try to achieve these objectives by peaceful, democratic methods, and by explaining the issues to



the people. I will repeat once again that these problems were not experienced in any other country in the same form. It is an extremely complicated task. Many of our colleagues criticise us, condemn us, take out processions and shout slogans against the Government and the Congress. I am not saying that everything that we do is right. There is bound to be mistakes. Wrong people may get into the Congress. The main thing is the goal and principle of any institution. No institution can be perfect. There are bound to be all kinds of people in it. The question is, what is the goal of the institution, whether it is right or wrong; and whatever its approach, we should try to rectify the mistakes if any.

We shall also see to it that criticising others should not become routine. Everybody has the right to criticise or draw attention to mistakes. But constant criticism creates obstacles when it is essential for the whole country to march together. Look at China, for instance, which is a bigger country than India and faces bigger problems too. But their problems are slightly different and they are dealing with them in a different way. I will not go into that. They have the right to deal with them in their own way. But please remember that no man has the right to criticise what the government does in China. If anybody does so, he is immediately punished, with the result that you hear nothing but praise for what is being done there. Now, I am not prepared to accept that the Government in China makes no mistakes at all. Everybody makes mistakes but nobody there is allowed to point them out. Here in India, not only is there complete freedom to criticise but we ourselves often criticise the Government. It is a different kind of atmosphere and I like it because I want individuals to grow and have the right to criticise wrong actions. But that does not mean that you should break heads, as that would lead to complete anarchy. How is a nation to grow? It has almost become the profession of some people to criticise others and drag each other down, whether they are right or wrong.

Today I received a deputation that complained against the consolidation of holdings in Allahabad District and demanded that it should be stopped. Now, I cannot express an opinion about that nor do I know how it is being done. But I can say this definitely that consolidation of holdings is very essential because we cannot progress in the field of agriculture without it.<sup>7</sup> This is a broad fact

7. Both the First and Second Five Year Plans had emphasised the need for the consolidation of holdings. The Planning Commission recommended that the consolidation of holdings should be undertaken in community project areas as a task of primary importance to the agricultural programme. The Uttar Pradesh Consolidation of Holdings (Amendment) Act of 1958, aimed at removing delays in consolidation operations and other shortcomings.



which everyone should know. It is a different matter that in the process some mistake may be made but that can be rectified. But, broadly speaking, as a matter of policy, all these small holdings which are spread out all over the district cannot make our agriculture progress. The farmers have to till hard for very little return. My own personal opinion is that consolidation of holdings is not enough. The next step should be to encourage the farmers to move towards cooperative farming. They will continue to own their lands and will also come together for purposes of cultivation and divide among themselves the profit. This will definitely lead to greater production and much of the fallow land will be brought under cultivation. But, as I said, this is my personal opinion and I do not wish to impose it on anyone. It will come about gradually once the farmers themselves begin to realise its advantages. It can be done on the land which Acharya Vinoba Bhave is getting as donation.<sup>8</sup> However, consolidation of land holdings is a good thing in every way and I cannot understand when an individual, belonging to any party, tells me that it should be given up because it means creating an obstacle in the way of progress.

As you know, we have taken many steps regarding the land problem. We abolished the zamindari system.<sup>9</sup> Often, we have not been able to take these steps as quickly as we wished because of legal difficulties. Why did we abolish zamindari? It was done not only because it paved the way for making a more just arrangement for the farmers. That was a small matter. We abolished it primarily because it was fundamentally a system which was an obstacle in the path of progress. It was something which shackled society and its abolition

8. The *Bhoodan* or voluntary land gift movement by Acharya Vinoba Bhave began on 18 April 1953 with the objective of propagating "the right thought by which social and economic maladjustments can be corrected without serious conflicts." Describing the aims of the movement, he said: "In a just and equitable order of society, land must belong to all. That is why we do not beg for gifts but demand a share to which the poor are rightly entitled." In its practical application, it took the shape of asking for voluntary donations of one-sixth of the land for redistribution among the landless. Up to June 1958, 44,00,905 acres were donated to the *Bhoodan* movement and of this 7,82,525 acres were distributed to the landless during the same period.
9. The UP State Legislative Assembly passed a resolution on 8 August 1946 accepting in principle the abolition of zamindari system in the state. The UP Zamindari Abolition and Land Reforms Bill, introduced in the State Assembly in July 1949, was passed on 16 January 1951. Certain sections of the Act were challenged in the Allahabad High Court and later in the Supreme Court which upheld the validity of the Act on 5 May 1952. The Act came into force on 1 July 1952 and all zamindaris in UP were formally abolished.

meant that the rural society in India became free to progress. Now it is obvious that the abolition of the zamindari system has meant a great loss to the zamindars, many of whom have been our colleagues and went to jail with us. We feel sorry for them. We gave them some compensation but it was not much. We were helpless and could not let the system continue for the benefit of a few at the expense of a large number of farmers.

Similarly, it would be absolutely wrong if we were to give up consolidation of holdings because some people were facing difficulties and getting panicky. We cannot let such considerations come in the way of progress of the district of Allahabad and its farmers and of the nation. If anybody feels that some excesses have been done somewhere the matter can be reconsidered. It is being done and wherever mistakes have occurred, the cases have been kept pending for a while. Now, when a socialist says such things, I begin to wonder what his conception of socialism is. We are a backward country, mainly because our methods of cultivation are outdated and have no relation to modern methods. Even our ploughs are of a primitive type and no effort is being made to use good seeds and fertilisers. Things are changing now but our methods are quite primitive and the most primitive of all is the system of land tenure which stands in the way of our progress. We cannot achieve anything by merely passing resolutions unless we abolish the old system of land tenure. We will have to change the mind set of 30 crores of people and make them modern men and women. I have no doubt about their ability to undergo this change.

We have introduced great development schemes in India. The community development projects and the national extension service have reached two million and ninety thousand villages, more than half of the villages in India. You can imagine what a revolutionary step this is or rather could be. Merely putting things down on paper will not take us anywhere. It is the human beings who must change and acquire the ability to improve the conditions in villages and in the country. We cannot do that by merely passing laws. The farmers will welcome changes when they begin to progress. We want to train them to adopt new methods and work in a cooperative way. We do not want the Government in Delhi to rule from above. We want the powers to filter down to the panchayats. These are revolutionary acts which have to continue. Those of you who are young and are in schools and colleges today will have to shoulder all these burdens in the future. I hope you will take the country far in your lifetime if the world does not destroy itself in the meantime. I am trying to point out how we often forget the larger issues because of being absorbed in our petty affairs.

Just before I came here I received a printed leaflet distributed by Citizens Action Committee demanding that action be taken against the enhancement of



house tax or some such tax.<sup>10</sup> Nowadays these action committees are springing up all over the country. In my view, these action committees are mostly inaction committees. They seem to be working more for obstructing something rather than for doing anything constructive. There are action committees of students and traders and others and they are formed invariably to oppose something. Opposition is alright. But I would be happy if action committees were formed to do something constructive for the progress of India. However, this action committee is against the enhancement of house tax and some other tax. I do not know what were the rates of those taxes earlier and how much they have been enhanced. But I do remember that when I was the Chairman of the Municipal Board 30 or 35 or 40 years ago,<sup>11</sup> I had suggested that the house tax be enhanced. I am talking of something which is 30, 40 years old. I do not know what is the situation today. I want to mention one thing more. I too have a house here and have always felt that I should be asked to pay more by way of municipal taxes. On the one hand, we are constantly demanding that this or that should be done. People want more wages and salaries, and demand that new schools, colleges and universities should be opened and new industries, irrigation works, etc., should be started. All these things require a great deal of money. But people are not willing to share the cost. It is impossible for a municipal board to make proposals for expenditure without increasing its income. I agree that the burden should be evenly distributed but we must pay attention to the income and expenditure both.

I mentioned just now about the events in Iraq. I do not know what will happen there nor do I think it is proper for me to make any comments just now. It is not proper for anyone and especially for a person in my position to do so. But one conclusion can be drawn from the events in Iraq that the feeling of nationalism is growing in the Arab countries. Arab nationalism is a force to be reckoned with today. Often the Big Powers of the West fail to notice the internal forces which are at work in Asia. They have a superficial understanding of Asia and are easily misled. So they are taken unawares when something happens.

Anyhow, we have neither the strength nor the ability to control world affairs. Some people boast that India and Jawaharlal have evolved the

10. The leaflet highlighted the fact that the enhanced house tax would hit all sections of the people at a time when they were already overburdened with taxes and increased cost of living. It reiterated that the tax was beyond the people's capacity to pay and was objectionable both from economic and political points of view.

11. Nehru was elected Chairman of the Allahabad Municipal Board on 4 April 1923.



*Panchsheel*.<sup>12</sup> There is no reason for us to take the credit for it. All nations indulge in self-praise. But it is our actions and achievements which will win the respect of the world for us and not mere tall talk. We must take note of our innumerable weaknesses. We are always ready to advise others. Please remember that the path that we should follow is the one that was shown by Mahatma Gandhi when he joined the Congress, and changed its complexion. Before that, the Congress resolutions were full of demands made on the British Government. We were constantly making demands just like, if you will forgive my saying so, today's students or our factory workers often do. Well, demands are alright. Gandhiji told us that we should increase our own strength instead of demanding something from the British. Our only demand was freedom and nothing else. But we did not speak much about that also. So the Congress resolutions began to be directed not towards the British Government but towards the people of India, drawing their attention to what had to be done by them. The complexion of resolutions changed completely. Instead of telling the British Government what needs to be done, we began to tell ourselves what we must do. Congress workers were required to ply charkha every day for half an hour. Now a professor of economics will tell you that plying charkha is meaningless in modern times. Anyhow, it became a process of disciplining ourselves as every Congressman had to ply charkha. It soon became a kind of military-like discipline.

The problem before Gandhiji was to somehow force the British to leave India. But the more important task than that was to make the people of India strong and united and put an end to their petty feuds over religion and language and develop in them the habit of working together in cooperation with each other. He wanted to instil in them fearlessness and courage to make sacrifices. So all his speeches were directed to that end. He would always practise himself what he talked about and expected the Congressmen to do the same. In this way he gradually united the whole country and turned it into an organised force which challenged the might of the British Empire. This was his real strength for it is a sign of weakness to order other people around or make demands on others. It is easy to keep talking about what needs to be done. The difficulty arises when you have to tell yourself what you should do. You do not

12. The five principles known as *Panchsheel* were first incorporated into the preamble to the India-China Agreement of 29 April 1954 on Trade and Intercourse between India and the Tibet Region of China. They are (i) mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty; (ii) non-aggression; (iii) non-interference in each other's internal affairs; (iv) equality and mutual benefit; and (v) peaceful co-existence. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 468-469, Vol. 26, pp. 410-412 and Vol. 38, pp. 456-457.

think about them when you give orders to others. It is a sign of weakness to order others around. It is only when you start doing things yourselves that you begin to understand the realities.

It is absurd to say that we are facing greater problems than other countries. The Arabs and China and Japan are facing equally great problems. But I repeat once again that the problems that India faces today are, in a sense, unique. China is trying to solve its problems in a different manner and it is welcome to do that. The problem before us is to uplift millions of people of India and take them out of the mire of poverty. For weak men even small problems become insoluble. A strong man wants something to get his teeth into. This is a testing time for our nation today. If we are strong, the problems will be solved; otherwise they will drag on for a long time. The eyes of the world are set on us. India has one-fifth of the world's population. If we succeed in the methods that we have adopted, it is bound to have a tremendous impact on the future history of the world. The problems are enormous and, as I said, we do not want to close our eyes to anything worthwhile. We are willing to learn from the United States, the Soviet Union, China, Germany and Japan. But we want to do so within the limits of the democratic structure that we have built up. Moreover, we do not wish to give up non-violence and move towards violence. We want to achieve our goals by peaceful methods. These are two fundamental principles. If we accept them, we need not worry. These are the two main principles we believe in. Secondly, we realise that if we fail to adopt this path, India will undoubtedly be ruined by internal squabbles, which may lead to her downfall once again.

So, I am not bothered about differences of opinion, but please think about these problems seriously and in a responsible manner as you will have to hold the reins of government in the future. I am 68 years old and have few more years to live. The reins of government will then pass into the hands of the young people of today. If they do not prepare themselves now and create the right atmosphere in the country, they will have to bear the consequences. If an atmosphere of chaos and hooliganism prevails in the country, nothing will be achieved, though it may yield some temporary benefit during elections or thereabout. But it is not at all proper to vitiate the atmosphere in the country and create obstacles in the way of progress.

So, you must remain vigilant and look at the changing, extraordinary, topsy-turvy world in the right perspective. The biggest transformation that is taking place is in the fields of science and technology. One day, soon, you will hear that India has sent a rocket to the moon. Some people think that such things will have an adverse effect on the climate of the world. I do not know about that but we are entering into an extraordinary era in which nobody can predict what will happen. The world is entering into an unknown area and we must



prepare ourselves for it by becoming more aware of our problems and refrain from indulging in futile squabbles. We must prepare ourselves by making our country strong and by marching along the path of progress so that we can face any challenge that may confront us. If we continue to indulge in futile wrangling and petty feuds, we will remain backward whereas the world will either progress very fast or destroy itself.

You must prepare yourselves for the future and always bear in mind the importance of unity between various sections of the society and different religions of India. Casteism and communalism militate against democracy and socialism. They have no place in modern times. This does not mean that we should abandon all our ancient traditions and culture. I think there was a great deal in our ancient culture that was excellent. We must cherish it as it is invaluable and learn from it. But we must not mix it up with things like the zamindari system, which will have to go out with the changing times; otherwise we will remain backward and the rest of the world will go ahead, as it did in the past.

Now, please forgive me. Today's lesson is over and let us go home. But before that according to our general practice, please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

### 3. People's Participation in Development Essential<sup>1</sup>

Sisters, brothers and children,

This seems to be a large public meeting. But I did not come here to address a large gathering but to see this district across the Ganges which I have not visited for a long time and to meet you and talk to you.<sup>2</sup> I have been perturbed by various reports of drought that I have been getting. Anyhow, I am happy that it has been raining for the last two days and congratulate you on this.<sup>3</sup>

There are many things to talk about because I would like you to understand what is happening in the country and where our duty lies. The days are now

1. Speech at a public meeting at Saidabad, Allahabad District, 15 July 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Nehru toured the drought affected areas of Allahabad District on 15 and 16 July 1958 and visited villages such as Meja, Karchana, Jari, Kamlanagar, Handia, Hanumanganj, Ari, Surwal, Binda and Laideyari. In his addresses, he exhorted people to launch an all-out attack against poverty, unemployment and hunger.
3. The eastern UP, comprising Gorakhpur, Varanasi and Faizabad Divisions, faced unprecedented hardship on account of severe drought and floods since 1954.



gone when people expected the government to do everything, whether it is the Lucknow or the Delhi government. When a nation takes up big tasks, the people have to participate in them. They cannot be done by some officer alone. It is certainly the duty of officers to help and serve the people. It is the job of the government to make arrangements which will benefit everyone. All that is true. But the cooperation of the people is absolutely essential because in national tasks there can be no distinction between the government and the people. The task is one, that of nation building, and of service of the people, which has to be done by everyone.

What are the tasks before us? The most important is to remove poverty from the country. How is it to be done? Where is the money to come from? It cannot come from the treasury. A nation's wealth consists of goods produced in the country from agriculture, industries, village industries, etc. The more a country produces from its land and industries, the richer it is. After all, the money in the government treasury comes from your pockets as taxes. It cannot drop from the heavens. It is the people who have to pay.

You must have heard of the five-year plans. It lays great stress on agriculture and the methods of improving cultivation, industrialisation, village industries, production of electricity, building of dams and canals. A number of huge projects like the community blocks, national extension service, etc., are being taken up. All of them are aimed at increasing production in the country and training people in new techniques. As you know, good seeds and fertilisers help to increase production. Now there is greater demand for fertilisers and we are not producing enough to meet the requirement. In fact, we are putting up new factories for fertilisers.

Therefore we want our children to be well educated so that when they grow up they will be trained and well-equipped in their chosen professions. We do not want them to become clerks in offices. That is not right. They must become better trained in agriculture and other professions so that they are more prosperous. These things cannot be done by government orders; what is required is the people's understanding and cooperation and hard work. I cannot go into details just now because there is no time and it is long story. But you must understand all these things because otherwise the country cannot progress. I cannot do it alone. It is you and all the people in India who must work hard to reach our goals.

We must always remember that in unity lies our strength for without that a country becomes weak. It is foolish to fight among yourselves, as you sometimes do in the villages, for nobody benefits by them. If the quarrels spread to the whole country, it is even more stupid, whether we fight in the name of religion or anything else. The Hindus and Muslims used to fight among

themselves which did harm to both the communities. The Hindus fight among themselves about caste, language and what not. These things weaken us. So we must remember that India is a very large country and we live in it. But you must also remember that inspite of her size, India came under the rule of a small little country, England, because the latter was a more intelligent, united and advanced nation. They found the people of India in a state of disunity and weakness and immediately came and conquered us. They ruled over us by following a policy of creating divisions among us. When Mahatma Gandhi came on the scene, his first lesson to us was of unity. He taught us to live in cooperation and love with one another, irrespective of our caste and religion. Hindus, Muslims, Christians are all citizens of this country and all these religions belong to India. As you know, apart from Hindus who are in a majority, there are millions of Muslims and Christians in India. Christianity came to India, to the South, about 1500 years ago. All of them are citizens of India and have equal rights.

So Gandhiji taught us the lesson of unity and communal harmony. Secondly, he worked for the uplift of the down-trodden, and the so-called lower castes, the untouchables and against the atrocities committed in the name of the caste system. How could we look for justice when we perpetrated injustice against our own brethren? Freedom could not be for one section of society alone. It had to be for everyone in the country. So he advocated the removal of the caste system. He also taught us the lessons of peace and non-violence as you know and in this way, the people were organised into a strong, united force through the medium of the Congress and the battle for freedom was fought and won. You must remember all these things.

Secondly, you must not forget that the moment our struggle for freedom was over, we have embarked upon yet another journey, and are now fighting against poverty in India. This is a far more arduous journey and it is necessary for the people to work hard and increase production from land and industries. We do not produce as much from land as they do in other countries. Why is it so? We should also double or treble production from land and you can imagine how wealthy India will be. Everyone will be well-off. The means to achieve this are not secret. It is quite clear that we will have to work very hard, use good seeds and fertilisers, make arrangements for irrigation, etc. As you know these are ordinary things. The community development programmes will help you to learn the modern techniques of agriculture. All of you must try to understand these things.

I hope the boys and girls go to school here. A day should soon come when every boy and girl in India will go to school and learn new things and be trained to do the tasks that they take up properly. This is how we can remove poverty



from the country, not by begging from others. These are big tasks. We have had to face terrible problems in the last few years. Crops failed due to the failure of monsoons. This year it has been slightly better. There have been some rains just now and I hope that we will take full advantage of it. But the real arrangement should be something which frees us of our dependence on the monsoons. That will take some time.

Now I shall go on. Please say *Jai Hind* with me.

*Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

#### 4. Responsibilities of the Students<sup>1</sup>

Mr Vice Chancellor,<sup>2</sup> President of the Students Union<sup>3</sup> and students,  
As you know, a new session starts today. There may be a number of old students and maybe some new ones, I do not know. Sitting here, my thoughts go back to the time when I went to Cambridge as an undergraduate, 50 years ago or a little more than that. Fifty years is a long time in a man's life and there have been many ups and downs in the world and India. There have been two big World Wars which brought tremendous ruin and a revolution in their wake. India waged a great struggle for freedom during this period, which saw many ups and downs. Ultimately, it became stable under Gandhiji in a unique way and succeeded and India became free. All sorts of extraordinary events took place in the world in these 50 years, apart from the World Wars. A great revolution occurred in the Soviet Union which gave rise to a new type of state. Then there was a revolution in China. In these 50 years, the world saw the rise of fascism in Italy and later in Germany under Hitler, which held sway for a long time. However, during this period scientific and technological improvements took place steadily. Fifty years ago, there were no aeroplanes and even motor cars were not to be seen in large numbers. I saw the beginning of flying in England, France and Germany. All sorts of things happened. Now air travel has become very common in India and outside. I cannot give you a list of all these things.

Now, as you know, we are living in the atomic age, the age of nuclear energy and atom and hydrogen bombs, which are lethal weapons meant for the

1. Address to the students of Allahabad University, 16 July 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Shri Ranjan.
3. Lakhan Singh, a law student, was elected President of the Allahabad University Students Union in 1957.

destruction of mankind. For the first time in the history of the world, space technology has been developed and sputniks and satellites have been launched into the space. All sorts of extraordinary things happened during this period and we soon got accustomed to them.

So, when I look back at the last 50 years, thousands of pictures of this changing world come to my mind. I find that the speed at which the world is changing is increasing every day. How far man is able to keep pace with these changes is a different matter. I am talking about the rapid changes that have occurred in the modes of communications, travel, means of production, etc. Air travel has become very common today. Earlier, people travelled by trains or ships which are slow modes of travel. If you go back further, you find that the fastest means of travel was on the horseback. You could not move faster than a horse. This was the condition just 150 years ago. The means of communications were also slow. Now you have the telegraph and telephone and a more complex means of communications like the radio, and many other means which enable you to get the news instantaneously.

The world has changed a great deal because of all this and there is no doubt about it that human beings are also changing with the world. You and I do not lead the same kind of life our forefathers did three or four generations ago. But how much you and I have changed mentally is a complex question. Our life has been transformed. But it is difficult to say how far human beings have really changed. Some changes have occurred but it is not easy to say to what extent we have really changed and whether the change has been good or bad. As I said, I have seen all kinds of revolutions and changes, especially the revolution brought about by science and technology, in my lifetime.

We often talk about political revolution in the Soviet Union or China or France. They were no doubt great events. But the revolution brought about by science is greater in comparison. It has turned the world completely topsy-turvy. As a matter of fact, science has a great deal to do with the revolutions in the Soviet Union and elsewhere as they had their roots in the Industrial Revolution. Karl Marx wrote about the changes that took place in England in the beginning of the Industrial Revolution. Socialism is also an offshoot of the Industrial Revolution although I do not know when this word was coined. The speed at which these changes have been taking place has increased, particularly in the last ten years. Since Einstein first expressed his ideas, science has been progressing rapidly. The atom has been split and atomic energy has come into the hands of man. What are atomic energy, electricity and steam power? They are nothing new. They have always been there. Man has merely learnt about the forces of nature and he has to take advantage of them. He has undoubtedly taken some advantage of them. Now so many new forces have emerged that



man is somewhat scared and puzzled to imagine where they would lead him. I wonder what changes the next 50 years will bring about. We may speculate about them but it is difficult to say anything with certainty. But it is certain that the world as we know today will change very rapidly in the next few years, more rapidly than it has changed in the last 50 years. Steam power was invented during the Industrial Revolution and electricity brought about a great revolution. Now we are on the threshold of atomic energy and interplanetary travel.

We are living in strange times, which undoubtedly will have far-reaching effects. If you remain alive for 50 years, though it is doubtful as to how many of us will remain alive then, you would undoubtedly find the world completely changed. You may also play a role in it. I said if you remain alive, not because anybody can predict how long an individual will live, but because the forces that have been unleashed upon the world are not fully under control. Nobody knows when they may destroy the whole world. For the first time today the world is facing such an enormous problem. Man has always made mistakes for he is a strange amalgam of wisdom and folly. But, his folly has done considerable harm by precipitating two Great Wars, which resulted in the killing millions of human beings. Now, for the first time, the forces that are in man's hands may not merely damage but destroy the whole world if he takes one wrong step or makes a single mistake. The world is facing this great problem today that a mistake once committed cannot be rectified. If a mistake leads to a world war and atom bombs and hydrogen bombs are used, there will be no way to escape. Thirteen years have passed since the Second World War came to an end. Though millions of men lost their lives and numerous cities were razed to the ground, the world has remained stable and gradually the enormous wounds inflicted by the war have started healing in Europe, Germany, particularly in the Soviet Union, and in some countries of Asia. But now if there is a war, the kind of wounds that will be inflicted can never be healed and nobody will remain safe. I do not know what the final result will be, but these are the apprehensions. Thus, the nature of the problem has changed completely. There is no longer any scope for taking a risk.

You have joined the university at a time when we are confronted with great problems in the country in more than one sense. Firstly, we are citizens of India and we have to work and live here. Secondly, if we wish to have the right kind of impact upon the world, India must speak out with strength. Strength can be of many kinds. One is military strength, like the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, possess. They speak with the force of military might behind them and hold the power to destroy the whole world. Now, it is obvious that we cannot compete with them in this respect, nor do we wish to. But there are also other kinds of strength.

India won freedom not through military strength or war or violence but through a different kind of strength. There is no doubt about it because we could not have brought about such a great revolution in India without some kind of strength, though people often fail to realise this fact. The general belief is that revolution means violence and chaos. This is wrong. Yes, there can be chaos during a revolution and it can bring enormous ruin too and defeat its own purpose. Please remember that a revolution can do good or have undesirable results too. There can be wrong kinds of revolutions too. What can be a bigger revolution than the one brought about by Hitler in Germany? But we regard it as a wrong kind of revolution. Yet, there is no doubt about it that it was a revolution which brought about a tremendous upheaval in Germany and Europe and ultimately led to great turmoil all over the world. It was a wrong kind of revolution.

Revolution means change, rapid or violent change, which can be good as well as bad. Now look at the condition in India and the world today. If you do not take advantage of your three or five years' stay in the university and develop a proper understanding of the national and world problems and prepare yourselves to find solutions to all these knotty problems, you will find yourselves ill-equipped for accomplishing any task. Your mind will be unable to comprehend the larger issues and you will remain one of the millions who are content to float along placidly with the tide of time rather than make an effort to control your own destiny. You will be like a leaf carried away by the flowing water. Well, I do not say that we can control the entire world situation. But we can do so to some extent if we make an effort for it. A nation consisting of trained people can, of course, do so.

Therefore, now that you have passed out of the school with some knowledge, you must utilise your time in the university to make your mind razor-sharp. You must cultivate good habits and strengthen your character so that you do not panic or go under during a crisis. In short, you must improve your mind, health and character, for this is the time for doing so. You must prepare yourselves well so that when you enter the field of action, you may prove your calibre to the world. It is only then that it can be judged whether you are brave warriors who can face any problem or you develop cold feet in the time of crisis. It is difficult to judge the character of a people in ordinary times when everyone can talk bravely. It is only in times of crisis that there can be a real test of character. It is only when there is a deluge that you can distinguish between the strong and the weak. Strong nations can hold their head high in any difficulty, while weak ones are submerged. So it is necessary for the people to develop strong character, mental agility and the capacity to face any crisis boldly. Tall talk is of no use in the time of a crisis, whether it is war or anything



else. Who will listen to your speech when bombs are being hurled at one another? Where will your slogans take you at such a time? The yardstick for measuring the quality of human beings changes at the time of a crisis. Such occasions arise in the life of every nation some time or the other, which is a good thing because they strengthen the people. If there is no crisis at all, a nation becomes slack and weak and forgets where the real strength of a human being lies.

In my own lifetime, there have been two World Wars and though I did not see action in either of them, I have heard and read about them. But I have participated in another kind of war, the war for independence fought by millions of Indians without arms. We had a great leader who was an extraordinary human being. The picture comes to my mind of the time when he entered the political arena in India. He was very well known and respected because he had already earned name and fame in South Africa. But other Indian leaders of those times regarded him as novice in political matters. Gradually, people realised that his politics was not of the textbook variety or of slogans. It was entirely of a different kind, which he had evolved himself based on his own experiences in life and not learnt from some book. His method was such that it had an immediate impact on millions of hearts. Well, anyhow, it became apparent very soon that the majority of the people in India, especially the poor Indian peasants who had suffered for hundreds of years and had been suppressed, came under his spell. He infused new life and strength in them. It was a strange revolution, a far greater revolution than those brought about at the point of the sword or gun, as it was meant to change the hearts of millions of people. As Gopal Krishna Gokhale<sup>4</sup> once remarked, it aimed at transforming clay figurines into brave warriors.<sup>5</sup> We were witnesses to all this. There came a time, as it comes sometimes in the life of every nation, when the entire nation became brave and acquired the character and discipline as expected of soldiers, and grew in stature naturally. You and I are ordinary human beings, slack and timid, and bundle of good as well as bad characteristics. But there are occasions when a nation rises to the occasion and displays amazing courage and strength. It happened in India in those days under the guidance of a great leader. Though we were very ordinary people, we became courageous and disciplined soldiers. We showed real courage and performed our duty silently and well. When millions of people behave in this way, tremendous force is created.

4. Leader of the Moderates in the Congress and founder of the Servants of India Society.
5. Gokhale, during his visit to South Africa in October 1912, called Gandhi a man who was making heroes out of common clay.

All these pictures come to my mind as I sit here thinking that this is the first day of the academic session. I am reminded of my first day at Cambridge. Being a young man in a foreign country, I knew very few people there. Everything seemed strange. The world was quite different then from what we know of it now. Naturally, my thoughts turned to the various things that happened in those days, particularly because wardrums can be heard once again in the world. Once again it seems as if the earth is reverberating to the sound of marching armies and aeroplanes and bombers and it makes one wonder where the world is going. It is once again a testing time for the world. It is not certain whether anyone would be safe in the extraordinary age of the hydrogen bomb, the ballistic missile and the sputnik. Now the old theories of military science have become outdated and, though you may still learn something from them, the fact is that nobody knows what a war in the future will be like. Times have changed.

So, all kinds of strange pictures come to mind. I have no doubt about it that there is no country in the world which does not desire peace. Everyone desires peace. Who wants to court ruin? But somehow the world has been caught up in such a strange situation that it is being pushed by various forces in the opposite direction. Everyone in the world wants peace and yet the world is moving in the direction of war and destruction. It is a strange situation. How can I find an answer to this? We make efforts as much as possible to prevent the rest of the world from following the wrong path, and to combat the wrong kinds of pulls and pressures. If calamity descends upon us despite our efforts to check it, we will have to face it with courage and stout hearts and cool minds. We must at least try not to do something wrong out of fear or in a panic. This much self-control we should have.

I want to remind you that today, when you are assembled here especially at the commencement of a new session, you may possibly be witnessing the beginning of a new era, a terrible era, which will be a testing time for every nation and every individual in the world. The answer to this crucial era is not slogan-mongering or hunger strikes, for who is bothered even if the whole of India goes on a hunger strike when atom bombs are being hurled at one another? What sort of a dream world are we living in that we take out processions and go on hunger strikes on petty issues or even an important issue? This is a ruthless and difficult world where such tactics will not serve any purpose. The world that we are living in is taking a new turn and is becoming more and more cruel and terrible. If you wish to face this world, you must try to understand it and make yourselves strong and disciplined. A nation's strength lies in unity and discipline. If we possess that strength, we can face even atom bombs and hydrogen bombs without flinching and hold our heads high even in the midst



of ruin. A real defeat is not being hurt or killed but bowing one's head or kneeling during a crisis. That constitutes the real defeat of a nation.

So we have tried our best through our foreign policy to make the world steer clear of the dangers and move towards peace. We are aware of the fact that we are not a heavy-weight in the power structure of the world. And like other countries we too are in the habit of exaggerating what we have done. For instance, you have mentioned the *Panchsheel* and Jawaharlal in your welcome-address. Well, you have done it out of affection. But the fact is that we are not much of a heavy-weight in world politics because internally we are not strong. I am not talking of military strength though we do have some such strength. But what weaken us are our internal feuds, petty pursuits. To an extent we forged ahead politically and economically, we became strong and had an impact on world affairs. To the extent we embroiled ourselves in petty feuds as per our habit, we fell in the eyes of the world. But even so I feel that we are held in respect in the world. India's voice carries some weight and our opinions are listened to with respect not because of our military strength but because in the last 10, 12 years, since India became free, we have accomplished something in the country. We have faced tremendous difficulties without flinching or getting into a panic. We have tried to progress, and though we have occasionally stumbled and fallen, we have never given up courage even in the face of grave danger. In the last ten years, a new picture of India has emerged before the world. It is no doubt true that there has been a great impact on the world of the ideas of Mahatma Gandhi who was held in great respect. No matter how weak and helpless we may be, we have at least tried to follow the path shown by him.

The policy that we have evolved, rightly or wrongly, is a product of our own thinking and has not stemmed from fear or under pressure of any country. We have refrained from adopting the path followed even by the Great Powers of the world with whom we cannot compete in any way, if we felt that it was wrong. We have tried, quite successfully, to maintain friendly relations with every country. In the beginning, some countries used to get annoyed with us. But gradually they began to respect us because they felt that India honestly believed in the rightness of the path chosen by her and tried to follow it. But nobody knows how we will react if there is a grave crisis. I said that nobody knows but that is not strictly correct. From my experience of India and her people during the last 50 odd years and to the extent that I have come to know about the people of various provinces, I can say that though there are a number of weaknesses and faults in them, on the whole, their good qualities outweigh the bad ones. The more I have seen of them, the more I have learnt to love them, and it is my good fortune that they have given me their love in a great

measure. In fact, their love is so overwhelming that sometimes it makes me feel embarrassed. Therefore, I think—and I am saying this with a clear conscience—that no matter how great a test we have to go through, our people are not likely to fail in it. I think that in spite of their thousands of weaknesses and faults they will always come out with flying colours in any great test and not waver at all.

Now, it is not a question of showing valour in the battlefield. A different kind of courage is required to follow our chosen path with steady and unwavering steps, with no fanfare, to serve the country. The people of India are capable of showing courage and doing their work. Those who make a noise, even with good intentions, lose their fizz after a while and become lifeless.

So it is important to have trained people in the country. Besides the training for some particular profession, the other essential qualities required in them are the strength of character, courage, self-control, self-restraint, etc., as those who keep shouting all the time can never succeed. If you have self-restraint and self-control, and if your heart is full of enthusiasm and your mind is calm, you will be able to serve the nation well. However, you need training, specialised training. It is true that we have officers in the administrative services who do good work. But we need specialists in today's world—engineers, scientists, technologists, overseers, etc. They are held in great respect in the world. I do not say that administrators are not necessary. But the balance tilts towards technology and science and so we need trained people. Mere enthusiasm is not enough.

Well, I have been digressing from the main subject. I would like to say just one or two things more. I told you about the threat of war that the world faces. Just two days ago, we got the news in Delhi of fresh incidents in Iraq which are likely to have far-reaching consequences.<sup>6</sup> Nobody knows where they will end. I was in two minds about coming to Allahabad and going to Lucknow at such a time. Then I decided not to make any change in my programme though my inclination was to stay on in Delhi where reports were coming in all the time by telephones and telegrams. I shall go back to Delhi if it becomes essential. I have spent two days here. But now it has become difficult to stay on like this. I was to go to Lucknow for one and a half days. But I will not be able to do so now. I shall go back to Delhi tomorrow morning. I am sorry about this as I wanted to go to Lucknow. But I feel that I have stayed too long in Allahabad and should now do my duty. I will have to consult my colleagues and important decisions may have to be taken. So I should be there.

6. For situation in Iraq, see *post*, pp. 461-511.



How are we concerned with what is happening in Iraq or Lebanon?<sup>7</sup> In a sense, we are not directly concerned and so we cannot interfere in their internal affairs. But we are concerned in yet another way because the situation is such that it can easily set the world on fire. So naturally we are interested. What has happened in Iraq and Lebanon, whether it is good or bad, is a different matter. Civil wars and internal feuds between different groups in any country are extremely harmful. But what bothers me is that if foreign powers jump into the fray the entire situation will change. There will be the danger of an escalation of the war and nobody knows where it will stop. So at a time like this when there are grave dangers and risks in the world, it is not proper for me to express any opinion without proper thought. The only thing that I am prepared to say at the moment—and this has nothing to do with these events but is more of a principle—is that if other countries try to interfere in the internal affairs of Lebanon and Iraq there will be grave danger of escalation of war because if one country interferes, another country can also do so to counter it. Then it will no longer remain an internal matter but turn into a war between the Big Powers. If foreign troops are brought in, they will be ranged against one section of the people or the other of those countries. I hope this will not happen. But danger is that it may happen, and if it happens, once again the old pattern of presence of foreign powers on Asian soil will begin to emerge. Even if those powers go there with good intentions, wrong kinds of tendencies will develop. So I am greatly worried about the possibility of interference by the Big Powers because its consequences will be very bad.

I have taken up a great deal of your time in talking about all these matters. But problems are knocking at our doors now. What line should we take in such circumstances? It is obvious that we should act intelligently in order to achieve what we want. Decisions have to be taken soon. There is very little time for consultations. But behind all this, the main things are the strength and character of a nation, its ability to work and speak with one voice. So, if the various groups in India push and pull in different directions and make a noise, what will

7. Early in July 1958, the tension underlying the relations between the Maronite Christian and Muslim communities of Lebanon had threatened to erupt in a civil war. As the situation worsened, Camille Chamoun, the pro-west Christian President of Lebanon, appealed for assistance to the United States and President Eisenhower sanctioned Operation Blue Bat on 15 July 1958. The operation, involving the large scale deployment of troops in Lebanon, was intended at pacifying internal disturbance and bolstering Chamoun's regime against threats from Syria and Egypt. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 630-633.

the rest of the world think about us? We will be written off as being of no use and will be considered prone to quarreling among ourselves. Therefore, it is necessary that we should maintain unity and exercise self-restraint, which really counts. A small, old car may make a great deal of noise but is not really powerful. A really powerful car hardly makes a noise. Similarly, a nation should also exercise self-restraint and not make much noise.

We must concentrate on making our country strong. What constitutes the real strength of a nation? The real strength of a nation is its economic strength. Politically, we have become strong. Now, all these five-year plans, etc., are meant to increase the economic strength of the country, and if we pay attention to them, we can certainly progress very fast. I agree that there are great problems before us. Perhaps you may not be able to realise fully how difficult they are. You may think that you can bring about socialism or improve the standard of living of the people by passing resolutions. But, just think for a moment. At present the per capita income in India is less than what it was in England before the Industrial Revolution or in the Soviet Union before the Russian Revolution. So you can imagine what a great distance we have yet to traverse with the burden of a growing population. It is a strange problem. How are we to cope with it? No matter how good our plans are, you can see that it will take a long time to progress.

Then there are some people who say that the Second Five Year Plan is too ambitious. What is so ambitious about it? If we work according to it, we will slowly move forward in ten years. I do not remember the exact figures. But if we do not try to attain that pace of development we will remain backward. There are some rich men in big cities. But that cannot be the yardstick to measure the well-being of the people. The real yardstick is the dismal picture which I see now wherever I go. I have been to Karchana,<sup>8</sup> the people there have been facing drought for three years running and the crops have failed. Meja<sup>9</sup> has not had a drop of rain in the last ten months and the poor people there have been ruined. I am so upset to see their condition. Such problems cannot be solved by taking out processions. If you say that the Government is to blame, I am prepared to accept it. But we cannot forget the poverty that afflicts this country. How are the people's sufferings to be alleviated? We cannot do it by merely giving them some goods. The people have to be buoyed up with a new spirit of hope and courage because ultimately they have to help themselves.

8. Nehru visited Karchana, a tehsil in Allahabad District of Uttar Pradesh on 15 July 1958.

9. Nehru visited Meja, another tehsil in Allahabad District, on the same day.



Please remember that the real wealth of a nation is its people, not goods or gold or silver or buildings or machines. It is the people who make all these things. If you are trained and have the capacity to work hard and know how to do your work efficiently you can create a new world in ten or twenty years' time. If you lack that training, you will remain backward and downtrodden forever. Shouting and sloganeering will take you nowhere.

In the last war, Germany and the Soviet Union were the worst hit. In Germany nine cities were razed to the ground<sup>10</sup> and many factories were bombed. People were rendered homeless. Similarly, a large area of the Soviet Union was devastated by the invading German troops and so many of its youths were killed. This happened about 12 or 13 years ago towards the end of the Second World War. Today, if you visit the Soviet Union or Germany or Japan—in Japan where two atom bombs were dropped—you will find that the cities that were destroyed have been rebuilt, industries are again flourishing and an enormous amount of wealth is being created. After all, this wealth is not the wealth accumulated in the past. All that wealth had been exhausted in the war. They have created new wealth by their hard work and training. Germany and the Soviet Union have trained personnel, scientists, technologists, engineers, etc. Moreover, they have the spirit to work together in cooperation with each other. The Germans especially are extremely hardworking. They worked for 18 hours a day and made the country stand on its feet once again in ten years' time. It is really amazing.

I have given you several examples. There is a world of difference between the ideologies and policies of Germany and those of the Soviet Union. Germany is a capitalist country whereas the Soviet Union is a communist country. But both have managed to solve their problems, not so much by capitalism or communism but by their character, hard work and training. These were the characteristics of both the countries. We may have long debates on policies, ideologies, etc. But ultimately it is the man who counts; his character, training and capacity to work.

People come to India from all over the world and the first thing that they get interested in is the five-year plans. The whole world is interested in them. A foreigner who toured India recently for some months wrote that he was greatly impressed by the speed with which work was progressing in India. In spite of all its shortcomings and faults, India was progressing. But the biggest occupation

10. As the strength of Germany ebbed and her forces suffered reverses in World War II, German cities such as Berlin, Cologne, Dusseldorf, Hamburg, Dresden, Bremen, came under heavy Allied bombing.

of Indians was to criticise, condemn and drag down each other. A great deal of energy was wasted in this. It seems that the people of Europe and the United States know about the work being done in India better than we ourselves know. That foreigner also wrote that there was no other country which had so many holidays in a year, religious holidays for Hindus, Muslims, Christians, Buddhists, Jains and others. On top of them there were national holidays and other special events which were celebrated. It was indeed strange.<sup>11</sup>

After all, nations flourish by hard work. You know that a job may require 100 or 1,000 man-hours to be done. But with so many holidays, we have very few man-hours, and, moreover, even the work that is put in is not concentrated hard work. All these things tend to make the nation a second-rate nation. Since the people of Germany and the Soviet Union are extremely hard-working, they were able to rehabilitate their countries very quickly which are now progressing rapidly in spite of the havoc wrought by the War.

So we should think about these matters seriously. We do not have to learn economics from Germany, the Soviet Union, England or the United States. We can learn a great deal from them, no doubt. But decisions have to be taken by us. What we must learn from them is their method of doing work, pursuing a goal with concentration and doing hard work. We must become as well-trained as the people in the West.

I hope professors of this university will forgive me for saying that we do not have to learn economics from the West. What I mean is that almost all the books on economics available in India today have been written in the West. They are of a very high standard, no doubt. But the problems they deal with are the problems of Europe—industrialised Europe and not of under-developed countries. Similarly, though we can no doubt learn a great deal from the works of Marx and from other Russian books, the problems they deal with and the solutions they offer do not relate to us. In my humble opinion the works of western economists as well as Marxist economists, though I have great respect for them, have become outdated and are no longer relevant to today's problems. Times have changed. How can we, in this age of atomic energy and sputniks, follow the path shown by them?

The problem is how a poor, underdeveloped country can progress fast. You will not find its answer to this in the history of the United States or England, because they made progress in an entirely different course in the last 100 or

11. The reference is to the American expert on public administration Paul H. Appleby and his second report on Indian administration. This part of the report was quoted by Nehru in his letter to Chief Ministers dated 20 September 1956. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 35, p. 586.



150 years. We do not have that much time and circumstances are also against us. Unlike us, they did not achieve political democracy before making economic progress. In England and the United States, economic progress preceded political democracy. In England, the Parliament was in the hands of a few privileged men. The problem in our country is just the opposite. Here the people have acquired political power and become aware of their rights. But there has been no economic progress. In all those Asian countries where political democracy has preceded economic progress, several problems have arisen, about which considerable thinking has been done during the last few years. As the European economists did not have to face these problems, their advice, is not relevant to India. They look at our problems from the viewpoint of the conditions prevailing in their countries. I am not criticising them. What I mean is that we must evolve our own economic system, keeping in view the problems in India, and not try to copy their system, whether it is the capitalist system or the communist system. Our entire background is different and the economic problems that we face are not the same as are faced by the people of Europe or the United States or the Soviet Union.

Take for instance, the Soviet Union. How can you compare India with them? Its population is half of our population, while in area it is six times larger than India, which means a tremendous difference between the two countries with regard to the ratio between the area and population. India's population is steadily increasing. What is to be done about it? Thus, the problems before us are entirely different from the problems before the Soviet Union. In the Soviet Union tractors are used because its manpower is limited and the cultivable land is vast in area. But the condition being just the opposite in India, we do not use tractors but plough the land using labour. So, our problems are of a different nature. People often demand, without taking these facts into consideration, that agriculture should be mechanised. I am in favour of using tractors. But as our problems are different, consequences of agricultural mechanisation will not be good for us.

In short, what I mean to say is that we should try to understand our problems and find out their solutions ourselves. We can certainly take advantage of the experience gained by the British, Americans, the Germans, the French, Russians and the Chinese. We have been sending deputations to China to observe what the people there are doing in the fields of agriculture and industry and in other fields. They have also sent deputations to India as they are interested to know what we are doing. It is good to learn from each other's experience because, barring the resources, we have a number of common problems. However, ultimately we will have to find our own path.

I have taken a great deal of your time in trying to put before you some of

my thoughts. I want you to think about all these matters because a time will soon come when you will have to shoulder great responsibilities in India and the world, and you will be able to do so only to the extent that you are in a position to do it. You will not reach that position by flattery. If you manage to reach a position for which you are not equipped, you will soon be exposed and the work that you are entrusted with will also suffer. What we need are real merit and ability. So I hope you will realise your responsibilities and prepare yourselves for the future.

I take leave of you now. You may remember that I stopped the girls from singing *Jana Gana Mana* and said that it should not be sung at the beginning of a meeting but at the end. This should be the practice because, firstly, it is not proper to do so and, secondly, if everybody in the audience stands up for singing the National Anthem at the beginning, the meeting might be disturbed. Therefore, it should be sung only at the end.

I want to say one thing more. I do not know how many of you know how to sing *Jana Gana Mana* properly. Everyone should know it well and at least on special occasions it should be sung in chorus as a national song is sung in other countries. Some people in India seem to take pride in being ignorant of it. It is not enough that only girls should sing it. Everyone must learn and sing it together. I would suggest that girls should first sing two lines and then everybody shall repeat them. Have you understood what I mean?

Another thing I want to say is that when the National Anthem is being sung, you must stand in a disciplined way even if you do not know how to sing it. Everybody should keep standing. *Jana Gana Mana* is a beautiful song written by the great poet, Tagore. But apart from that, our National Anthem is in a sense the voice of India which everyone must listen to with respect.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*



## 5. Perspectives before the Youth<sup>1</sup>

Mr President,<sup>2</sup> delegates to the World Assembly of Youth,<sup>3</sup> ladies and gentlemen,

I am here, since you have been good enough to invite me, to extend to all of you, who have come from abroad and to this session of the World Assembly of Youth, a cordial welcome on behalf of my Government and, if I may say so, our people in this country. Listening a little while ago to the roster of names of various countries all over the world was not only a lesson in geography but it brought to us the variety of the human race and the underlying unity, which has brought all of you from distant parts of the earth to meet here, confer together and discuss the problems that afflict humanity and perhaps more specially the younger generation. I feel always a certain difficulty and almost a certain embarrassment at addressing assemblies of youths because I am very conscious of the fact that a generation or two divides me from them. And yet I like going to such gatherings so that I might suffer an illusion of youth for a while. The difficulty is a real one because in a changing society each generation naturally thinks in a somewhat different way from the last generation and there is likely to be a tendency for the older generation to impose itself on the younger generation and for the younger generation to resent this imposition. This is constantly happening, I suppose, from generation to generation, more particularly during a period of fairly rapid social and other changes. Speaking for myself, during the course of my fairly lengthy life, I have seen rather big changes all over the world and in my own country. And even the pace of change has become swifter. And I suppose that those of you who are gathered here will see in the course of your lives very great changes, probably far greater than the people of my generation have seen, that is, if you survive and no great catastrophe overwhelms us all. Therefore, there is this difficulty that the people of each generation see this changing world pattern and yet rather think in terms of the pattern which fashioned them when they were children or young people and there is a hiatus, which is not easy to bridge, between the thinking of one generation and another.

1. Inaugural address to the third World Assembly of Youth, New Delhi, 3 August 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Also available in JN Supplementary Papers, NMML and printed in *Youth Congress*, 15 August 1958.
2. Antoine Lawrence, an African of French Guinea, was the fourth President of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY).
3. Delegates from 80 countries participated in the 10th anniversary celebrations which coincided with the third general assembly meeting of the World Assembly of Youth representing the youth organisations from all the continents of the world.

There is the other hiatus, of course, between the thinking of different countries, people of different countries. Some countries which have gone through the process of industrialisation are conditioned greatly by that process. Others, which in that respect are underdeveloped in their thinking, are fashioned by another social and economic set-up. Then there are countries which have to face different sets of problems. All of us, of course, have to face certain common problems which are common to the world. But apart from that, each country or set of countries faces its own different problems. There are those countries which you might say are highly industrialised and developed and who have, by and large, solved the problem of providing the primary necessities of life to everyone living in those countries. They have developed their resources and are still developing them fast, and so the problems that face them are obviously different from the problems of countries which are not so developed, which have not got those resources and which are struggling somehow to improve their lot. Obviously, the conditioning factors in these countries are different. Therefore, the thinking is different. In spite of many common features the thinking of the countries, which are struggling with their primary problems of food, clothing, housing, etc., is bound to be different from the thinking of countries which have abundance of these and can then afford to have all other matters. And on the political plane also there are other conditioning factors—countries which are independent, countries which are dependent and countries which are still under the domination of other countries, colonial or other. You know well that where there is such domination, there is inevitably a reaction to that, an opposition to it, and an attempt to get rid of it, with the result that most of the thinking of the people in those countries is concentrated on this: they consider the main task before them is liberating their country politically, and all other thinking is rather subordinated to this.

It becomes almost like, well, a concentrated passion which prevents the normal functioning of an individual, the normal thinking of an individual. Then, as you also know, there are still unfortunately racial problems in this world. Now, one can understand the effect of these racial problems. They are the inheritance of the past and understanding them, one can try to get rid of them, as I believe is being done in the greater part of the world, not everywhere. There are parts of the world where all the thinking and the policy that emerges from the thinking is based still on some form of racialism or racial superiority or racial inferiority.

So we see this tremendous variety, in this world, of problems. There are, of course, hundreds of thousands of problems, but what I was driving at was the conditioning factors in each country, how the problems, the conditions in that country condition the thinking of the people there. Naturally if you ask me



about problems in India, well, I would probably get engrossed in telling you about all manner of things about which you are not interested at all. Or, I might tell you, as I did on one occasion when I was asked "How many problems have you got in India", that there are 360 million problems. That is to say, each individual is a problem. It is not some kind of a theoretical proposition or of looking at some statistical figures of production and the rest of it or some vague idea of the masses, but rather a feeling that those are masses of human beings or individuals living their individual lives of joy and sorrow and all that and having to bring them up, that individual, in the mass. So, I would talk to you about India's problems and a part of what I say to you may interest you because it may well be common with some other countries situated like India, that is to say, countries which have in the recent past gained their political freedom and are struggling with major economic issues, major issues, for the development of their countries.

Many of you sitting here have to face similar problems though they may differ in detail here and there. But, nevertheless, all the problems of these countries, which are trying to develop on the economic plane, are completely different on the one side from those countries that are not free and on the other side from the countries that are economically well developed. There are entirely different conditions of life, different conditions of thinking. In countries like ours it is an overwhelming problem for all—for the old, for the young, for the youth—that is to say of finding proper, suitable employment, which is essential naturally, and which is that a society should be so organised that every person finds suitable work for himself or herself. It is all very well to say that we cannot do it immediately.

In other countries new problems are arising, of leisure. Some people say in ten years' time in the United States of America three days' or four days' work might be enough for everybody. And one does not know what to do with one's leisure. A completely different type of thinking and a different problem come up because of these varying stages of industrial, economic and other developments. And yet, with all these enormous differences, the major fact of the modern world is that we are thrown almost into each other's laps. Communication has grown so rapidly that we cannot escape each other. We are all neighbours. There is no country which may be called a far-away country. And because we come into contact with each other so much, the consequence is either some kind of friendly cooperation or conflict. Previously, when we lived apart, or more or less apart in our distant countries, well, we could be rather indifferent to each other, either indifferent in a friendly or a non-friendly way, it did not make much difference. We did not cross each other's paths; to some extent we did, but not much. Now, we are constantly up against each

other. The choice is not of indifference because nobody can be indifferent but, as I said, of friendly cooperation or enmity leading to conflict, not necessarily conflict in the sense of physical warfare but a psychological, a mental, conflict, which leads to other conflicts. In every sphere of thinking now we come against such extremes.

There is the atomic energy which we are told can change the whole future of humanity if it is used for good purposes. It has tremendous energy which can be used for the amelioration of the human race. There is that same atomic energy which may put an end to the human race and the choice is yours and, on the whole, middle courses gradually disappear. You have to be here or there. Of course that does not mean that you have either to be constantly hurling bombs at each other or constantly embracing each other. There are middle courses, but the thinking is, as I said, to incline towards this or that side, and the major energy of humanity or of the individual has to be on this side. Thus, middle course gradually vanishes. It may take time to do so.

So, you live, we live, in this world today, where there is not only this very great difference in the conditioning features of various countries, whether it is political, economic or social. But we have to live together, very closely together and, therefore, the contrast becomes more and more marked because you see them close together. If you are quite apart, the contrast would not be so obvious and when the contrast becomes so marked by living together, you either try to remove those contrasts—it may take time to do that if you try to do that—or again it brings conflict, frustration, on the one side.

Now, people of my generation, who have seen many changes, who have seen two World Wars, their enormous destruction, who have also seen the remarkable capacity of the human race to recover from destruction, an amazing recovery, how it recovered, how it built itself up again, and who have, thus, had this experience of great disaster and also of great revival, resurrection, may have reacted, I do not know, in various ways. Everybody does not react in the same way. But it is obvious that those who are young today are going to face all the problems that we faced in our time, but perhaps in a more acute degree because, as I said, there is greater polarity and the pace of change is greater and the choice is given to us by wise men, the scientists and others, of either to go towards a certain fullness of life for everybody in the world or, by our folly, to go towards disaster for the human race. That, again, presumably will have to be solved by you and your generation. It may be that some of us survive before the choice is made this way or that way. That is a tremendous problem.

Well, if all of us were thinking of this tremendous problem we would probably get rather depressed and forget the problems which face us. Few of



us, of course, can affect human destiny in a big way. All of us sitting here may be utterly and absolutely convinced that a certain step should be taken to avoid war. But in spite of that war may come. We cannot control these big events. I am not quite sure that anybody can control them. I am beginning to doubt it. Sometimes, it almost appears to me that the people who apparently control them only appear to do so and that they are pushed about by forces greater than they themselves can control or perhaps greater than they themselves realise. But that apart, it is obvious that most of us cannot do so and, therefore, it may be that a sense of frustration comes on sometimes that how helpless we are in the face of these forces which cannot be controlled. That is not a good feeling. Anyhow, there is this sense of frustration or helplessness.

It is obviously desirable and necessary that we should attune ourselves to things that are happening in the world, try to understand them, try to throw our thinking or even the smallest action that we may indulge in on the right side, on the right scale of the balance. Nevertheless, we have to concentrate on activity in a smaller sphere, activity in which the results may be limited but are visible. That is to say, we must have a sense of function in something that seems important to us. The limits of that function may be big or small. Unless we have that sense of function, our work may be good, relatively good, efficient, but somehow we shall miss, I think, something that is rather important in life, if we do not have that sense of function—that passion which throws a person into causes with a crusading spirit. If any of you have that, it is a very worthwhile thing, because it takes you out of yourself and makes you a bit important, something much bigger. The biggest thing, of course, for all of you or anybody is to attune yourself to the world and world progress.

But it is a very frightfully difficult thing for us to do that, even for the biggest of us. But, at any rate, if we can attune ourselves with some causes which have this wide significance, we grow with it individually. It is good for us. We come out of our narrow complaining selves, being frustrated of this thing or that thing. But actually we can work really in a more limited way. Even there we can come out of ourselves to some extent, out of our narrow selves and that, I think, is easier for the youth to do than for the people of more advanced years who get into certain grooves of thinking and living and cannot easily come out of them. After all, a young person has a sense of almost immortality and he does not work for a term of years. He takes up a big cause. He does not think that he is going to die and that gives certain permanence to his outlook and work, while older people work for, or think rather of the number of years that may still remain to them. That, of course, is the great advantage of youth, and that is why there is a certain pride in youth. It is a good thing. It is the strength of youth, the pride of youth, and the pride of the strength that

one possesses in youth and how one hopes to do mighty things and lift up mountains and all that, and in the world today there are mighty things to be done, not by an individual himself, but, nevertheless, every crowd, every group, consists of individuals and is moved ultimately by individuals.

You, Mr President, referred to my country, India, and after referring to the past, you said that it was—I think your words were—living in the serene present or being serene in the present.<sup>4</sup> Well, I should not myself have referred to India at present as a serene country and I am not quite sure that I like it to be serene. I would like it, of course, to have the essence of serenity in its mind. That is true. But at the same time serenity in action may well lead to inaction, to an acceptance of wrong things, an acceptance even of evil. I would not like that type of serenity. Certainly I would like a certain philosophic detachment, if you like, and yet a very close attachment to the causes we work for. It is very difficult to distinguish perhaps between the two but the fact of the matter is that I do not think, objectively speaking, that India is serene. India is not serene today, India is both full of hope and passion to achieve certain things. India is full also of frustrations for not having achieved this or that. It is all a mixture. It is bound to come not to India only, but to every country that you may represent, every live country—this mixture of hopes and passions, frustrations, which is the common run of life for the individual or for the nation today. And if that was not there, it will probably mean a decadent society, going rather backwards or getting too blasé and bored which again is a sign of future decadence if not decadence today. So I do not mind this but the fact is that the world today tends to be on the one side rather turbulent and rather excited about doing something, achieving something, or on the other side, rather blasé, taking things for granted and not perhaps too much excited about the future. It is a bad thing for people who are young to be or even pretend to be blasé and bored, to be cynical, and rather to lose that deep faith in life which should move the young who are supposed to be full of life.

Well, I have expressed to you some thoughts that came to me. There is one matter which has always seemed to me, now more than ever, important. You will find your ways to do things, how to solve your problems, how to avoid conflicts, how sometimes to indulge in conflicts. But it is an important matter, the manner you do things, the method of doing them, apart from what

4. The Assembly President Antoine Lawrence stated that they were fortunate in starting their work “in this great country with its fabulous past and serene and wise present.” He also said that the organisation’s specific objectives were the training of responsible leaders who would base their actions on the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.



you do. And that is where I think what our great teacher and leader Mahatma Gandhi comes into the picture, not only for India, but, if I may venture to say so, for other countries also. Gandhiji addressed himself to India's problems and it may be that many things he said for India are not applicable to other countries. Naturally. But I do believe that there is one thing or one approach which is not only applicable to other countries but is always applicable, and is indeed the civilised approach, that is to say, the means we adopt, the methods we adopt to do something, to achieve something, should be good, should not be evil. I am not for the moment using the words 'violent' or 'non-violent' because they begin to have a rather special connotation. I would say that it is of the utmost importance that we realise that if we adopt essentially evil methods, the consequences of that must necessarily be evil. I believe that is a scientific fact. Maybe the consequences may not come immediately, may take a little time. What exactly is evil and what is good? Again opinions may differ, naturally. It is not very easy for anyone to be positive sometimes. Nevertheless, if something is recognised to be an evil way of doing it, one should not do it even though one may think it will bring good results. It is not the objective you aim at. This is not enough, that is not the way to do it. Therefore, there is the importance of, as I said, the good approach in the sense of avoiding something that is essentially evil. That is one thing.

Secondly, you will forgive me for saying what might appear rather juvenile because young people, whatever else, may be not juvenile. It is the old who tend to become that. But it is a very simple fact that you get from a person what you give to him. You receive from him what you give him. A nation gets what it gives. If it gives good, it will get good in return. If it gives hatred, it will get hatred in return, perhaps with compound interest. It is an obvious thing when you deal with individuals that if you want to win over a person, you have to be friendly to him, to give some affection to him that is bound to create an impression on the other party. That applies to nations, to communities, to groups also. If that is so, the essence of the way to solve a problem, a national problem, is not to approach it in a spirit of hatred and anger and with some kind of thought to, shall I say, compel, coerce the other party into submission because that approach can only lead to the same type of reaction on the other side. There can be no doubt about it. It may be that if you are very strong and the other side very weak you may, but even so that will sow seeds of discord and hatred which will sprout out some time or the other.

If that is so, as I believe it is, then why is it that there is such a tremendous deal of hatred and this approach of violence and fear today in the world? Problems are big enough and great enough in the world, difficult to solve, but they are made infinitely more difficult by this particular approach of fear, as I said. I do

believe that of all the evil things that afflict humanity or the individual, fear is the most important evil because the other things, hatred and everything, are the progeny of fear because you only hit people who you are afraid of. There may be other reasons too perhaps, but whether it is the individual or the nation, fear brings all kinds of reactions in you—hatred, envy, all kinds of things. And here we are in the world today observed by this hatred and fear and the approach becomes more and more violent—violence, if not of armed force, violence of words, of thinking. It is quite extraordinary how such a policy is deliberately followed. We are all weak human beings, liable to passions, liable to hatred, liable to violence. That is a different thing. But the normal human being in his own individual life tries to curb his violence. He does not go out and hit his neighbour or others in the street. That is considered civilised behaviour for the individual. But, apparently, that is not yet considered civilised behaviour among nations with the result that, apart from the morality of it, the practical consequence of it is obviously not helpful, because it leads to more and more evil which you are trying to combat and put down. These, I think, and the two things I have mentioned to you are really one and the same in essence.

I do believe that this was the burden of Mr Gandhi's approach. All else really flow from it or are interpretations of it or were meant for the time or not meant for other times or may apply to some country and may not apply to some other country, and all that. It is unfortunate, as it often happens, that a great man says something which is taken literally by many people. They forget the spirit of it and follow the letter of it, and it becomes a lifeless thing. That is happening in India today. I have, therefore, not mentioned many other things, but only what I consider is the basic essence of what our great leader put forward to our people. How far we absorbed this is a different matter. Not much, I suppose. But to some extent we did it. It did strengthen us. It raised us and it did us a lot of good. And, I believe, in the measure we can do it in future, it will strengthen and better us. So I venture, in all humility, to put before you this, because I believe that in a conference like this, a session of young people coming from distant parts of the world meeting together, it is particularly applicable what I have said, because the very fact of your coming together and meeting here and your objects signify the approach of a peaceful living together or trying to understand each other, even though you may differ, of essentially of tolerance. Therefore, I venture to put this before you that please be under no illusion that I think that we in India are living up to it. I do not wish to make any such claim that we are more tolerant than any other country even though we may give expression to very high and noble sentiments, which we often do. That does not mean that we follow those sentiments. We are weak mortals, making mistakes and all that, and even though our past is a long past, and



I suppose that during those thousands of years we gathered a great deal of experience and even wisdom, it does not necessarily follow that we are always wise in the present. We are sometimes very foolish and make any number of mistakes. But, at any rate, we are trying to grapple with these problems, whether they are national problems, political, economic or social, or whether they are international—though we do not wish to interfere in international problems, having much to do in this country and being always a little afraid of interfering in other people's lives in other countries. Where we can help, well and good, but it is against that background of thinking, of not interfering, of allowing people to live their own lives.

Our own country, being a pretty big country, has a great variety in spite of its unity, of climate, of living conditions and so many other types. But in this country the only possible way for us to live together is to be tolerant to each other, to respect each other's way of living and thinking and not to interfere, and at the same time have a basic unity. And from old times, therefore, all the great men who have lived in India have taught us this lesson of toleration. There is no other way. The other way is one of trying to suppress the other and conflict.

If some of you wander about India, you may well come across huge stone pillars in some places which were put up 2,300 years ago by an old Emperor of India, Asoka, and it is interesting to read the inscriptions on them there. There is no doubt that they are his inscriptions and he put them up and they persist today on that stone and on that stone the major lesson he teaches is the lesson of tolerance, toleration. He says quite explicitly that you must, if you wish to respect your own opinion, respect other people's opinions also. Only then will you get respect for your own opinion. If you honour, as you should, your own religion, respect the religions of others.

Now, you see this business of live and let live, not live and let live merely but respecting others' thinking, respecting others' actions, respecting others' views, is the essence of toleration. It is not toleration to respect somebody who thinks like you but to respect the person who differs from you obviously. The difference may be so great that it may bring conflict, that is a different matter. You cannot respect something which you consider thoroughly evil but, nevertheless, the basic lesson of the growth of civilisation in the world is—you tolerate. That is the lesson of democracy.

What is democracy? Toleration to each other and giving each other a large measure of freedom of opinion, within certain limits of course. While this appears to be obvious, yet one sees in the world today something very different, a lack of toleration; in fact, the very reverse of it, intolerance in an extreme degree.

Now, I fear that people of my generation are a little beyond redemption in this respect. We are too confirmed in our ways of thinking and action. Individuals may not be so, and all we can do perhaps is to avoid some disaster. But you, who represent another, a younger and fresher generation, have your lives in front of you and it is right that you build up your activities and your thinking on sound foundations which bring people together and not separate them. Do not put up a new barrier. There are enough barriers of course in this world, barriers of all kinds, which separate people. But let there not be this barrier of hatred, distrust, intolerance and fear. If you do that, then whatever else you may do, even though you may make mistakes, as you are bound to make, it will not matter much. But if that foundation is not there, then whatever you may build may be washed away, destroyed. Anyhow, you live and you will live further in a tremendously exciting period of human existence and I rather envy you that.

## 6. Call to Consolidate Freedom<sup>1</sup>

Sisters, brothers, children and fellow countrymen,

Today is the eleventh anniversary of our Independence and we are assembled here to celebrate it. Greetings to all of you on this auspicious occasion. But are we assembled here merely as a matter of routine or to witness a spectacle or with some other motive? Eleven years ago, when our National Flag was unfurled for the first time from the ramparts of the Red Fort, it was a red-letter day in the history of India and the world. It was a special day not only because India became free on that day but because the manner in which she won that freedom, with honour and peace, was unique, it set an example for the world. We held our heads high once more and respect for us grew in the world.

Eleven years have passed since then and this period has been full of tension and problems for us. Our hearts were full of joy on the day we unfurled the flag of freedom eleven years ago, joy at the thought of having reached our goal. But even before the first flush of joy had subsided, another kind of news began to reach us. We were full of pride that we had won freedom honourably, peacefully and non-violently, but then reports reached us of the terrible carnage that presented a completely different picture before us. The communal riots

1. Speech on Independence Day from the Red Fort, New Delhi, 15 August 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.



spread to Delhi and elsewhere and we saw how close we were to defeat at the very moment of victory. At daybreak we were celebrating our victory and by sunset we had a glimpse of defeat too. We had not lost the battle to an enemy; we had won it. The defeat lay in our weakness and folly, which are most dangerous. We faced the enemy boldly, tigerlike but a poisonous snake came from behind and bit us. Therefore, I would like to warn you that once again such poisonous snakes are rearing their heads and they can bite us, weaken us, lead to our downfall and destroy everything that we have built up patiently over the years.

We are assembled here today to celebrate this day and also to look back a little on the past. There is pressure of the present-day problems and also a glimpse of the future. We have embarked on a great journey. The journey towards freedom was over after a long and arduous march and now an even more difficult journey lies ahead in which 36, 37 crores of Indians must march together. We are marching holding each others' hands toward prosperity and trying to alleviate the sufferings of the people and to ensure that the primary necessities of life are available to them. We are toiling so that the shadow of bondage may never fall on our pretty little children. They were born in free India and they must always remain free with heads held high and live in prosperity and always advance towards a better future.

We envisaged such a future and are marching towards it but there are a thousand pitfalls and difficulties in the way. Sometimes, there are floods or droughts or too much rain and yet the condition is much worse when there are no rains. You know the tremendous difficulties we have had to face in this country during the last few years. But we faced them with courage and in spite of difficulties and problems. India has always held her head high and never bowed down to adversity. This is a testing time for us, and a far more difficult challenge than the freedom struggle. It is a testing time for our ability to be united in adversity, our spirit of cooperation and the determination to cross hurdles and reach the goals that we have set before us. So, at a time like this, if there is disunity among us and people squabble with each other and become violent, what does it mean? Does it mean that we have forgotten the lessons taught by Mahatma Gandhi? Have we forgotten thousands of years of India's history? Are we not ignoring the entire future of the younger generation for whom we are toiling today? What do we think when we indulge in petty squabbles and raise our hands in hatred against our fellow men merely to gain some political ends? I do not know why we behave like this.

I stand before you as you are gathered here to celebrate this day. There is joy in my heart but there is also grief that even 11 years after Independence incidents of rioting and violence are taking place in some parts of the country

and that too on this day.<sup>2</sup> We must remain vigilant and see that people are not misled. I am standing here not to criticise anyone. It is not my job. Nor am I standing here as a representative of any group or any party. I am standing here as a traveller, a fellow traveller travelling with millions of people living in this country. I appeal to you to peep into your hearts, your real feelings and think about what is your duty at the moment and also tell others what is expected of them. It is obvious that, whatever be our policy, we can succeed only if we work peacefully and without any disturbance. This is a well-known fact. Otherwise our energy will be frittered away in useless wrangling with each other. We must talk to one another if there is a difference of opinion. There is no other alternative in this country.

We loudly advise the world and talk self-righteously. We have raised aloft the banner of *Panchsheel* and people's attention has been drawn to it. It has had an impact on other countries. But when our behaviour within the country is contrary to what we preach and is exposed to the whole world to see, we cannot but bow our heads in shame. How can we presume to give advice to others when we cannot control ourselves? Therefore, my appeal to you and everyone in the country is that, while we should certainly think of other problems and no matter what policy we follow, we must not forget that it is of fundamental importance to maintain equanimity and eschew violence and realise that if we continue to indulge in internal squabbles and petty feuds, there can be neither freedom nor socialism nor democracy. No matter what your views are, if you try to settle your differences by threats of violence, you will achieve nothing. This is the situation also in the world today when the Great Powers are sitting on big arsenals and hold atom bombs. Each one of these powers has the strength

2. The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad had installed a 'martyrs' memorial' in a traffic circle outside the Congress House in Ahmedabad. This memorial was removed by the administration on 8 August on the ground that it was obstructing traffic. Demonstrations held against this action on 12 August turned violent and the police had to open fire on the unruly mobs which indulged in vandalising public property, destroying municipal buses and attacking police stations and post offices. In the end, the administration had to impose Section 144 CrPC prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons in an area of about one mile radius from the Congress House. Indulal Jainik, President of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad, responded by declaring a week-long fast to protest against the police action. On 14 August, there was more violence and once again the police fired upon demonstrators. On 17 August, a 24-hour curfew was clamped in Ahmedabad. This was in response to the threat by Indulal Jainik that he would sit on satyagraha outside the Congress House with seven of his supporters. When Jainik tried to carry out the threat, he and his companions were arrested. On 20 August, they were sentenced to a month's simple imprisonment.



to destroy the world but no power has the means of stabilising the situation through war. The only hope for the world lies in maintaining peace.

Gradually, it is beginning to dawn upon the world that war spells ruin, and yet preparations for war are going on all the time and everyone lives in fear. As you know, recently a dangerous situation arose in the countries of West Asia. Even now military forces are arrayed in that region, in constant readiness to fight. It is hoped that there will be no war and the mutual fear and tension will subside and that the problem will be solved soon and our friends will be able to live in complete peace.<sup>3</sup> The Arab countries have fought for several years for freedom and are succeeding slowly. We hope that there will be no threat to their liberty and that they will be able to enjoy the right of self-determination and will live in friendship and amity with one another.

This is the situation in the world today. Please remember that India is held in great respect in the world and its opinion carries weight. It is regarded as a sensible nation which does not get carried away easily or lift a hand in anger against anyone. This is how the world sees us. How far this is right or wrong is left to you to decide, for it is both right and wrong to some extent. It is right in so far as it was proved by our non-violence and self-restraint during the lifetime of Mahatma Gandhi. But now our own actions prove it wrong. So I appeal to you to think about these matters.

Look at what is happening in the cities of Gujarat, which is the State of Gandhiji's birth and where he taught his lessons assiduously to the hard-working people who have made tremendous sacrifices and are counted among the most enlightened people in India. In Gujarat today there is a strange atmosphere of madness. People are defaming themselves and the country. Gujarat is a good State. We must remain vigilant and think where such madness will lead us. It has no connection with any policy or decision. In an independent country everyone has the right to have his own views and express them before others. But nobody has the right to coerce anyone at the point of a gun or a lathi to

3. The reference is to the presence of American troops in Lebanon and British troops in Jordan. In Lebanon, General Fouad Chehab was elected President on 31 July 1958 to succeed Chamoun but he assumed office only on 23 September 1958. Rebel leader Rashid Karami became Premier in a Cabinet of four Christians, three Muslims and one Druze. The United States announced its support to the new government and withdrew its troops from Lebanon on 25 October 1958. Iraq witnessed a coup on 14 July in which King Faisal II and Prime Minister Nuri el-Said were killed. Arab Federation of Iraq and Jordan, formed on 14 February 1958, was officially dissolved on 2 August 1958. On the request of King Hussein, the British troops landed in Jordan on 17 July 1958.

change his view. Such behaviour will only spell ruin and lead to unnecessary conflicts. Have we toiled for so long for India's freedom only to fall into this abysmal pit of internal weakness? You should think about this.

The youth in India have a bright future before them. It is in their hands that the future responsibility of India lies and so they must prepare themselves for it wherever they may be, in schools or colleges or elsewhere. But many of them get carried away and forget the main issues due to their petty preoccupations and wranglings. They make themselves useless in the process and do not serve the country in any way. So we must think seriously about where we are heading. It is obvious that after having reached where we are today, after facing thousands of difficulties and problems, we are not going to yield before any threat or give up because of any weakness. Our work will go on and we must move forward with courage, no matter what obstacles come in our way. We must overcome our weaknesses and keep moving with our heads held high.

Eleven years have passed since Independence. It is a long time, though not perhaps in the life of a nation. You know what was India's condition was 11 years ago or even earlier and compare it with India's position in the world today or even at home. All of us have thousands of grievances, many of which are genuine and some are not genuine. However, we have had to face several disasters, like floods, drought and crop failures<sup>4</sup> and as a consequence, rise in prices. People are facing great difficulties and their complaints are justified. I do not deny this. Traders and businessmen, instead of helping the nation in the time of crisis, are resorting to black marketeering and other wrong activities. Your complaints are fully justified because such activities are harmful to the nation, are unpatriotic. People who indulge in unlawful activities should realise the consequences of their actions.

Well, we are facing problems of great magnitude in India and the world. We are part of the world and so we have to participate in its affairs. But our real problems are within the country. Whether we live in Kanyakumari or Rameshwaram in the South or in Kashmir in the North or in the East or in the

4. There had been crop failures in parts of UP and Bihar due to drought and floods. The hardships of the cultivators were compounded by the fact that at 4.14 and 4.83 acres respectively the average size of operational holdings was among the lowest in the country in the two states. However, Indian agriculture improved its overall performance in the Second Five-Year Plan period. With 1949-50 as the base year (standing for a hypothetical hundred), index of overall agricultural production rose by 22.9 points. Most of it was due to a rise in yield which rose by 16.3 points as the increase in the area under cultivation was only marginal at 3.5 points.



West, we are one nation and we will not allow anyone to break it up. You and I and all of us are citizens of India and not merely residents of our own narrow streets or cities or States, and do not belong only to the North, South, East or West. This must be understood quite clearly because those who are against this and weaken India's unity will have to contend with us. We must fight against these tendencies whether they arise in the country or outside. India's unity and freedom are most important without which there can be no firm basis for India's prosperity. I agree that we have made mistakes and slipped up many times, as nobody is infallible. But what we need is to keep the fire of determination and zeal burning in our hearts and minds, which will lead us towards our goal. If we stumble and fall, we must have the strength and ability to stand up immediately and march on.

Some people seem to think that the days are gone when it was necessary to show bravery and courage as we did when we were fighting against the might of imperialism. Let no one be under any illusion about this. India has tremendous life in her, more than earlier though sometimes we commit mistakes and lose sight of larger issues in the heat of the moment. Perhaps occasional jolts and shocks are good as they remind us about what we are and where our duty lies and keep us on the right path.

So, we are once again assembled at this historic Red Fort, which had been a symbol of bondage for centuries and now is a symbol of our freedom. We assemble here not merely as a matter of duty, but to remind ourselves about the pledges and promises that we have made, and about the path that we must follow to fulfil those pledges and promises. We assemble here to remember our great leaders, especially Mahatma Gandhi, who brought us here. Many of you who are young may not have seen him and to you he is only a legend. In fact, the entire history of our freedom struggle has become a legend and it will always be an unforgettable legend. It is not a story but a lesson which we shall always remember. We must remember that lesson today when we are deviating from the right path. Let us pay homage to the memory of Mahatma Gandhi who enabled this country to rise and attain freedom and who ultimately laid down his life for the sake of the nation.

*Jai Hind!* Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice.

*Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

## 7. India's Economic and Foreign Policies<sup>1</sup>

The questions that have been put to me explore a wide field and can only be dealt with satisfactorily at some length, especially the first question. I am afraid I cannot write at length, and so I am giving relatively brief answers.

Since our Independence 11 years ago, India has concentrated on economic advance, that is, greater production and equitable distribution. Broadly speaking, we aim at a socialist pattern of society where ultimately everyone has an equal opportunity.<sup>2</sup> In such a pattern, the principal means of production will belong to the state, though there will be room also for private enterprise. But all the strategic points in our economy will be controlled by the state, and private monopolies will not be allowed to grow up. We hope ultimately to establish a classless society. Our methods in this matter as in others are to be peaceful.

We recognise that there are class conflicts, and there are great differences between the few rich and the many poor. We want progressively to lessen these differences. Our taxation on the rich is probably one of the heaviest in the world.<sup>3</sup>

While we recognise class conflict, we do not accentuate it. We try to deal with it peacefully and in a democratic way. In this way, we put an end to the power and authority of the princely order in India. In this way also, we have gone a long way in solving our land problem and have abolished the big landed estates.<sup>4</sup>

1. Answers to questions sent by Mahmoud Memouri through Mukul Mukherji of the AICC, New Delhi, 16 August 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS.
2. Indian National Congress passed a resolution on socialistic pattern of society at its 60th session at Avadi near Madras in January 1955. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 27, pp. 255 and 283.
3. To mobilise resources for the Second Plan, T.T. Krishnamachari, the then Finance Minister, introduced Wealth Tax and Expenditure Tax in the 1957-58 budget. Customs and Excise duties on certain luxury articles were also raised. Nehru, while presenting the 1958-59 budget, broadly continued with the prevailing tax structure. A gift tax was imposed and the exemption limit for Excise duty was reduced from Rs 100,000 to Rs 50,000.
4. The First Five Year Plan recommended that there should be an absolute limit to the area of land that an individual might hold. The imposition of ceiling on land holdings took two forms—a ceiling on future acquisition and a ceiling on existing holdings. The limits varied from state to state. Efforts were still on during the Second Plan to fix a ceiling on existing agricultural holdings. During the First and Second Plan periods, tenants-in-chief holding land directly from intermediaries were brought into a direct relationship with the State. Efforts were made to remove the multiplicity of land tenures prevalent across the country and turn part-tenants holding land under intermediaries into owners of land.



We feel that large-scale industrialisation is essential for us to increase our production and our employment opportunities and thus fight poverty. It is equally and, perhaps, even more necessary for us to increase our yield from agriculture. Ultimately, it is on the surplus from agriculture that we can build our industry. In effect, therefore, we have to attack all along the line, that is, in agriculture and industry, and in the social services which must accompany them.

All this requires careful planning to husband our resources and apply them to the best advantage. Therefore, we have got a Planning Commission. We are now in the middle of our Second Five Year Plan. Because we are setting up a large number of major plants, such as four steel plants, machine-making plants, machine tools plants, a big chemical industry, river valley schemes for irrigation and hydro-electric power, fertilisers, etc., the strain on our economy has been great. Today, I would say, the most important problem for us is to increase our agricultural production considerably. At the same time, of course, construction of the big industrial plants is also going on.

It is difficult for me to distinguish between our idea of non-alignment and the positive neutrality of Yugoslavia and the United Arab Republic. Perhaps, there is not much difference. We prefer the word non-alignment to neutrality. That is, we lay stress on our not tying ourselves up with any military alignment, and we retain our complete freedom of action in regard to foreign policy, judging each question independently.

Naturally, our foreign policy, as the foreign policy of every country, is considered from the point of view of our national good. But we are convinced that our national good and progress depend upon world peace and the ending of cold war.

Further, we are, because of our past history and our firm convictions, opposed to colonialism or the domination of one country over another. We think this is also a cause of international conflict.

Our idea of peace is not merely an absence of war, but of peaceful and cooperative approach to other nations and avoidance, in so far as is possible, of condemning or decrying other countries even though we may disagree with them. We try to express our disagreement in moderate and restrained language, because we feel that strong language increases bitterness and conflict, and does not convince the opponent. We are opposed to the cold war approach because this is the very opposite of what we think is the right type of relationship between nations. Cold war can only be justified as a prelude to a shooting war. If shooting war is to be avoided, then cold war has no meaning and, in fact, is exceedingly harmful. Our broad approach to international relations is given in the Five Principles or *Panchsheel* as we call them.

We are convinced that Algeria should be free and independent. I cannot

say, however, how this aim is to be achieved.<sup>5</sup> I would earnestly hope that it should be achieved peacefully. In the United Nations and elsewhere, Asian and African nations as well as others should cooperate in this task.

It is very difficult for me to say what the role of the youth should be. Obviously, a country that is underdeveloped will have to work very hard for its development. It will require unity and singleness of purpose and trained personnel. Mere enthusiasm is not enough. Young men and women must realise the great task that they have to face and train themselves for it.

5. On 1 June 1958, Charles de Gaulle assumed office as the last Prime Minister of the Fourth Republic of France. He made a trip to Algeria on 4 June and promised economic, social and political reforms to improve the lot of the population. Upon his return de Gaulle appointed a committee to draft a Constitution for the Fifth Republic and to reframe the French-Algerian relationship. It was envisaged that under the new arrangement Algeria would be associated with, but not be an integral part of, France. The referendum on the new Constitution took place in September, the same year. Despite intimidation by the Algerian guerilla force, Front de Liberation National (FLN), 80 per cent of the Muslim voters in Algeria turned up to vote. Of these 96 per cent approved the new Constitution. Soon after the mandate, de Gaulle conceded the possibility of self-determination for Algeria.



## 8. Work Hard and Resolve Differences Peacefully<sup>1</sup>

Sisters and brothers,

Those who can hear my voice, please raise your hands.

I have come to Aurangabad many times before this. I came here for the first time many years ago. The last time I came here was a year and a half ago in connection with the elections. I always like the idea of coming here, as it is a beautiful place, and, as you know, the famous Ellora and Ajanta caves<sup>2</sup> are nearby, so one gets an opportunity of seeing them also. This is a historic place, with thousands of years of history behind it. Whenever I come here I get a glimpse of a part of ancient India as also a bit of its future.

As you know, I have come here in connection with the Marathwada University which has been established today.<sup>3</sup> It is an auspicious work and I hope it will lead to great progress in the Marathwada region and in the city of Aurangabad. Everything necessary for progress is here—good land, beautiful scenery, a historic city and a pleasant climate compared to other places. Those of you who live here ought to be congratulated for being residents of such a place.

But nowadays no place is viable just for its beauty. Work has to be done, work of every kind—spreading education, industrialisation and several other things. It is by hard work that a place can progress. I have heard that a textile mill here is lying closed for the last three months. I have been given a memorandum about it by the officers of the mill. I have read it and feel sad about the whole affair. It must be causing great hardship to those who work in it. Moreover, at a time when we want to increase production by all means, it is not proper to shut down factories. Anyhow, I came to know about the closure for the first time after coming here and have told my colleagues to have the matter sorted out and make efforts to see that the factory resumes working again. I cannot say how soon it can be done without going into details of the matter. But I have heard that the factory will be re-opened soon.

However, this is an old factory. We have to establish a number of such factories, big and small, all over the country because, apart from other tasks,

1. Speech at a public meeting, Aurangabad, 23 August 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.
2. Located in the Aurangabad District of Maharashtra, there are 31 Buddhist caves in Ajanta belonging to the period between 2nd century BC and 7th century AD. 34 caves in Ellora belonging to multiple confessions date back to the period between 5th and 10th century AD. Ajanta and Ellora caves are now UNESCO world heritage sites.
3. For Nehru's speech on the occasion, see *post*, pp. 209-216.

the biggest task before us today, broadly speaking, is to increase production of goods. The more goods we produce, the wealthier the country will become, and that wealth will reach the people in the form of wages and salaries or in some other form. From where does the money come into the government treasury at the Centre or in Bombay or elsewhere? It has to come from your pockets. It cannot come from other countries. It comes in the form of taxes and land revenue, etc., from the people and is used for the benefit of the people. So the more the avenues of employment, the more the people's earnings by way of wages and salaries, and to that extent, the government's income increases which can be utilised for developmental work.

You must have heard of the five-year plans. What is a five-year plan? It aims at development of the country as rapidly as possible, which is not easy. It cannot be done by magic or by shouting slogans. It requires hard work and intelligence and proper planning to ensure maximum benefit to the country and to the people. All this takes time, as it is not a question of uplifting 20, 30 people but 37 crores of people, who have been entrapped in poverty for centuries.

It is a very difficult task to uplift a poor nation. There are very few countries like the United States or England or the Soviet Union, which are rich today. Almost all the countries of Asia except Japan are poor. But you will find that the countries which are rich today have become rich because they adopted new techniques of doing work during the last 200 years, irrespective of their political ideology. They have adopted scientific methods and use modern machines. One big machine does the work of 100 or 1,000 men. So production increases. During the last 150, 200 years, all kinds of new devices have been introduced in the countries of Europe. New tools, new techniques of agriculture, better ploughs, good seeds, fertilisers, etc., have led to an increase in agricultural production. The production per acre in those countries, whether of wheat or rice or other things is double or even four times of what it is in India. So those countries have become rich. There new industries came up, people got jobs and an enormous amount of goods was produced. All this happened there but we remained backward, and the British domination of India created so many hurdles in the way of our progress.

Here in Aurangabad, there was the British rule and besides that there was also the rule of the Nizam. Now you have become a part of the Bombay State.<sup>4</sup> Take the instance of education. You will find that in Marathwada there are

4. A new State of Bombay was formed on 1 November 1956 following the enactment of the States Reorganisation Act. Bombay now included the Marathwada region (of which Aurangabad was a part) of the erstwhile State of Hyderabad, the Vidarbha region of Madhya Pradesh as well as Saurashtra and Kutch.



fewer facilities for education than in other parts of the Bombay State. That is the result of the Nizam's rule. Some progress has been made in the last few years and it is hoped that the pace of progress will increase in the future.

In the last 200 years, the countries of Europe have advanced very rapidly by making use of science as well as through hard work. Their colonial domination of the countries of Asia and Africa also gave them certain advantages. But the fact of the matter is that the British established their rule over us because we had become backward, while England had advanced and become quite powerful. We have to learn a great deal from them in the fields of science, technology and agriculture and also train the people. This is not an easy task. We have to train millions of people, not only the students in schools and colleges, though that is also necessary. We want that as soon as possible we should be able to make such arrangements that there is not a single child in the country who does not get good education for ten years, which is not available to every child in the country today. In the last ten years, the number of schools, colleges and universities in the country has increased tremendously, especially the number of engineering and technical institutes. A number of such institutes have come up and their number is constantly increasing. But all this takes time. It takes 15, 16, 17 years for a man to become a fully qualified engineer. If we need thousands of engineers, you can imagine how much time and money will be needed. India is still backward in comparison to Europe. But among the Asian countries, barring Japan, India has the largest number of trained personnel. China too has made progress in this field. We have had a survey made to know how many engineers are there in the country today. It was found that there are about 70,000 engineers in India today. It sounds a very large number. But it is not sufficient. In the Soviet Union they are producing 70,000 engineers every year. The United States also produces a large number of engineers. All this takes time. We want to put up industries, improve agriculture and do many other such things. But industries cannot come up merely by procuring some machines. What is really needed is to train the students who can run the machines and make them too. If we have enough men who are trained and skilled, machines can be made or bought from outside, if necessary. Our main aim is to become self-reliant and stand on our own feet. The industries which have already come up, like the textile industry, do not need highly trained men. The machines have been imported and mills have been set up. It is good in a way. But the moment you take one step you run into difficulties, because then you need trained men. Moreover, we want to make all the machines required by us ourselves because if we import them, we will have to rely on others for repairs and spare parts. I heard that this mill has been lying closed for the last three months because some parts of machines got burnt or broken, I don't know much about this.

But it is certain that so long as we continue to rely on others for machines, we cannot progress. We must address the basic problem and make machines ourselves which will help us maintain them more efficiently.

So we have to do mainly two or three basic things. First, we have to produce steel because it is the most essential and basic requirement for industrialisation. All machines are made of steel. You need steel to build houses. Even in the villages, steel is required. You must have heard of the big Tata Iron and Steel Works. But it is not enough because it is producing only ten lakh tonnes of steel every year, while we need much more than that. So we are planning to have four steel plants, three new ones and the Tata's will be expanded. All this requires huge capital expenditure. You can imagine what a tremendous burden it is on a poor country like India, because each plant costs not less than Rs 100, 150 crore. But we realised that unless we did this, we could not go in for industrialisation and so there would be no progress either. So we decided to bear this cost and put up four big steel plants. Once they come up, they will be of great benefit to us. At present there is only the expenditure. But later on they will enable us to put up new industries, which shall provide employment opportunities, and more wealth will be created in the country.

So steel is one basic requirement. The second requirement is machine-making industries. The third requirement is power or energy to run the machines. After all, machines cannot be run by bullocks or only by human beings. For that we need power, thermal power produced by burning coal or electric power. If you want to judge how advanced a country is, the best way is to see how much thermal power or steel it produces, because all other things are their offshoots. But it takes time to produce electricity or put up big steel plants. You must have heard of the big river valley schemes, like the Bhakra, Hirakud, Damodar Valley and other such schemes, all over the country. There are two advantages of these schemes. First, they provide water for irrigation and, second, they produce electricity. As I told you, we are putting up steel plants which will be ready in six or seven years. So we have launched a number of schemes all over the country and in the next two, three years, we will be able to enjoy their benefits and make progress faster.

All this is okay. But again we come back to the question, who will run all these industries? We cannot bring engineers from the United States. We may get a few of them for three, four years to train our people. But ultimately it is our own boys and girls who will have to do this work. So the question of the spread of education in the country, especially the basic education, which should be compulsory for everybody, comes up. Specialised education, like medical and technical education, follows basic education. We are putting up many technical institutes all over the country, and the number of engineers is being



doubled or trebled in the country. You may ask when all these new avenues of employment are opening up, why so many of our young men are unemployed. There are various reasons for this. First, their education does not qualify them for the new tasks which need to be done. They are capable of doing only white-collar jobs. We need engineers and overseers in large numbers today. So we will have to change our pattern of education so that basic education is available to everyone but students are also trained for specialised jobs which need to be done today. I have no doubt that such work will expand in the country. But it cannot happen immediately. It takes time to coordinate various activities. But new avenues of employment are opening up and more and more people will get jobs.

But you must also remember that the population is growing rapidly and the number of persons to be fed and provided jobs is increasing. It is a big problem. Just imagine, the population of India is growing at the rate of 50 lakh per year. It means every year 50 lakh more people are to be fed, clothed and provided houses, health care and education. You can imagine the magnitude of the problem. But it is not insoluble. It requires time. It cannot be done either by magic or by gazing at the stars or by consulting astrologers. I want you to understand these problems because nothing can be achieved by issuing government orders alone. It requires full cooperation of the people. Every one of us living in India, whether a farmer or a professional, will have to work in cooperation with others to create more wealth. Remember that national wealth is not something accumulated in the past. Wealth has to be created every year. It is the goods produced in the country that constitutes its wealth. It is this wealth which is utilised for the welfare of the country. We may keep it for a year or two but national wealth cannot be hoarded for ever. It has to be utilised for the benefit of the people.

So increasing production in the country is a major task before us. Production has to be increased to meet the demands of the growing population of the country. Whatever the country produces, part of it is consumed by the people and what is left is utilised for development. If everything that is produced is consumed and nothing is saved, there can be no progress, because we need money to invest in works of development, like putting up new industries, spreading education, and for doing a thousand other such works. Therefore, we have to produce enough to have some surplus in the country. But the problem is that there is very little surplus in a poor country. If a country has a surplus, it would not be poor. There cannot be much surplus in India where most of the people do not even get enough to eat.

Now a number of things have happened in our country in the last ten years. As you know, there is still a lot of poverty in the country. But statistics

show that people get more to eat now than they got earlier. I do not say everyone gets more to eat, but the food consumption per head has increased. Now more people are eating wheat and rice, though the quantity is not much. However, even if ten crores of people eat a little more, it amounts to a great deal. Anyhow, it is a good thing that people should eat more and be well-nourished. But there is a shortage of food and clothing and other commodities, when the country is in transition and is moving forward. The period to relax may come later but at the moment there are bound to be hardships. So these are the various problems facing us.

How are we to solve these problems? If it is left to individuals to do as they think best, then they may put up small industries here and there without thinking about what the country needs most. Now, take, for instance, these textile mills. They are meant for the profit of a few individuals who are not bothered about the benefit to the nation or about the number of people who will get employment. They are concerned with their own profit. I have no objection to that. But if every individual functions in this way, the country as a whole cannot gain much. For instance, who will dare to put up a steel plant as the Government is doing? Naturally, one will hesitate as there is no likelihood of any profit for seven, eight years. The same thing is true of big river valley schemes. No private individual will take up such a scheme because there is no scope for immediate profit from it. So we must work in such a way that the foundation of new India is made strong, on which an impressive structure can be built. So the Planning Commission was set up<sup>5</sup> to draw up a list of priorities so that a firm foundation of progress is laid and new avenues of employment be created and the production of essential consumer goods be increased. It is the function of the Planning Commission to plan for the entire country. It is neither right nor proper to look at one State in isolation, for no State can progress if other States remain backward. We want India as a whole to progress.

There are two essential requirements for our progress. First, the production from land must increase. This is absolutely essential because if we fail to do so and are forced to import food, there will be no money left to invest in industry. We cannot afford to squander our precious foreign exchange on importing

5. The Planning Commission was set up on 15 March 1950 with the Prime Minister as the ex-officio Chairman, a Deputy Chairman with the rank of a Cabinet Minister and four full-time members, viz., C.D. Deshmukh, G.L. Mehta, R.K. Patil and V.T. Krishnamachari. Gulzarilal Nanda was the first Deputy Chairman of the Commission. Its functions include assessment of resources of the country, formulation of five-year plans for the effective use of these resources, determination of priorities and allocation of resources for the plans.



foodgrains. So the first task before us is to produce more food in the country so that the people have enough to eat and whatever is left can be exported and we can import other essential commodities in return. This is how we can progress rapidly. Therefore all our attention is concentrated at the moment on increasing the production from land.

So long as the zamindari and jagirdari systems existed, there was no improvement in agriculture and the entire profit from land went into the pockets of big zamindars and jagirdars. So we decided to abolish these systems and they have been abolished nearly all over India. They still exist in some places but they will also go. Though these systems have been abolished, no alternative system has been evolved. For instance, earlier wells and tanks in villages were maintained by the zamindars. After the abolition of the zamindari system, there is no one to maintain them, with the result that wells have gone dry, tanks are in disrepair and thus the supply of water has been seriously hit. It is impossible for the Government to maintain every well and tank. It is something that the people must do. The village panchayat can easily take care of these things. The Government can certainly help. When the zamindari system was abolished, the people instead of taking up such responsibilities themselves waited for the Government to take them up. Nowadays people expect the Government to do everything for them, which is bad. Many good wells and tanks in the South have dried up or are in disrepair, with the result that whenever there is no rain, it results in tremendous loss. As you know, during the last three years the monsoons have failed and crops have been damaged. Since then poor farmers have been facing great hardships. So these are the difficulties which can be solved only when the masses in villages and cities realise their responsibilities and work accordingly. If, they do so, they will be the first to benefit.

You may have heard that we have started two new schemes—the community development scheme and the national extension service—which are spreading fast in rural areas. They were launched in October 1952 and in less than six years they have covered three lakh villages. Just imagine, of the five and a half lakh villages in the country, three lakh villages have already been covered. The progress has been very fast. But there is the need to train boys and girls to implement them. We hoped that villagers themselves would undertake the responsibility of implementing them and so we trained village workers and after a year sent them to villages. Now, as far as I remember, there are nearly 30,000 village workers who have been trained and are working, and still more workers are being trained. We need to train 50,000 more workers in the next two, three years. Besides this, people have to be taught modern methods of agriculture and how to make use of good seeds, fertilisers, better ploughs, etc., which were not there earlier. These are all small things. I am not talking of

big tractors. These are small improvements which farmers themselves can bring about without any difficulty and with very little effort. The fact is, as I said, that the production from land is very little as compared to other countries but we have also seen that wherever an effort has been made the production has been doubled or even trebled.

I was recently in UP, touring the district of Allahabad.<sup>6</sup> I asked the farmers why the production was so little—that the average yield per acre was only nine *maunds*. I said to them that it was too little compared to other countries. Then one ordinary farmer came forward and said that he had produced 49 *maunds*, 20 *seers* and 5 *chhataks* of wheat in one acre of land. Just imagine the difference between 9 *maunds* and nearly 50 *maunds* per acre. I agree that he tilled his land carefully and used good seeds, fertilisers, etc. Thus even if the average yield per acre is doubled all over the country our food problem can be fully solved. People will have enough food to eat and we will have some surplus grains from which we can get some money to invest in other works. There is no doubt that we can achieve whatever we want provided we work hard and are willing to learn new techniques. We have started community development schemes and national extension service so that the farmers themselves can implement them. We have great expectations from these schemes which are really revolutionary schemes. Many of you who raise slogans of revolution perhaps think that revolution means violence and chaos. In fact, revolution means changing the society. The change may be political, involving a change of government, or it may be economic or social change. Now that our political struggle is over, we have to concentrate on social and economic changes required in the country.

I would say that the greatest revolution that took place in the world was the invention of steam engine and electricity. They have revolutionised the society. New machines are being made and all kinds of changes are taking place. We should also take advantage of the Industrial Revolution and change our social structure and economic system. The five-year plans are aimed at this. Whether you consider capitalist countries like the United States and England or communist countries like the Soviet Union and some other countries, they have all made progress by taking advantage of the Industrial Revolution and tapping new sources of energy for running big machines. You should remember that these sources of energy have always been present in nature and are not something new. Now electricity is being used to run trains, fly aeroplanes, send telegrams, and operate loudspeakers. I am speaking through loudspeakers

6. Nehru toured the drought-affected villages in the Allahabad District on 15 and 16 July 1958. For Nehru's speeches, see *ante*, pp. 25-28 and *post*, pp. 113-117.



just now. You listen to the radio and do thousands of other things using electricity. Electricity is not a new thing. It has always been there and people see it whenever there is a thunderstorm. Earlier, due to ignorance people used to get scared by lightning and they tried to appease it considering it an evil spirit because sometimes it struck down a man or destroyed a house. But nobody thought of making use of it. It was only much later that some people became inquisitive and discovered that electricity could be produced by friction and transmitted through a wire. Thus they acquired a great source of energy. It was nothing new. It was only a matter of knowing about an already existing source of energy and taking advantage of it. How is a train run? It is run by the power of steam. Steam is nothing new and has been known to man for thousands of years. But it was only when man knew about its potential and used it to run trains that he acquired a new source of energy. So these are all natural sources of energy which have been discovered and used for the benefit of mankind.

You often read in ancient tales about men having twelve hands and extraordinary powers and other such things. What does it actually mean? It only means that some people possessed enormous strength or power. This is what is meant when it is said that Ravana had 20 hands. But today because of modern machines man has acquired the capacity to do single-handedly work of a 100 or a 1000 men. So man has become very powerful today. Natural forces are all there in nature and there is nothing magical about them. Anyone who learns about them can have control over them.

After electricity came the atomic energy, which is also not something new but has always been there in nature. After years of experimentation some scientists were able to discover how to make use of it. It is our misfortune that the first use they made of it was to make the atom bomb which destroyed two cities of Japan and killed millions of people. But it is a great source of energy which can be used for the benefit of mankind. We are doing some such work in this field in Bombay and I think in the next three, four years we will be able to produce atomic energy for running factories.<sup>7</sup>

So I am trying to tell you what a revolutionary world ours is. The real revolution is one which harnesses the natural sources of energy for the benefit of man. No source of energy in itself is good or bad. Only man's use of it

7. The Atomic Energy Establishment, Trombay, was the chief centre for research and development in the field of atomic energy. India's first atomic reactor 'Apsara' went critical on 4 August 1956. Work was also in progress on a reactor of the Canadian NRX type (CIRUS), which had been given by the Government of Canada as a gift to India under the Colombo Plan.

makes it good or bad. Electricity can kill a man and also benefit him greatly. Such is the revolutionary world we are living in and, unless we understand it well, we will remain backward and become weak while other countries are growing stronger and becoming richer. You should know that today only those countries are rich which have tapped the new sources of energy.

There was a great revolution in the Soviet Union. The Czar was overthrown and communism was adopted as an ideology and the system of government. But a greater revolution that took place in the Soviet Union was their making use of scientific inventions, as it happened in the United States, England and some other countries. That is how they progressed. It is true that the Russian Revolution paved the way of progress and the retrograde rule of the Czar came to an end and people became free to move forward fast. More than 40 years have passed since then and today the Soviet Union is one of the two Great Powers of the world. The other Great Power is the United States. But you must remember that 40 years of hard work and selfless service by the people of the Soviet Union have enabled them to reach this stage. They did not reach this stage by shouting slogans. This is also true of the United States which is a capitalist country. Both countries have progressed by making use of science and scientific inventions and by harnessing the natural sources of energy. Recently as you know, the Soviet Union has sent a satellite, called Sputnik, which is orbiting the earth, thousands of miles away from it, in space.<sup>8</sup> Six months later, the United States also did the same thing.<sup>9</sup> Ten or fifteen days ago, the United States made an attempt to send a rocket to the moon but did not succeed. It exploded on the way.<sup>10</sup> However, you can realise how man is trying to reach the moon and I am sure that, if not today, in about six months or a year or two he will reach the moon (clapping).

I do not know why you clapped because you are not going to benefit by it in any way. I am trying to indicate what a revolutionary world we are living in and how much man is trying to harness the natural sources of energy. We should also do so, not by copying the United States or the Soviet Union, but by adopting new techniques and technology. For this we need to lay a firm foundation of progress by spreading education. All the children must receive

8. The Soviet Union launched the first man-made satellite, Sputnik I, on 4 October 1957.

9. The United States launched its first satellite Explorer I on 31 January 1958.

10. The US satellite Pioneer was the first satellite designed to orbit the moon but 77 seconds after take off, at a height of 16 kms, its booster exploded and the spacecraft landed in the Atlantic on 17 August 1958. If successful, it would have orbited the moon for about two weeks.



education. I do not say that all of them will become great scientists. After primary and secondary education the more intelligent students can go in for higher education.

There are numerous children in villages who have no opportunity for education and self-development. If they get an opportunity, who can say how many of them may become scientists and engineers. As you may have heard, 30 years ago, there was a boy in Madras who came from a poor Brahmin family. He did not have the means to go in for higher education. He went to a school and then became a clerk in an office on a paltry salary. But he was very much interested in mathematics and continued working at it even in his spare time. One day he went to a British professor and showed him some diagrams drawn by him. The professor was amazed to see that a boy who was not very well educated had drawn them. He made arrangements for him to go to Cambridge for higher studies. After two or three years, at the age of 28 or 29, he was made a Fellow of the Royal Society of Scientists by the British scientists who were greatly impressed by him. Unfortunately, he died two or three years after this, at the age of 32. But on account of the work that he did during that short period he came to be known as one of the greatest mathematicians of the world.<sup>11</sup> This is why I say that I do not know how many youths living in villages and cities, given the right opportunity, may become first-rate scholars. Therefore, we should provide opportunity to every child to get education and should pay special attention to those who show an aptitude and talent. They should be trained to do original research work and not merely copy the work done in the United States or in other countries.

We should be able to harness the natural sources of energy for the benefit of mankind. These are the great tasks to be done by us as we do not want India to remain backward like many countries of the world. India must become a great power, not because we want to attack other countries and dominate them. We want to have friendly relations with all the countries and ensure that there is peace in the entire world. But we do not want to live under the influence of any country.

Pakistan is our neighbour. But we are baffled to see that ever since Partition it has been hostile to us. On the one hand it says that it is scared of India and on the other it tries to intimidate us. We want to live in peace and cooperate with each other. We do not want to go to war against anyone. But somehow our

11. The reference is to Srinivasa Ramanujan (1887-1920) who made substantial contributions to mathematical analysis, number theory, infinite series and continued fractions despite having had no formal training in abstract mathematics in his early years.

relations with Pakistan seem to have gone beyond repair. I hope our relations will improve and it is necessary that they should improve. Tension between the two countries is not good. We are trying our best to have friendly relations. But we have to remain prepared to face any external attack. We actually want to put an end to all our disputes and live in peace as good neighbours.

I have tried to tell you where the world is going and what our duty is in the circumstances, as I want you to understand all this well. Usually all of us tend to get so much involved with our petty, day-to-day problems and worries that we forget the larger issues. As I said, during the last three years, crops have failed due to the lack of rain and also due to floods and other reasons. We cannot sit idle and say that we can do nothing about it and attribute it to nature's wrath. God has given us physical strength and intelligence so that we may face such calamities and bring them under control. There is no doubt about it that we can do it. As I told you, we can double or even treble the production from land; wherever an effort has been made, it has already been done. If we work hard and become self-sufficient, whether there is drought or flood, we will have no problems. We must dig canals for irrigation and take steps to prevent floods. But all this will take time.

It takes a long time to train people for work and make them sturdy and self-confident. How did we get swaraj? We did not get it by military might or wealth but by people's fearlessness, courage, hard work, unity and spirit of sacrifice. The same people are still there and have the same courage, unity and the capacity to work hard. Bravery does not mean only fighting in battles but it also means serving the country. After all, it will benefit everybody. We should not slacken our effort and wait for government to do everything. No government in the world can do everything. It is the people who have to work and the government can only give them some help. We have been drawing up five-year plans and gaining experience. So the Second Plan has been better than the First Plan. We have realised that what matters is what the people are capable of doing, how self-reliant they are, and to what extent our young boys and girls are preparing themselves in schools, colleges and universities for future responsibilities. I often meet young men who are selected for the Indian Administrative Service or the Indian Foreign Service or who get into national science laboratories and other such institutions. I feel happy to meet them because they are intelligent and hardworking.

Nowadays there is a desperate need for oil because it is essential for industry, transport and other activities. The world today depends on oil. The countries which possess oil are supposed to have great wealth. We produce some oil in Assam. But it is only a fraction of what we need. So we have to import oil in large quantities. Just imagine, if we can produce more oil in our own oilfields,



it will be of great help to us. We will be able to save at least a crore or crore and half rupees that we have to spend for importing it and we may also become self-sufficient in oil. Then we will not have to look to other countries for it. In the situation prevailing in the world today if unfortunately there is a war the import of oil will stop immediately. We may be able to carry on for a few months with the existing oil but after that all our industries, railways and cars will come to a halt. So we are trying to produce enough oil in India and hope that we will succeed in it. I cannot say definitely just now but we hope to find oil in Punjab and Assam and also Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh. I do not know about the South but in the North there are chances of oil being there.

Oil prospecting is a new branch of science in India. We selected some boys and girls who had passed M.Sc. and trained them for a year to do survey-work and also trained them in laboratories and other places. I went to see their work and was very glad to see their spirit and devotion to work. They were busy day and night, completely oblivious to everything around them. I told them that it looked like they were going on a great hunting expedition for finding oil. They assured me that they would definitely find oil. They were full of confidence. When I see such young men doing their work I feel very happy. On the other hand I also see a large number of young men wasting their time instead of preparing themselves for the big tasks before us. They go on strikes, take out processions and do many other such things. It is not bad to take out processions sometimes. But the problem is that if they do only such things and do not prepare themselves for the future work, what will they do two years hence? If they do not prepare themselves for some profession, they will become a burden on the nation. They have the intelligence and the ability to do great things and wherever they have made an effort they have achieved remarkable results. I believe I have not said anything which might hurt them. I only want them to think about the great tasks being done in India for which people are being trained. There are tremendous opportunities for making progress and so many avenues are opening up. So you must prepare yourselves for the future work.

You need to prepare yourself even for a small task. You need training even if you want to become a blacksmith or a carpenter or start a cottage industry. If you want to become a boxer, you have to build your body. If you want to participate in a 100-yard race, you have to prepare yourself for it by taking proper diet and training. The task of nation-building is far more complex than participating in a race, so you need greater training and preparation for it. These years in schools, colleges and universities provide you an opportunity to prepare yourselves for future tasks. If you do not avail of them when you are young and full of enthusiasm, you will get slack mentally and physically and

will not be able to compete with anybody in any field. You will be standing somewhere at the back in the country's march towards its goal. It is not good. We want that as many people as possible should participate in these tasks. It is true that thousands of things are happening in the country, some of which are good and some bad. Sometimes we succeed and sometimes we fail. But India is a vibrant nation, full of life. Even if mistakes are made while making progress it is better than not to progress at all. It is better to stumble and fall rather than keep lying around all the time. How can anyone progress by lying around all the time? If a man moves forward, he may stumble and fall, but he can stand up again and advance towards his goal. So we must march forward with faith and confidence, knowing well that we are bound to stumble and make mistakes and we may also be pressurised or threatened by other countries. But we should be determined to face all problems calmly with faith in ourselves and in our country and forge ahead.

We have faced tremendous problems during the last 10, 11 years since Independence. Partition was followed by a great stream of refugees. Just imagine, they numbered one crore, and even now some refugees are coming in Bengal. It was not an easy task to look after one crore human beings but we did it on our own, with no help from outside, from the United Nations or from any other agency. We have managed to rehabilitate most of them. Large grain-producing tracts have gone to Pakistan, which has been one of the reasons for food shortage in India. We somehow faced that problem and now the production has increased so much that despite the failure of crops for the last two years there is no shortage of food. We want the production to increase further and you should know that it is already increasing. We want that in the next ten years the food production should at least be doubled. It is not something impossible. It is not very difficult to double the production in ten years. Rather, I would say that it can be done in a year if everybody makes an effort. But it is difficult for crores of people to make a concerted effort, but it should be done in ten years. So I say that even if the population increases we need not worry for there will be enough. But the people must make an effort and not wait for the Government to do it. The Government cannot possibly do it.

You must look at these problems from the viewpoint of the condition prevailing in the country. It is the time when every youth shall be full of enthusiasm. There are times when a country passes through an uneventful phase and there are also revolutionary times when the country faces turmoil but still makes progress. Such times are naturally full of difficulties. But we can also progress during such times. It all depends on what sort of people we are. There are some people who do not want to face any difficulty and are content to lead an easy and uneventful life. Those who face problems boldly



are adventurous by nature. They climb the Kanchenjunga mountain and Mount Everest and risk their lives. I do not say that all of you should climb Mount Everest. That is a difficult task. But you, specially the young people, should be spirited, adventurous and daring and should face difficulties and dangers fearlessly. Such people make a nation great. Such people had fought for freedom, risking their lives. India needs such people at this time. You cannot escape the problems of the time by lying on *charpoy*, for you cannot change the time. Therefore it is better to face problems boldly.

People often talk of another world war which will be a nuclear war. Such a war, if it takes place, will probably destroy the whole world. War is no longer what it was in the days of bows and arrows. We do not want to go to war against anyone. But in case of a war we cannot remain unaffected. The radioactive and poisonous gases will pollute the atmosphere of the whole world. We cannot escape it, so we should be courageous and daring and make the country strong by harnessing scientific inventions and becoming self-sufficient in food and other commodities. People should become strong and well-educated and be capable of facing any difficulty that may arise.

We had to face tremendous problems ten, 11 years ago and even now there are problems. But now there is respect for India in the world. We do not have much wealth. We are a poor country. How can we compete with the United States or the Soviet Union or England or any other advanced country? We cannot compete with them. We have a small but good army and in the air force there are bright young men. I feel very happy when I see them. But our armed forces are very small compared to the huge armies of the above-mentioned countries and we do not want to increase them because we cannot afford to do so.

Though India cannot fight against the countries having a big army or a great amount of wealth, yet there is respect for us in the world and our voice carries weight. Why? It is because of two or three things. First, the world has been impressed by the way we fought for freedom and won it by non-violent means, self-sacrifice and hard work. This unique way was devised by Mahatma Gandhi who became famous throughout the world. There are many places in the world where the people, who know nothing about the world, have heard about India and Mahatma Gandhi. But that is an old story. Secondly, people respect us for the way we faced the adversities that descended upon us immediately after Independence. Thirdly, the world has developed faith in our ability to work and progress and it feels that India will also become a Great Power in a few years. Moreover, though we are militarily weak and short of wealth, we do not yield to pressure or intimidation. We believe in friendship with every country and follow our own policy. We have friendly relations with

the Soviet Union and the United States and even with England, which was considered our enemy before Independence. We are friendly with the Soviet Union and China which are communist countries. We want to learn from all the countries but do not want to imitate any country blindly. No one can progress by imitating others blindly. We can of course take advantage of the experience of other countries. If we merely imitate other countries, we will become a second-rate or a third-rate nation.

So it is strange how India is so much respected in the world. Even the countries which do not like her policies respect her. So we have achieved something in the last 10, 11 years. There have also been some incidents which have made us bow our heads in shame. Before Independence, the British used to say that the moment India becomes free, the people will fly at one another's throats because they are not united. They used to taunt us that the moment they leave, Hindus will fight against Muslims and the people of one caste will fight against the people of another caste and there can be no communal harmony in the country. So they were amazed when we solved the enormous problem of the merger of the Princely States with the Indian Union peacefully. I do not think there is any other example of such a large problem being solved peacefully anywhere in world history. In other countries it took several years to solve such problems and that too through violence and bloodshed. Then after the holocaust that followed the Partition, the world saw how quickly we brought the situation under control though we had to pay a tremendous price for it, the biggest price being the loss of life of our beloved leader Gandhiji. But we faced the problem and brought the situation under control. We did not run away out of fear or in panic during the crisis.

We also took up other big problems like the problem of land tenure and abolished the zamindari system. Such problems have not been solved in other countries without violent clashes and bloodshed. We abolished zamindari peacefully though it took some time because of legal difficulties. So we believe that even the biggest problem of social change can be solved peacefully and those who do not think so are, in my opinion, mistaken. Moreover, if we abandon the path of peace, there will be feuds and tension in society, which will gradually break us up into numerous parts. People in India fight over the issues of province, language, caste and religion. There is no harm in having different points of view. But the problem is how to resolve these differences. Should it be done by violence and breaking one another's heads or should we try to solve them peacefully? After all, what does democracy mean? It means trying to find peaceful solutions to problems. How can there be socialism if there are conflicts and feuds throughout the country? Even if we want to reverse a decision which is obviously wrong, it should be done peacefully and



by democratic methods. There is no other way, for any other way will only ruin the country. All of us must realise this.

Indians have never lacked in intelligence, bravery or other such attributes. But disunity has always weakened us. Those of you who have read Indian history know this. It was only by overcoming this tendency and forging unity under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi that we gained strength and won freedom. If we forget this lesson, the old malady will afflict us again and then there will be neither five-year plans nor any other such thing and we will get a bad name in the world and will have to bow our heads in shame. I do not know why we suffer from this. Sometimes I think it is due to the caste system. But then there should have been unity and cohesiveness within a caste. Even that is lacking. With each caste living in a separate compartment, it is difficult for the feeling of nationalism to grow. We often shout *Jai Hind* and *Bharat Mata ki Jai*. But so long as we continue to think in terms of caste, group, province and language, there can be no true feeling of nationalism.

Language is something very good. We should respect it and enrich it. But what is more important is not to disturb national unity. If we do something wrong and resort to violence, our old weaknesses will resurface and we will fall again. I am saying this because I am afraid of only one thing in this country and that is disunity. I am not afraid of external aggression or the atom bomb. But I am afraid of disunity. I have full faith in our people's intelligence and their capacity to work hard though I agree that there is also a tendency to slacken. I do not think there are so many holidays in any other country as in India. I think, there are 150 holidays in a year. The people have the ability and the capacity to work. But if there is no unity or feeling of cooperation in them, all their other qualities will be of no avail; then our work shall not progress further. Therefore I am afraid of one thing and that is disunity and the tendency to live in separate compartments. Being involved in our petty work, we forget the larger national interests and forget that our interests lie in the good of India as a whole and not in the good of a caste or a religion or a province alone.

I noticed that as I was about to speak, some people standing at the back were shouting some slogans and also waving black flags. Anyhow, I do not mind it. Maybe they were demanding formation of a united Maharashtra or some such thing.<sup>12</sup> Recently there were riots in Ahmedabad over the issue of Mahagujarat. I do not want to keep anything secret from you, because it is not proper to do so. If I want to win your confidence, I must first tell you frankly

12. A few hundred people, sitting on the fringe of a hillock on the far end of the gathering of over 25,000 people, repeatedly shouted pro-Samyukta Maharashtra slogans.

what is in my mind. There is nothing wrong in the people wanting the formation of a united Maharashtra or some such thing. But at the same time I must point out that you are going about it the wrong way. If the feelings run so high in favour of Mahagujarat or a united Maharashtra or Bengal or Bihar or Uttar Pradesh or Punjab that people start fighting with one another, then nationalism will come to an end and much harm will be done. We gave this problem a great deal of thought during the last one or two years and tried our best to evolve a formula acceptable to most of the people, as it is difficult to convince everyone.

It does not make any difference to me personally where one province ends and another begins. I was born on the banks of the Ganga and the Yamuna in the city of Allahabad. I love the Ganga and the Yamuna and my city. I worked for a number of years in the villages and cities of Uttar Pradesh and so I have a liking for them. But the fact is that now I do not belong to any particular State. Whichever State I visit I like it and its people and I start looking at their problems through their eyes. When I go to Maharashtra I want to think like a Maharashtrian. When I go to Tamil Nadu, I become a part of it. I do not consider myself as belonging to any one State. I consider all the States as my own. So I am not particularly bothered about their boundaries. The only thing I am concerned with is that India's unity should not be weakened.

So we gave this matter a great deal of thought and the Parliament took a decision about the States' reorganisation, according to which the Bombay State as it is today was formed. Who suggested it? He was not a Congressman but a leader of the Praja Socialist Party who suggested it and since it was acceptable to the majority of the members of Parliament and was accepted almost unanimously.<sup>13</sup> Only the Communist Party had opposed it. I do not remember exactly but I think about 400 members voted for it and about 25 or 30 members opposed it. So we genuinely believed that it was acceptable to the majority of the people. It is possible that we were mistaken. Anyhow, the decision taken by the Parliament had to be implemented, for it is the highest law-making body of the country. People's representatives from all over the country are there. The Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha, composed of the representatives of the people, are our guardians.

Well, I want to say one thing more. It was not that I had anything against a United Maharashtra. We thought that the Bombay State, which included Marathwada, Vidarbha and all the other areas of Maharashtra, was in fact

13. Asoka Mehta of the Praja Socialist Party proposed in the Lok Sabha on 2 August 1956 that a bilingual Bombay State be formed. He claimed to have the support of the PSP leader J.B. Kripalani, S.K. Patil of the Congress and Independent Member Tulsidas Kilachand. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, pp. 143-145.



united Maharashtra. The difficulty that we faced was the demand for forming a separate Vidarbha State. We had to explain to those who demanded it the reasons for our not agreeing to it, which were quite sound. So the new State of Bombay had all the regions of Maharashtra. It is true that Gujarat and Saurashtra were merged with it. But the major part of it is of Maharashtra, so its people will naturally have a greater say. I thought this arrangement was beneficial to all. But it is possible that I made a mistake. Anyhow, you have seen how the arrangement has worked. I have to go by the reports that I receive from all over the country—from the State Governments, the Congress and other parties. So the impression that I have is that the Bombay Government and its Chief Minister Chavanji<sup>14</sup> have done excellent work. I have had a long association with Chavanji and I respect him greatly.

However, I am sorry that Chavanji is not present here today. He came with me from Bombay to participate in this function, but he suddenly developed fever. I hope he will be well soon. So, as I was saying, it is not a question of my opinion because I may be right or wrong. It is the people who must judge the work that is being done. I cannot force others to accept my views.

Do you remember that about four years ago I repeatedly said that there was no need to partition the State of Hyderabad. That was my opinion. But when I found that the people held a different view, how could I force my view? So the State of Hyderabad was divided. It was also proper to do so. So I have told you what my view in this matter is. But I am not the person who will decide this matter, nor can I make any changes in the existing arrangement. There are rules and regulations laid down in the Constitution for making changes that might be required. Changes have to be made peacefully and in a democratic way. The door is always open for making any changes that the people might want. But if you resort to violence for making changes, all kinds of feuds and tensions will crop up all over the country, poisonous roots will proliferate and expand and on every little issue there will be fights between various groups of people everywhere and there will be no end to them. There will be a civil war in the country. What will happen to our freedom and progress then? Everything will come to a standstill and there will be no respect for India in the world. People will say that India's old weakness has once again led to her downfall.

14. Yashwantrao Balwantrao Chavan (1913-1984); Member, Bombay Legislative Assembly and later Maharashtra Legislative Assembly, 1946-62; Minister in the Bombay Government, 1952-56; Chief Minister of Bombay State, 1956-62; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1963; Member, Lok Sabha, 1964-1984; Union Cabinet Minister: Defence, 1962-1966, Home Affairs, 1966-70, Finance, 1970-74, External Affairs, 1974-77; Deputy Prime Minister of India and Minister of Home Affairs, 1979-1980.

Let me tell you that the decision on this issue rests with the people of Maharashtra, Gujarat and Vidarbha, which are parts of the Bombay State today. Let them decide whatever they want in a democratic manner. It is true that sometimes there is a delay in such matters. But please remember that violence and fighting delay matters much more than peaceful methods and the destruction is also much more and still it cannot be said that the decision thus taken is the people's decision. Democratic methods cannot be adopted in an atmosphere of violence and chaos and even a handful of people can create trouble and resort to violence.

Therefore you should understand it clearly that whatever changes you want to bring about in the State of Bombay please make an effort. But my request to you is that whatever you do, do it peacefully and in a democratic way. Let me tell you that if peaceful methods are adopted, it will have a greater impact on the people than if you adopt violent methods. Violence and chaos do tremendous harm to the country. First, they create disunity and secondly, they cause damages. I find it very strange that you go and burn down a police station or a government building or a shop. Is this a sign of wisdom? Who will respect us if we indulge in such acts? After all government property is public property. It is your own money that is wasted and money has to be spent again to rebuild these damaged properties. Above all, it dents our prestige. So my request to you is not to resort to such methods.

Take, for instance, the riots that shook Ahmedabad last week, about ten days ago. I am not sitting in judgement on them. Let there be an inquiry. But I just want to tell you about the issue over which these riots took place. These riots took place because the Mahagujarat Parishad decided to put up a memorial. They had a right to decide. But they wanted to put it up at the crossing in the middle of the road. Is that a proper place to put up a memorial? It would have obstructed the traffic. They could have put it up in some open space, in a park or a garden. Nobody could object to it. I heard that Chief Minister Shri Chavan had suggested that the memorial should be put up in a park. But he did not stop the people of Mahagujarat Parishad from putting up the memorial. To have formally allowed them to put it up in the middle of the road would have created a bad precedent. However Ahmedabad is a big city with very heavy traffic. People would begin to put up memorials all over the place. So, please do not misunderstand me. We had no intention to obstruct the putting up of the memorial. But the spot that was selected for it was not suitable. It would have caused inconvenience to the public.

To have started rioting over this issue and burning shops, police stations and offices was absolutely wrong. The Khadi Bhandar was gutted. I agree that some bad elements must have committed these acts of vandalism. But the



moment you let such things happen, you open the gates to tremendous disruption and then even the law-abiding citizens tend to turn unruly. So this entire act was wrong. The voice of sanity is not heard in this outcry, and unruly elements gain the upper hand, which is absolutely bad. The Mahagujarat Parishad should act in a responsible manner and adopt democratic methods. We will respect their view and if a decision is taken by the majority in their favour, we can change our decision with the approval of the Parliament. In this connection I would like to tell you that the people of Vidarbha, who had joined the Samyukta Maharashtra reluctantly after a great deal of persuasion, have once again raised a demand for a separate State. So if once this process starts, we cannot say when it will end.

When the question of holding an inquiry into the Ahmedabad riots was raised, Shri Chavan rightly said that it could not be held till the situation had calmed down. I think, and I know that Shri Chavan also agrees with me, that when the inquiry is held, it should be a comprehensive inquiry and the causes which lead to such incidents should also be investigated and it should also be probed as to who are responsible for inciting them. This is my definite view. People ask, why was firing resorted to. That will no doubt come out after the inquiry. But everyone knows that by an order of the Bombay Government firearms were taken back from the Ahmedabad police. So, on the first day of rioting the entire city was in turmoil, shops and houses were gutted, people were beaten up and there was complete lawlessness in the city, everybody knowing it well that the police will take no action. You know what a government is expected to do at a moment like this. Could the Government sit by and watch Ahmedabad burning and men being killed? It is something unthinkable. If a government does that it is a useless government. After all, protecting the life and property of the people is the primary duty of any government. However, in desperation, the Government changed its decision and supplied firearms to the policemen. The inquiry will reveal what happened exactly. But I want to tell you how the unruly elements took advantage of the Government's decision to withdraw firearms from the police and indulged in looting and arson. A large number of houses were burned down. So, as I said, the inquiry should also be made into the deeper causes and the responsibility should also be fixed.

Well, I have put my views frankly before you. I again say that you have every right to change a decision. But you should always remember that once lawlessness starts nobody knows when it will end. So you should do whatever you want to do peacefully and in a democratic way and not cause damage to public property. Such violence and crimes weaken the country and give us a bad name in the world. If you indulge in such acts, all our development schemes will come to a halt.

I have taken up a great deal of your time. I have to go back to Bombay from where I will go to Mysore and then to Delhi. I would like to mention the incidents that took place in the last three weeks in West Asia—in Lebanon, Jordan and Iraq. The danger of a world war, which a few days ago seemed imminent, has receded and we are happy that the United Nations unanimously passed a resolution day before yesterday which rules out the possibility of a war.<sup>15</sup> I would like to congratulate all the countries, big and small, for supporting the resolution. But the root causes of war still persist and the arms race is increasing the danger further.

We have received yet another good news. After a couple of months the United States and England will stop nuclear tests.<sup>16</sup> The Soviet Union had declared it earlier. So this has been a good thing. Nuclear tests would have further polluted the atmosphere and caused great damage. So I am happy with this decision. Now, please forgive me for taking up so much of your time.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

15. This refers to the 10-nation resolution also known as the Arab resolution. See also *post*, p. 454.
16. The British and US Governments announced on 22 August 1958 that in view of the results of the East-West Conference (held at Geneva from 1 July to 21 August 1958) they were prepared to suspend nuclear tests for an initial period of one year, on condition that (a) the Soviet Union would not resume such tests during this period, and (b) that all Governments which had tested nuclear weapons would be prepared to open negotiations on an agreement for the complete suspension of tests under effective international control. Both Governments would be ready to begin these negotiations on 31 October 1958 and would be prepared to extend the suspension period year to year provided the Soviet Union did the same and provided that satisfactory progress had been made towards an effective international control system and the adoption and execution of real disarmament measures.



## 9. Need to Focus on Agriculture<sup>1</sup>

Mr President,<sup>2</sup> Your Highness,<sup>3</sup> Chief Minister<sup>4</sup> and delegates, It was about a year ago that Dr Elmhirst invited me to attend this conference and inaugurate it. It seemed to me rather odd that he should mention this matter to me so far ahead. But, as you know, he looks ahead and with his usual foresight he tried to tie me down to this engagement before there was any possibility of my saying that I was too busy or too occupied. But, in any event, I would have gladly accepted this invitation, partly because of my deep interest in the subjects that you discuss and partly because Dr Elmhirst is an old friend and India owes a great deal to him. So, now that I am here, I am glad of it. May I congratulate you or whoever may be responsible for choosing this gracious and attractive city of Mysore for your conference.

I need not tell you that I am not an expert on the subjects you are discussing. In fact, I am not an expert on any subject that I know of. Far from being an expert I am not even a modest farmer. But force of circumstances, various accidents, brought me in touch, long years ago, with the conditions of some of the poorest of our tenantry. In those days, not now happily, there used to be, in various parts of the country and notably in my own state, vast landed estates and tenants—often tenants at will—working there. And when, about 40 years ago, I came in rather intimate touch with these people that created a tremendous ferment in my mind. That ferment has not subsided yet. And India has always seemed to me, in the final analysis, that poor peasant. Even in India there are various kinds of farmers and peasants—some relatively prosperous, some not so, and some excessively poor. The average picture that comes to my mind is of the last category, because I came in contact with them a little more than the more prosperous farmers in India. And, so, when I think of them there is a

1. Inaugural address to the Tenth International Conference of Agricultural Economists, Mysore, 24 August 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. The theme of the Congress, held from 24 August to 3 September 1958, was "Agriculture and its Terms of Trade."
2. Leonard Knight Elmhirst (1893-1974); Director, Institute of Rural Reconstruction in Sriniketan, Viswa-Bharati, 1921-24, and a close associate of Rabindranath Tagore; founded International Conference of Agricultural Economists in 1930, and remained its President till 1961; Chairman, Political and Economic Planning, 1939-53; Agricultural Adviser to Bengal Government, 1944-45, and Development Commissioner, 1949-65; Member, Executive Council, Exeter University, 1955-71; works include *Robbery of the Soil* and *Rabindranath Tagore: Pioneer in Education*.
3. Jaya Chamaraja Wodeyar, former ruler of Mysore and Governor, Mysore State, 1956-64.
4. B.D. Jatti.

deep ferment and sometimes even some anguish and some kind of passion to be able to help in raising the level of these people. Also, there is in me a deep faith in them. And so, because of my deep faith in my people, and because of this passionate desire on my part to be able to do something worthwhile for them, perhaps, I have a place in this conference.

I do not possess your expert knowledge. But I do possess an extreme and passionate desire that something should be done about them. And something should be done as rapidly as possible. And yet, I know and have had the experience, and many heartbreaks in the process, of how slow things move, specially in the agricultural field, specially when hundreds and millions of people are involved. And one has to adapt oneself, even though one does not like it, to this relatively slow movement.

As you know, ever since we attained Independence, what I would call the real problems of the country faced us, the real problems being economic and social. And the biggest of the problems was raising the level of living of these people, hundreds of millions. Not merely raising the level of living, although that was important—and, that is important—but making life worthwhile for them, making them self-reliant, proud, not in a bad sense, and not merely being kicked and cuffed about by misfortune, but being able, to some extent, to mould their own destiny. When I say this, that they were kicked and cuffed about, I should like to add another picture of them which is equally important and that is this: in spite of their misfortune and their poverty they have never given up or forgotten the way to sing and dance and laugh. And that is, I think, some virtue. Sometimes people are surprised on visiting an odd village of ours and seeing the conditions of extreme poverty there and yet finding the men and women and children laughing and playing and not allowing themselves to be submerged by circumstances, even by these daily miseries. Anyhow, this problem became our immediate problem then. It was naturally, as you know, a very intricate problem. Anyhow it would have been intricate, but to deal with these vast masses of humanity made it much more difficult. And I tried to think of them not as statistical numbers—although, no doubt, statistics are important—but rather as individuals, and when a question was asked, I remember, once as to how many problems we had to face in India, I said 360 million problems. Because all those people seem to me as living individual entities to be helped, to be looked after, to be cooperated with. Wayfarers, fellow-travellers in one direction, we are all going together. And so we thought of appointing a Planning Commission, because our resources were obviously limited. And unless we used those resources to the best advantage, part of them may be wasted in wrong efforts. We had, in fact, to harness the labour and the efforts of vast numbers of human beings to achieve the desired and the



planned results aimed at. Not possibly exactly the same thing, but, at any rate, to go in that direction.

Well, we appointed a Planning Commission and the Planning Commission thought and conferred with all manner of folks and experts. And we drew up the Five Year Plan, our First Five Year Plan. There was really not much planning in it. It was our first effort. We did not have enough data or statistics. And, we were naturally bound down by many things that we were doing. We had to carry them on. We could not write on a clean slate. Nevertheless, the stress in that First Five Year Plan was on the improvement of agriculture and higher yields. We had a number of river valley schemes—huge efforts which would provide irrigation facilities to large tracts of the country. We also naturally provided for a certain, industrial development in the First Five Year Plan. Then it so happened, that we had some good fortune in regard to our monsoons and our harvests, and, as usual, we became rather complacent: not only because of what we were doing but because of what the monsoons had given us. And our production increased and we said—Oh, we shall be self-sufficient for long. Remember that one of the effects of the Partition of India was to take away parts of what was India previously which were our special wheat and cereal producing tracts. That was one of our difficulties. How are we to get over all this? Also, naturally, we felt all along that industrial development was essential and inevitable if we were to go ahead as a country and raise the level of living of our people.

So while we continued to attach great importance to agriculture, inevitably we began to think more and more of industrial development. Industrial development again made us think rather of the basic industries, the mother industries, out of which would arise other industries. And so we planned the Second Five Year Plan where we laid stress on agriculture, of course, but we talked a little more about industrial development. And we planned—we were ambitious enough to plan—three or four huge new iron and steel plants; we thought of a machine-building plant, we thought of many other things like that: basic industries. Because we realised that unless we laid the foundations there, our industrial progress would be slow and would be far too dependent on external factors. Then came a jolt. The two good harvests were succeeded by three atrocious ones. An extraordinary run of bad luck. Quite an unusual run of bad luck which knocked us on the head and knocked very much more the poor peasant on the head. Of course, India is a big country and even when a bad harvest comes or there is drought and there are floods, they do not spread all over the country. But still, vast areas were involved every year—for the past three years—and we passed through a terrible ordeal. It upset all our planning, agricultural or industrial, because our resources which were limited enough

had to be diverted to imports of foodgrains—heavy imports—because we could not allow our people to lack food.

Also prices tend to rise. And in a country like India where the main price-determining factor is food—foodgrains: if foodgrain prices rise, that affects other things; and we were anxious that this would not be so. Not only because we did not want foodgrain prices to rise but we did not want inflationary tendencies to come in. We did not want all the estimates of our Second Five Year Plan to be upset because they would be upset if the prices rose. So all these difficulties pursued us. I do not want to go into it but I merely wanted to draw your attention to the background, to the recent background. Anyhow, we realised, as never before, that the basis even of our industrial advance was a stable agricultural foundation. Of course, apart from industry, agriculture is important enough for us, very important—80 per cent of our people are engaged in it. It is obviously important for us to have enough food for everyone; proper food and all that. But even from the point of view of industrial advance it was essential that there should be an adequate agricultural advance in production so that even if bad seasons come, the monsoon fails us, drought or flood, we can survive it without much difficulty. So our prices should not rise too much. We want our farmers to have good prices; I have no doubt, most of you are in favour of that. But much as we favour that, we have to remember the consequences of that on our economy. Everything goes up: salaries go up, wages go up, and all our estimates for planning are shaken to their foundations. So, we realised, even more than we had ever done before, the absolute and utter necessity of concentrating on agricultural production—both food production and commercial crops which bring us much needed foreign exchange.

Now, I should like you to look at one aspect of this question—not of agricultural production, but of our problem—this aspect that we are a country which attained political freedom 11 years ago, and which is economically under-developed, backward, call it what you like. That is, a country not with considerable resources. Potentially, undoubtedly, we have the resources. Potentially we have great wealth, and I have no doubt we will get it actually. But it will take time and require hard labour. The point is that today we don't possess it. It is all potential. So while our resources were limited we gained political freedom, and political consciousness spread to hundreds of millions of our people. We gave them adult franchise, to everybody, including the people who might be called socially very backward; tribal people, people in the jungle—everybody had the vote because we had faith in our people. That was all right, having faith in our people. But the people quite rightly began to make demands upon us—very legitimate demands—to improve their standards. But we did



not have and do not have the resources to fulfil those demands. So this great difficulty faces us, a difficulty which is common to most countries in Asia, may be in Africa, but a difficulty which in this way did not come to the countries of Western Europe or America. Because in those countries of Western Europe and America economic advance took place over a fairly long period of time, great resources were built up, or considerable resources were built up, before the age for these acute political demands came. After all, even in a country like England adult suffrage came quite recently. Throughout the 19th century the suffrage was very limited; and its democracy, therefore, was a limited democracy; and, therefore, the demands from the other people who were not politically strong enough to push them forward in Parliament, those demands could not be pressed with any strength. They could partly be ignored. My point is that economic advance took place there, resources were built up in these countries, before the demands made upon them became too strong. And when the demands came they could be met. Even the economic revolution, in other words, took place before the full political revolution in these countries.

Now, here, the process has been reversed: we have the full, 100 per cent, political revolution and every man a sharer in it; and the economic revolution slowly coming at a strange snail's pace, building up resources. And the problem always is what to do at a particular moment when a legitimate demand is made which we agree with, but we have not got the resources to fulfil it. Take anything, take education. Our Constitution lays down that there must be free and compulsory education for every boy and girl in the country from the age of 6 to 14 within ten years. Well, eight years are past. We made very considerable progress in education; but, nowhere near that. We have to deal with hundreds of millions; I do not know exactly how many boys and girls would be involved in that. But all our figures run into hundreds of millions, and we just have not got the resources or, for that matter, the trained teachers at the present moment. And we go fast, but not fast enough, because the resources are not there. We go in for social legislation, which is fairly advanced, in our country—protecting the industrial worker and others. But the fact of the matter is our resources are not advanced enough to bear the burden of that social legislation. But now we have to go ahead because of this political and social consciousness in the country. So, it becomes a matter of utmost importance that we add to our resources. Again when we add to our resources the question always is how much we can save out of that, how much surplus for investment for future advance. How much do we spend today on benefits to the people? They want the benefits and we want to give them the benefits. The more benefits we give them, the less we have left for future advance. So all these complicated problems come up before us all the time in our planning, in our governmental work and

all that. And, of course, we try to find some balance; sometimes the balance trips over in the wrong direction.

I venture to tell you this merely so that you may realise—I have no doubt you do realise—the various aspects of the problems as they present themselves to us. And yet in all this variety of problems the foremost, we do believe, is agriculture and agricultural improvement—greater production. Now I have not a shadow of doubt that production can increase in India very greatly; well, for two reasons: one is that our present rate is very low; I mean to say the rate of yield per acre is very low. There is plenty of room for advance. The second is that wherever an effort has been made, and efforts have been made in a large number of areas in this country, small patches here and there, the yield per acre has gone up two-fold, three-fold and even four-fold. Of course, it is all very well to increase the yield of a selected plot of land. It is a very different thing to get 300 million people to do that, on all kinds of land. There, the difficulty comes in. But the point is, it can be done. No, I do not say that we can increase it all over India. But I have no doubt that we can at least double it. How long it takes I don't know. And if we double it, well, it meets all our problems, even the problem of increasing population, and will leave something over for export. And we can go beyond that. But I do not think that it will take us, well, as long as sometimes people imagine. I am told that in the best of circumstances no country has shown an increase in yield of more than three or four per cent per annum. I do not know if I am right or not. I have got that in my head, I may be wrong, perhaps. But, of course, the more you advance, the less room there is for rapid advance.

Then there is another aspect. Some countries have made, in recent years, very remarkable progress in industrial development, very remarkable indeed, in industrial development, in education and in health, etc. But that rate of progress, so far as I know, has not been shown in agriculture. Agriculture proves to be a tougher problem. It is not very difficult for me, given the resources, to put up three or four steel plants. Well, we pay for them, we train some people and the steel plant starts working after three or four years or five years, although it takes much longer to train the human commodity. But it is a much more difficult job to deal with these vast masses of agricultural population, who, naturally, are tied to old customs, old grooves of thought, old methods of working, and it is difficult to pull them out of these. It is not impossible; in fact it is less difficult than I previously thought, provided the right approach is made. But they are just not going to be hustled about. They have to be convinced, and the right approach always is convincing them in a friendly way, and, more specially by example. Nothing goes as far as an example. That is so. But still the fact remains that one is held up. All of one's tremendous enthusiasm suffers, coming



up against this tremendous wall of humanity used to certain methods of working; and that is what has been, is not so much so now. What is much more unfortunate is a certain lack of initiative, coming both from poverty and from habits—governmental habits—in the country which do not encourage initiative. And the poor man, poor peasant, looks to some governmental apparatus, some demigod advice, to work things for him, which, of course, is a very bad thing. The essential thing required of him is the spirit of self-reliance, a spirit of self-help and a spirit of cooperation. Obviously Government must help. Now a curious thing has happened. All this arose, of course, not in the last few years, but in the last hundred years or so. In fact, a way the British Government described itself to the common folk in India was that it was their father and mother—*mai-baap* Government—doing everything for them. Well, whether they did everything or not, this prevented the peasants from doing anything for themselves and take the initiative. It is not the fault of the British Government itself, it was the fault of the system.

Now another thing has happened. We very rightly, I think, put an end to large landed estates. We gave them some compensation and took them over and, by and large, created peasant proprietors, most of them rather small. Now, the old big landlord, by custom and convention, and in his own interest, did one thing, performed a social duty by looking after the wells and the tanks in the villages which used to irrigate the land. Now where this big landlord ceased to be the big landlord, the village community was supposed to take charge of the wells and the tanks. They didn't. They were not used to it. They expected somebody else to do it for them. Maybe it was our fault, but by our fault I mean the fault of the local authority or whatever it was. But the result was, we suddenly realised after a few years, that tens of thousands of wells and tanks had gone to pieces; and they could not be used properly and it involved enormous labour to build them up again. And we have to build them up. But it is impossible, really, for the governmental apparatus to go about repairing every village well—absurd—every village tank; it is for the village community to do it. They must have that initiative and enterprise, and they can do it and they will do it. It is only giving a different twist to their mind. As I have pointed out to you, we lost a great deal because of these wells and tanks going to pieces, for they used to irrigate, specially in times of drought, areas round about them. They couldn't irrigate when the drought came. So we struggled with these problems and we tried to find a balance, various balances between industry and agriculture, and again the problem arises about the institutional framework in agriculture.

Well, I have told you that so far as the big landlords were concerned, that system ended. By and large, it has ended all over India—you may have here

and there some relics which might remain. But we have not finished with our land reforms. Many other things have to be done. In the main we believed in removing the intermediaries between the men who work and the state and we are trying to achieve that.

While agricultural production has gone up, still more remains to be achieved. The problem becomes tougher when we remember that there are millions of people who own lands and who have to increase production. Peasants have to be convinced about the particular type of farming and induced to take to new methods. What is unfortunate is the lack of initiative on the part of many, but this is partly because of poverty and also of the habits. During the British rule, initiative was completely killed. Now, in India we have put an end to zamindaris and large proprietorships and are thinking in terms of land reforms. The average holding in India is pitifully low. Apart from this acting as a handicap for economic production there is the added handicap of the farmers not adopting progressive and cooperative methods in agriculture. But I am terribly anxious that the cooperative should be the peasants' cooperative, not a state cooperative, imposed on the peasants, run by state officials. I do not want state officials to reduce the initiative of the peasant. So what should be the institutional aspect? I do not know. I am merely putting some ideas before you. I believe the only way out is the development of cooperation, of real cooperation and I believe that real cooperative effort among our peasantry will lead to what are called small cooperatives, a village cooperative, or may be, two or three small villages together. The point is that the members of the cooperative should be more or less known to each other, not unknown; it should not be merely an impersonal thing because the poor peasant will not be able to function there again and he will get helpless. But if they know each other, if they know who is a good man, who is a bad man, whom they can trust, whom they cannot trust, well, they will make a hundred mistakes, but they will get on.

Of course, the argument is that the small cooperative has very little resources. True. Well, the only way is you can join up a number of small cooperatives into bigger federations or call them what you will, and give expert advice and all that. Well, these are really problems which you may perhaps discuss or not, I do not know, but which come up before us in various ways and we deal with them. As you know, any problem involving human beings is difficult and when large numbers of human beings are involved, it becomes more difficult. In agriculture we have to deal not only with men and women but with animals and plants and all kinds of things and find some balance between them. A little upset in the whole thing and the planning will go to pieces. So all these difficulties which are there, they come up and they are dealt with, no doubt, and they are got over. But the progress becomes slower



than one had thought, and sometimes a little bit of frustration comes in, why cannot we go ahead faster? But then one remembers that we are on the march. We are not marching by ourselves as individuals, or small groups. We are a large brotherhood of 360 million people on the march; and, we have all to go together and we cannot run away from each other; and we have all to help each other in this process. I do believe that the initial difficulties having been got over, the pace will become faster because, as I said, I have tremendous faith in the innate good sense and intelligence of our people, of our peasantry.

Then there is the question of population, a very big population, growing. Although it often surprises people to know that the rate of growth is not so terrible as some people have imagined, but whatever the rate may be if 360 million people grow, the numbers become bigger and bigger. I believe that our birthrate is slowly going down; and will go down. But faster than the birthrate, the deathrate goes down. It is a good thing no doubt, as the result of better health. But at the same time it helps in keeping the population ratio up. And all kinds of estimates are made about the future population: in 20 years this, in 40 years that. Well, I do not know what is going to happen 20 or 40 years later, except presumably that we will be more in numbers than we are now, but I hope that if on the one hand we will be able to restrict it somewhat, on the other we will be able to look after it better, by way of food and other conveniences. But, in any event, the question of restricting population growth takes some time—it cannot take place obviously quickly and suddenly. The process has started in India and it is yielding some results and we go by results. What the actual results may be I can't say. But the real result will come after some years. And the main thing is not on stopping or restricting population growth in the future. That will come, I hope, it will come out from our work by increasing our capacity to deal with our present growth of population here and now and tomorrow and the day after. So here we are—what is it, I forget now, whether we are 1/6th or 1/7th of the human race in India—a large number, fortunately the people are peacefully inclined. Sometimes some of them may misbehave as all of us do, but, broadly speaking, they are peacefully inclined, with no aggressive intentions on anybody, wanting to live in peace with themselves and with others. But it does make a difference what this vast spreading population feels about these matters, whether they are peacefully inclined or not, that is something in their favour. But ultimately, they depend, as all people in the world depend, on so many uncertain and unknown factors of the future that no one can prophesy that will happen.

All that we can do is to work our hardest on every plane, on the plane of production, on the plane of equitable distribution, so that there may be, we may build up, a society where every person has more or less an even chance and

every person has the necessities of life, and the state is more or less a welfare state; and, at the same time always remembering in doing so that there are cultural and spiritual matters that count. It is not merely production which is necessary. Of course it is necessary, but the society must have some standards, some cultural values and some spiritual values. Otherwise all its material progress may lead it perhaps, in a wrong direction. And now I inaugurate this conference, and in order to do it in a noisy way I shall ring the cowbell.





## NATIONAL PROGRESS





## I. ECONOMY AND PLANNING

1. To M.S. Thacker<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 6, 1958

My dear Thacker,<sup>2</sup>

I have received the summary for the Cabinet in regard to your visit to some countries abroad including the UK, East and West Germany, Canada and Japan. Your visits abroad do good and I have been in favour of them. But I have been wondering if it is necessary for you to go to these countries which would really mean a tour of the globe almost and your absence for a considerable time from headquarters. When we are trying to limit our tours abroad because of our financial situation,<sup>3</sup> we should try to avoid any visit which can be avoided. Will you, therefore, look into this matter again and see if any change can be made?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

In particular, the proposed visit to Japan does not seem to me essential.

1. JN Collection. Also available in Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.
2. Secretary in the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, and Director General, CSIR.
3. India had been facing a difficult foreign exchange situation due to an increase in imports of heavy machinery, iron and steel, foodgrains and some manufactured products.



## 2. To Lal Bahadur Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 20, 1958

My dear Lal Bahadur,<sup>2</sup>

A young Indian businessman who has just returned from abroad has pointed out to me how there is a great deal of leakage in foreign exchange. This is brought about by certain practices of Indian businessmen who build up funds abroad. Apparently manufacturers do not themselves undertake export business. They function through exporters and forwarding agents. It is these forwarding agents who misbehave. It was a forwarding agent in Germany who spoke about these matters to the person who has referred it to me.

I enclose a note which he has given me.<sup>3</sup> I am sending a copy of this to Morarji Desai.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(35)/56-66-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Commerce and Industry.
3. Sudershan Mehta, who worked with Shaw Wallace & Co., which dealt mostly in fertilisers, had informed Nehru's Private Secretary M.O. Mathai through a note that the exporters and forwarding agents who imported goods for manufacturers submitted inflated bills to the Reserve Bank of India for reimbursement of foreign exchange, which led to the building up of funds as black money by them abroad. In order to check this leakage of foreign exchange, Mehta suggested that the Reserve Bank should demand bills from the manufactures and also from the shipping company for freight charges and, if necessary, consolidated bills from the forwarding agents.

### 3. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

25th July, 1958

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

For some time past there has been some vague talk going on about the steps we might take to build up a gold reserve.<sup>3</sup> It is clear that if we had an adequate gold reserve, then our currency would be strong and would be able to face any emergencies that might arise. Even the question of foreign exchange then would not offer any great difficulty.<sup>4</sup>

I think that we should consider this matter definitely and precisely now. Obviously this has to be done, to begin with, secretly as any step that we might intend taking, if it is known, would lead to all kinds of speculation.

What applies to gold applies to silver also in some degree. Perhaps this is a relatively easier process. Krishna Menon has sent me a note on silver, a copy of

1. File No. 37(35)/56-66-PMS.

2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.

3. The Reserve Bank of India's report on currency and finance for the year 1958-59 noted that the downtrend in the domestic production of gold continued during 1958. With a view to strengthening the country's gold reserves, the Union Government decided to acquire the entire production of the Mysore gold mines, which had hitherto been allowed to be sold in the open market. Meanwhile several suggestions for attracting the large amount of gold, lying dormant in India, for the Plan had been made. C.B. Mehta, President of the Bombay Bullion Association, was of the opinion that issue of a gold loan (loan to be returned in gold) could help the Government to get a substantial amount of gold.

4. While answering a question from a Reuters correspondent in Washington on 20 July 1958, B.K. Nehru, Secretary in the Finance Ministry, said that the immediate problem was to close an estimated deficit of \$600 million and explained that Indian reserves in July totalled only \$430 million. He added that the Indian balance of payments deficit was running at \$10 million a week and said: "if the country continued to maintain its present economy and the core of the Five-Year Plan, its reserves would be completely exhausted by the end of this year (1958)." See also *post*, pp. 163-166.



which I enclose. I should like you to give some thought to this matter.<sup>5</sup> I suggest that we might meet on Tuesday, 29th July, at 5 p.m. in my room in External Affairs to consider this note. At that time we might have a brief talk about the approach to gold also.

I propose that our informal meeting on the 29th should consist of the Home Minister, the Finance Minister, the Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Defence Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. In his two notes of 25 July 1958, Union Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon had suggested ways to procure gold and silver available with the people in the country. The Government after acquiring a part of the precious metals could use them to build substantial reserves to cover the Indian currency and enhance India's credit-worthiness internationally. According to Krishna Menon, this would help in raising external resources for developmental expenditure and in turn increase production, which was the answer to problems of unemployment, low standards, inflation and social instability. This called for bold measures of generous deficit financing which needed to be properly understood, planned and administered, he added.

#### 4. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1958

My dear Morarji,

V.K.R.V. Rao<sup>2</sup> has sent me a copy of an article he is contributing to the Tamil weekly, *Kalki*.<sup>3</sup> I am sending this to you as you might be interested in it.

Various people have told me that in spite of our rules and regulations, quite a large number of people continue to go abroad for pleasure. Apparently, they get the foreign exchange for it. Our air services going abroad are full of them. This has been particularly noticed in Bombay. How do they get all this foreign exchange?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 37(35)/56-66-PMS.

2. Vice Chancellor of Delhi University.

3. *Kalki* was founded by Tamil novelist Kalki Krishnamurthy in 1941 and was published from Madras.

## 5. Reduce Construction Cost in State Undertakings<sup>1</sup>

It has struck me that it might be worthwhile for us to compare, if that is possible, our construction cost in our major undertakings with the construction cost in China and elsewhere. In China, I believe, they have a Construction Corporation which is in charge of this work.

2. I do not know what proportion of expenditure on our projects goes in construction. I imagine that possibly nearly half or at least 40 per cent is spent on construction. This is just a guess. If that is true, then one might say that out of Rs 4,500 crores about Rs 2,000 crores go into construction. Even if we could save ten per cent of the cost, this will amount to Rs 200 crores.

3. At present, there are many contractors and subcontractors who do this work, and the result is that a good part of the money spent goes to these middle persons. If this procedure could be simplified, this might result in considerable saving.

4. I suggest that the Planning Commission might investigate this matter.

1. Note to Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission V.T. Krishnamachari, 14 August 1958. JN Collection.

## 6. To Y.N. Sukthankar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 26, 1958

My dear Sukthankar,<sup>2</sup>

In your letter of the 22nd August to the President reference is made to instructions having been issued to Block Development Officers to organise as many large-size cooperative societies as possible. As you perhaps know, I am not an admirer of big cooperatives. I am convinced that a cooperative can only take root and grow if it is small and manageable and is entirely non-official.<sup>3</sup> I

1. File No. 17(263)/57-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Governor of Orissa.
3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 32, 50-51, 160, 175, 181, 183-184 and Vol. 42, pp. 16, 110-111.



realise that there is some force in the argument about such a small cooperative not having enough resources. In spite of that, I am convinced that cooperatives should be small; in fact, normally village cooperatives or, if the villages are near each other, two or three villages might be joined together. The idea of officials running cooperatives is entirely against the spirit of the movement.

One might get over the difficulty of smallness by associating a number of small cooperatives in a federation or some such thing.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## **7. Collection of Statistics by the Centre and States<sup>1</sup>**

I agree. In fact I agree with the whole approach of Professor P.C. Mahalanobis as recorded in his note which has been given above. In effect this approach has been accepted in Cabinet Secretary's note.

I do not quite understand why there should be much or any difficulty in bringing about uniformity in the methods of collection of statistical data in the States and the Centre. It is stated in para 3 of Cabinet Secretary's note that to a great extent methodological collaboration between the Central Statistical Organisation and the State Statistical Bureaus is already under operation, but formal subordination of the latter would present great difficulties with the State Governments. There should be no question of subordination, formal or other. The question is that the methods employed and the forms used for some particular types of statistical data should be similar. Otherwise they cannot be coordinated. This does not imply subordination. It implies a rational cooperative approach to which no State should have any objection. Thus these forms can be decided upon by the CSO in consultation with the States and they should be similar everywhere in so far as particular matters are concerned. The data received could then easily be compared. This would not prevent the States from collecting any additional statistical information, should they so wish.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 29 August 1958. JN Collection.

## 8. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 30, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,

I have been giving a good deal of thought to what you said to me the other day about the distribution of work in the Planning Commission. I have had a talk with V.T. Krishnamachari also.

Whatever work in the Planning Commission you would take, would undoubtedly be in safe hands, and you would do justice to it. There is no question of that. But I feel that my approach to this question is somewhat different from yours. When the Planning Commission started, I thought that it would consist of full-time members, except for me as Chairman.<sup>2</sup> I put myself there for two reasons: one was to be the connecting link between the Cabinet and the Commission; the other was to indicate the importance we attached to the Planning Commission. Our attempt at planning was rather unique in its own way. There is no such effort at planning, so far as I know, in any country other than the communist countries. I know, of course, that there is some kind of planning in some other countries also. But that is confined and limited. In the communist countries, planning is done in a much more thorough, comprehensive and authoritarian way. In fact, the planning commissions there are a vital and important part of the executive machinery of government. Obviously, we could not function as in the communist countries, nor were we functioning as in the other countries.

Thus, immediately, the question arose about the relationship of the Planning Commission to the Government and, more particularly, the Cabinet. There were no precedents for this; we had to create our own procedures, conventions and precedents. We had to go a little cautiously because we were treading somewhat difficult and delicate ground. I am not for the present referring to the difficulty of planning itself, but rather to the relationship between the Planning Commission and the Central Government as well as the State Governments. I was anxious to avoid a spirit of non-cooperation growing up between these various activities. That was the main reason why I put myself there.

1. JN Collection.

2. The Planning Commission was set up on 15 March 1950 with Prime Minister Nehru as Chairman and Gulzarilal Nanda as Deputy Chairman. V.T. Krishnamachari, G.L. Mehta, R.K. Patil, and C.D. Deshmukh were Members of the Commission.



In spite of this, you will remember that right at the beginning, we had trouble. Dr John Matthai resigned on the issue of the Planning Commission.<sup>3</sup> Subsequently, there was not too much goodwill or cooperation in some ministries with the Planning Commission. There was a feeling that the Planning Commission had become a kind of a super-cabinet, and this was resented. The Planning Commission, on the other hand, found it difficult to function adequately without that measure of cooperation from the Central Ministries and the State Governments. Slowly and gradually we got over this element of friction and, on the whole, there was a measure of smooth working, although difficulties continued to crop up from time to time. The Press also was not always helpful in this respect.

Soon after the formation of the Planning Commission, C.D. Deshmukh became the Finance Minister.<sup>4</sup> He wanted to and I agreed with him, to continue in the Planning Commission. You also became a Central Minister<sup>5</sup> and also continued in the Planning Commission, though you gave up the Deputy Chairmanship then, as was right. The nature of the Planning Commission thus underwent some change, with three Central Ministers functioning as full members of the Commission. I did not particularly like this development, but there was no help for it as Deshmukh and you were important members of the Commission, and both of you were also wanted in the Central Government.

Another development took place later. This was the coming in of Mahalanobis as *de facto* member of the Commission.<sup>6</sup> I wanted to make him a full member, but he himself preferred not to be tied up in that way, and I agreed with him. He had to go frequently abroad to attend international conferences, and numerous foreign countries were constantly demanding his help. He was also the chief of the Statistical Institute near Calcutta, which absorbed much of his time. Nevertheless, I attached great importance to his association with the Planning Commission because he is far and away the ablest statistician that we possess and one of the leading statisticians of the world. He was also something more than a statistician; he was a scientist of repute and had, what I would call, a strong social outlook. Statistics today are not merely a question of facts and figures, but of the application of a social outlook. He had also studied rather carefully planning in other countries wherever it was taking place.

You will remember that there was not much of an atmosphere of cooperation in the Planning Commission or outside in regard to Mahalanobis. Partly this

3. For resignation of the then Finance Minister John Matthai in May 1950, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 14, Pt. II, pp. 200-202 & 227-250.
4. C.D. Deshmukh was the Union Finance Minister from 1950-1956.
5. Gulzarilal Nanda became Union Planning Minister in 1951.
6. P.C. Mahalanobis was a Member of the Planning Commission from 1955-1967.

might have been due to temperamental reasons, but mostly it was due to some people outside thinking that he was too advanced in, what was called, a leftist direction. Some newspapers and some individuals outside did not fancy his coming in, and there was a good deal of criticism. Personally, I agreed with his broad outlook, and the very reason for which he was apparently criticised seemed to me in his favour. There came the Provisional Draft Outline of the Second Plan, and there was some kind of a controversy about that also.<sup>7</sup>

I mention these past developments to indicate how we have gradually grown in spite of difficulties and how we have got over, to a large extent, various frictions that had arisen from time to time. The basic question, of course, remained as to the broad policy that we should pursue, and on that there could very well be differences of opinion. To some extent, the decision of the Congress and of the Government to aim at a socialist pattern of society helped to give a direction to our policy. Even so, within that broad phraseology, there was a pulling in different directions. Perhaps, that was natural in the circumstances. For me, planning could not be considered properly without looking ahead in perspective as to what we were aiming at, not merely in the five years, but in several five years. Hence, my repeated attempts to lay stress on perspective planning and on, what was called, physical planning.<sup>8</sup> I have yet been unable to understand how anyone can object to this conception of physical planning unless he objects to planning itself. Most of these objections, therefore, to physical planning came from those who did not like the very idea of planning. Physical planning obviously cannot be in the air, and has to be conditioned and limited by financial resources. But planning is essentially physical, and not financial, though finances are limiting factors.

I cannot say that I was happy at many developments in the Planning Commission and certain tendencies that came into evidence. However, I realised that, in the circumstances of today in India, we can only go ahead as far as we can by carrying people with us.

All this is rather past history. But I have given it so as to lead up to the present. All the time I thought that the basic policies of the Planning Commission should be laid down in the closest consultation with the Cabinet. Hence, the necessity for a close association of some members of the Cabinet with the Planning Commission, and some association of the other members also insofar as their subjects were concerned. For a Cabinet Minister to be heavily burdened

7. The reference is to a note of dissent by B.R. Shenoy, a member of the panel of economists, to the Draft Plan Frame for the Second Plan. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, p. 383.

8. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 65-67.



with Planning Commission work did not seem to me feasible or right. I am referring particularly to the large amount of routine work. But insofar as matters affecting policy were concerned, it was essential for Cabinet Ministers to play their full role. Otherwise, there would be a hiatus, and the Planning Commission would go one way and the Government another.

While I thought so, circumstances led to Cabinet Ministers taking additional burdens in the Planning Commission. Later, Krishna Menon also was made a member.<sup>9</sup> It seemed to me important that the Finance Minister should be a member of the Planning Commission, as finance and economic policy play a very important part. But I would have preferred, and would still prefer, a full-time member of the Planning Commission dealing with the broad aspects of economic policy. That would have brought a fresh mind to bear on this vital subject, other than that of our Finance Ministry. But there were obvious difficulties in the way and, anyhow, I could think of nobody who could undertake this task.

Thinking as I did, I did not want to burden you, or indeed any Cabinet Minister, with too much detailed work in the Planning Commission. So far as you are concerned, you have not only an important and vital Ministry (previously you had Irrigation and Power), but have to give a good deal of your time to the Bharat Sewak Samaj<sup>10</sup> and public cooperation, etc. This aspect of our work, namely, public cooperation, was especially entrusted to you as you were obviously the only person amongst us who could do justice to it. Probably, if you had not been there, we would not have a member of the Commission dealing with this matter.

This has always been my line of thought, though, owing to circumstances, I could not give full effect to it. I was convinced that basic policies suffered if all the members of the Planning Commission were tied up with a heavy daily routine. This applied more especially to Cabinet Ministers. We must have time to think, time to analyse what others say or do, time to read and keep up-to-date, and all that. I fear that I fail in this test.

Recently, the Estimates Committee has criticised the composition of the Planning Commission.<sup>11</sup> I do not agree with their criticism, and I had a fairly

9. In 1956.

10. Gulzarilal Nanda, Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning, was also Chairman of the Bharat Sewak Samaj and Nehru was its President.

11. The Estimates Committee of the Second Lok Sabha, in its twenty-first report, recommended that the Union Ministers should not be the members of the Planning Commission and neither should the Prime Minister be its chairman. These recommendations were rejected by the Government of India.

long talk with Balwantray Mehta<sup>12</sup> today and told him so. If we followed their advice, I fear the Planning Commission would lose much of its significance and would not play the important part that it should. But there is something in their criticism if the major part of the detailed work of the Planning Commission is entrusted to Cabinet Ministers. I have, therefore, been anxious to add full-time members to the Commission so that all this routine and regular work should be undertaken by them. It is not easy to find suitable men. We got Trivedi<sup>13</sup> some months back, and now recently we have two new members, Shriman Narayan<sup>14</sup> and T.N. Singh.<sup>15</sup> We have now five full-time members of the Commission, apart from four Cabinet Ministers who might be considered part-time members. For the time being, we may consider the Planning Commission as fully constituted. My idea has been that the full-time members should practically do nearly all the regular routine work. This would be fair to the Commission and to the Government. It would meet, to some extent, the criticism of the Estimates Committee, though not wholly. The so-called part-time members can, of course, take charge of some part of the work, but their main function should be a close association with all the work and the formulation of policy and major decisions. Because of this, I thought naturally that the heaviest part of the work should fall on the full-time members, so as to leave the part-time members a measure of freedom from the routine work. At the same time, of course, it was important that there should be the closest association of the Cabinet Ministers in the Planning Commission with every aspect of that work. In addition to this, they could be even more closely associated with particular aspects in which they were especially interested.

If this is the right approach, then it follows that heavy portfolios, like Food and Agriculture, Industry and allied subjects, should be taken up by the full-time members. They take up a great deal of time if adequately done, and it would not be fair to the part-time members to be put in charge, except perhaps for an interval. Shriman Narayan has taken up Food and Agriculture which is so important now, and I am glad of that. Industry is obviously also of vital importance, and I do not see how it would be desirable for this heavy subject to be taken up by a Cabinet Minister. But I do understand and, indeed, think it desirable that a Cabinet Minister should be closely allied with these big subjects,

12. Chairman of the Estimates Committee.

13. C.M. Trivedi, former Governor of Andhra Pradesh, was a Member of the Planning Commission from 1957 to 1963.

14. Shriman Narayan, General Secretary of the Congress Party, was a Member of the Planning Commission from 1958 to 1964.

15. T.N. Singh, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha, was a Member of the Planning Commission from 1958 to 1967.



so that he would not only guide policy but actually be in touch with all major decisions.

I feel, therefore, that it would be desirable for Industry with such allied subjects as may be considered necessary, to be entrusted to T.N. Singh. But I would very much like you to be closely associated with him in this particular work related to Industry, so that you can practically function together in all important matters.

Apart from this, what I am anxious about is that we must develop afresh that full integrated way of thinking which a Planning Commission should have. For that reason, I suggested to the Deputy Chairman that the members of the Planning Commission, at any rate the full-time members, should meet daily in the mornings, apart from any particular item on the agenda. This, I believe, is now being done. We also now meet on Tuesday and Friday mornings. All this is a step in the right direction. But, of course, these formal procedures only create conditions. The actual thing must come from active minds meeting each other.

We are now in the middle of the Second Plan, and we have to think of the Third Plan. We cannot give any precise thought to many aspects of this Third Plan because that would depend on so many factors which are uncertain. Nevertheless, I think that we should begin thinking of it, and thinking of it in terms of the Fourth and Fifth Plans, that is, in perspective. Many of our policies have become rather blurred. We have to clear them up. Only then can we proceed with some clarity of thought and objective.

I hope I have succeeded to some extent in placing before you how my mind has been working and that you will appreciate it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

9. To J.R.D. Tata<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30th August 1958

My dear Jehangir,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of 21st August and the cheque for Rs 50,000 for the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund from the Trustees of the Sir Dorab Tata Trust. Please convey my thanks to the Trustees. This money has come in when, as you know, the Fund had been practically exhausted.<sup>3</sup> So, it is very welcome.

Yours,  
Jawaharlal

1. JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Tata Sons.
3. See also *post*, pp. 337-338 and 655.



## II. FOOD AND AGRICULTURE

### 1. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1st July, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,<sup>2</sup>

Please see the attached advertisement on behalf of your Government.<sup>3</sup>

Is it not dangerous to dispose of these poisonous stocks of wheat in this way? Unscrupulous persons might well mix them up with other wheat and sell them as such. If they are to be disposed of, this should be done after dealing with them in a way as to make it impossible for them to be mixed up with other foodgrains.

The question also arises as to how this wheat was treated by poisonous articles. When we are so terribly short of food, how do these mistakes occur? I presume the Bihar Government has enquired into it.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS.

2. Chief Minister of Bihar.

3. The Bihar Government had issued an advertisement for the sale, for "unedible purposes", of chemically treated wheat seeds. These wheat seeds had been purchased by the Bihar Government from Punjab and Rajasthan because of the failure of the *rabi* crop in the state and were chemically treated on account of fungal infestation, which rendered them unfit for human consumption. But according to experts, the seeds so treated would be unaffected in germination qualities and the produce would also be unaffected. Bihar had purchased 4.95 lakh *maunds* of wheat seeds of which 2.17 lakh *maunds* had to be chemically treated. The state wanted to sell 17,000 *maunds* of treated wheat that was left over after the sowing season.

4. Replying to Nehru on 21 July 1958, Sinha stated that he had directed the Agriculture Department to find out if the chemically treated wheat seeds, instead of being sold, could be stored for the next *rabi* season.

## 2. Ways to Raise Agricultural Production<sup>1</sup>

The Chairman<sup>2</sup> said that the problem had to be seen from three aspects.<sup>3</sup> There was, first, the long-term problem which could be met only through increase in agricultural production. Secondly, there was the question of action to be taken during the next *kharif*. Thirdly, there was the question of what could be done at present. In spite of their best efforts, there had been a tendency to function spasmodically. It was essential that the Government should not have to function from moment to moment. There was a close connection between the problem facing us today and the action to be taken six months later. The Committee of Secretaries should go into all aspects of the question, including those relating to machinery, policies and procedures. There was sometimes a tendency to consider the food problem to be insoluble and to suggest that all that could be done in the present situation had been done. In the past, procurement had often come late in the season. The question of securing the cooperation of the States was one to which it should be possible to find a satisfactory solution.

The Chairman suggested that all the decisions relevant to the next *kharif* should be taken much earlier than last year, so that further steps could be initiated with the States in good time.

1. Excerpts from the summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 5 July 1958. Planning Commission (Coordination) Papers.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru.
3. The meeting was convened to consider the trends in foodgrain prices in relation to the report of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee. V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman, stated that according to an assessment of the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, food prices were likely to increase in the coming three or four months. Therefore, the questions for consideration were how to increase procurement immediately and for the next *kharif*, and what long-term arrangements should be made. The rise in food prices was attributed mainly to a drop in production in western UP, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan, though hoarding and speculation also played a role.



### 3. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 6, 1958

My dear Ajit,<sup>2</sup>

As I told you, I should like you to circulate the paper that Dr Parker<sup>3</sup> gave me to all the members of the Cabinet. There is nothing very new in it. Nevertheless, it is good that certain aspects should be emphasised and we should keep them in mind. I should like the fuller paper to be circulated with the statistical figures that he has given.

You are having a meeting of the Food Committee on the 8th July.<sup>4</sup> That Committee, of course, will not discuss these broad questions. Nevertheless, it would be good for the Committee members to have this paper before they meet.

I should like to have a little talk with you about general agricultural production. Also about fisheries and forests. I have long felt that we have not been able to make much of the wonderful forests we have in the Andamans.<sup>5</sup> As for agriculture, we are constantly laying stress on the States giving first priority to it. Are we doing so ourselves? I know that we are laying stress on it, but I am rather thinking of the necessity of a push and a drive.

Parker gave me a printed paper on soil conservation in the Damodar Valley. It is a useful paper which shows the good work being done there.<sup>6</sup> I hope you have given publicity to this.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(75)/58-PMS.

2. Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

3. Frank Wilson Parker (b. 1897); American soil scientist; Agricultural Advisor to the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Government of India, 1953-59; Assistant Director-General, Technical Department, FAO, Rome, 1959-63; Consultant, Board on Agriculture and Renewable Resources, USA, 1975; author of *Methods of Studying the Concentration and Composition of the Soil Solution*; *Carbon dioxide Production of Plant Roots as a Factor in the Feeding Power of Plants* and *Fertilisers and Economic Department*.

4. See the next item.

5. Forests constituted nearly 72 per cent of the total area of the Andamans.

6. Damodar Valley Corporation's Soil Conservation Department, established at Hazaribagh in 1949, had been carrying out soil conservation work in the upper Damodar-Barakar catchment areas through multidisciplinary and integrated watershed management programmes.

#### 4. Need to Increase Food Production<sup>1</sup>

The Food Committee of the Cabinet considered the recommendations of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee contained in the Ministry of Food and Agriculture's note dated April 23, 1958. During the discussion, the Prime Minister laid particular emphasis on the need for increasing the production of foodgrains. While appreciating the efforts made by the Ministry of Food and Agriculture in this direction, the Prime Minister felt that we had failed to utilise the actual resources that were available to us. For instance, great river valley schemes had provided plenty of water but because proper communicating channels had not been constructed, this water could not be utilised for the fields. Thousands of tube-wells had been made, but most of them remained unused for various reasons. A large number of tanks were not repaired and therefore could not be used. The Prime Minister pointed out that what was really required was to tackle this problem at the village level, which would mean that the burden would fall principally on the village and the individual farmer. The real change would come only when the farmer started functioning with energy and vitality. The Prime Minister emphasised that, in order to produce good results, it was necessary to concentrate on community development programmes and to have village-wise plans for increased production of foodgrains.

2. The Committee agreed with the views expressed by the Prime Minister and suggested that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture should give further thought to these problems which were of basic importance.<sup>2</sup>

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1. Extracts from the minutes of the meeting of the Food Committee of the Cabinet, 8 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Committee approved the Ministry's proposals contained in their note except for the setting up of a Central Food Advisory Council on the suggestion of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee. The Committee also approved in principle that special studies should be undertaken in the areas of chronic difficulties by the State Governments in consultation with the Planning Commission. The Committee further decided that the Government's decisions might be suitably explained during the debate on food policy in the next session of Parliament and no formal resolution on the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee report needed to be issued.



## 5. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 10, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am sending you two copies of a brochure on low cost balanced diets and school lunch programmes prepared by our Nutrition Research Laboratories at Coonoor in South India.<sup>2</sup> I visited these laboratories some time ago<sup>3</sup> and found that they were doing very good work in various directions. I suggested to them that they might prepare a variety of balanced diets which should be inexpensive.

Some of the State Governments, notably Madras, have introduced a free lunch in some of their primary schools. I was happy to learn of the progress made in this matter in Madras State.<sup>4</sup> This gave me the idea to ask the Coonoor Laboratories to suggest a suitable school lunch.

It is obvious that the type of food given will vary in different parts of India. Nevertheless, these suggestions on a balanced diet will, I am sure, be found helpful by you. Eminent doctors have been saying repeatedly that our food habits in India are not at all healthy or wholesome. Most of our people concentrate far too much on cereals. This is neither good for them nor for the country's economy. Our dependence on a particular type of cereal is not safe, apart from its not being conducive to health.<sup>5</sup>

I hope you will have the information contained in this brochure examined by your Health and other Departments concerned and give publicity to the suggestions made in this brochure.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(66)/58-PMS. Also printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 5, pp. 76-77.
2. The 38-page brochure on *Menus for Low-Cost Balanced Diets & School-Lunch Programmes* was especially suitable for South India. The menus were suggested mainly for the lower income groups of people and would provide about 3,000 calories and about 75 to 80 gms of protein per day consisting of two principal meals and one light meal taken as snack or breakfast. In drawing up these menus, substitute foods were also suggested.
3. On 28 April 1958.
4. K. Kamaraj, the Chief Minister of the Madras State, implemented the mid-day meal scheme in July 1956 across the State and also provided uniforms and textbooks. By the end of 1962, the scheme covered 27,217 schools.
5. In a press conference on 2 January 1958, Nehru referred to a report by the Nutrition Wing of the Health Ministry that Indian people ate far too much cereal and not other healthy foods. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 798-799.

## 6. Crucial Role of Farmers<sup>1</sup>

Brothers and sisters,

You have had to bear a great deal of hardship in this area across the Yamuna and the crops have been bad due to the drought which has lasted for 11 months. I have been worried and so have you but it has been difficult to know how we could help at all. Rains are not under our control. We can make some temporary arrangements to help you in this crisis. Now of course there have been rains after a very long time which will do some good. But a great deal remains to be done by you, by us, by the government to put you back on your feet and alleviate your suffering a little. The cattle need fodder which is not available at the moment. Arrangements have to be made to provide employment. I know that there are not many avenues of employment here. But it is certain that if all of you were to cooperate and do something, it will take you very far. Don't sit idle waiting for government to help; after all, the government cannot do very much. The strength of the government lies in the people of India. It does not have the capacity to look after every individual in India. The people must help themselves. The panchayat, the community blocks and development projects are meant to work from below and make the foundations strong and to help the government at the top. If the foundation is strong, any issue can be faced with equanimity. If not, even a small drought can become a tremendous burden.

There are big tasks before the nation and we want that the panchayat should become strong in every village and cooperative societies should be formed. What is a cooperative society? It is an organisation in which the farmers work together. They will own land individually but the farming is done by the cooperative method and the profit is shared by the members who lend mutual support in normal times and help in times of crisis. Cooperatives can provide good seeds and fertilisers and the sale of commodities becomes easier. All these things will add to your strength. I do not know what has happened here in this regard. But every village should have a cooperative society and a strong panchayat.

As you know, there are five-year plans, community projects, cooperatives. Please do not think that these should be run by government. There are some government officials in them but the schemes are of the people. You must implement them. Government officials will merely explain things to you. There have been many new developments in the field of agriculture. Our farmers

1. Speech at a public meeting at Jari village in Allahabad District, 16 July 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.



produce very little after tremendous effort. I do not know what the yield per acre is. In the UP, it is very low. With great difficulty, they produce 10 *maunds* or even less per acre. Only yesterday, a farmer came to me in the Handia tehsil and said that he had been able to produce 49 *maunds*, 20 *seer* and 5 *chhatak* of wheat per acre. Just imagine, it is five times the average yield in India. I agree that his land is good and he has used good fertilisers and worked very hard. Yet it is a tremendous achievement to have produced about 50 *maunds* from one acre. Even if you cannot do that much, you can certainly double your produce. If that were to happen, immediately the production in the country will be doubled. It may not be possible immediately but I think within the next eight or ten years, we must level our average yield per acre. Instead of 10 *maunds*, we must produce 30 *maunds* per acre. The average yield should certainly be that. But it requires hard work and a grasp of the new techniques and methods of agriculture.

You are already aware of some of the methods. I am not talking about the big machines which are complicated. I am talking about small things like good fertilisers and improving the existing implements. All these things can easily be got together only when cooperative societies are formed, because it is difficult to maintain contact with millions of farmers individually. It is not difficult to keep up contact with cooperative societies in each village.

We will do what we can to help you just now. You must not be disheartened, nor should you be crushed in spirit in a crisis. But the real need is to make arrangements for the future so that a similar situation does not arise and even if there is a drought, we may be able to control the situation. We are taking up big projects and river valley schemes, hydro-electric power plants, etc., to provide employment to the people and increase the national wealth. But the most important task is that of the farmer and his land. In this regard, I told you about the community blocks and if cooperative societies are formed of one or two villages each, everyone will gain in strength. If each one stands alone, the farmer will not find support easily.

Everyone in the country, men and women, must participate in these national tasks and understand them. The children especially should have proper opportunities for education and become strong and healthy. I feel very sad when I see that children are not being well looked after and they do not get proper food, proper clothing, proper housing. The children of today are the future of India. We talk of India and say *Jai Hind* or *Bharat Mata ki Jai*, etc. In fact, it is the children of today who are the India of tomorrow. They must be well looked after which is not happening just now. I agree that we are not doing our duty properly; every child in India must go to school and have enough to eat and wear.

So there are big tasks before us which can only be done with your help and understanding. You must not look to the government for everything as in the old days. It is no doubt the duty of the government to help and it will do what it can. But the real work has to be done by the people. The government is after all a government of the people.

Well, anyhow, I am happy that it has rained after so many days of hardship and the complexion has changed. I do not say that these rains will solve all our problems. But it is a good thing. We must take advantage of it and march forward in step with one another. Now, I will go from here.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me. Why are you so silent?

*Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*

## 7. Importance of Higher Farm Output<sup>1</sup>

Please be silent. I am an hour or more late and you have been waiting here in the rain for a long time. Please forgive me for that. But whether I come or not, rains are good and it is better that they rather than I should come. I have not come here to hold a large public meeting but to see for myself the situation here and to meet all of you and say a few words. I feel sorry that though Allahabad is my own district, I am able to come here very seldom because of the pressure of work. Moreover, my responsibility is not confined to Allahabad now but extends to the whole country. Even so, I wish I could come more often to my district where I spent all my early working days. Anyhow I am here for a couple of days.

I am happy to be here. But at the same time, I am rather upset to see the great poverty in some parts of this district. The biggest problem before us is how to remove poverty from India. We may be able to help you a little for the time being. But the question is how to root out poverty altogether? Poverty is not a good thing. It is with this goal that we are taking up huge projects, river-valley projects, all over the country and have drawn up the five year plans and what not. We want to increase production from land, produce more electricity to run industries which will provide employment to larger numbers. The most important thing is to increase agricultural production because that is a matter of survival for the peasantry as well as the nation. You are attached to your land. Why? It is because you produce things, foodgrains and other things, from it. Then why don't you produce more? You say that you work very hard

1. Speech at a public meeting at Laideyari village in Allahabad District, 16 July 1958. AIR tapes, NMML. Original in Hindi.



and yet the production does not go up. That is not correct. In other countries, they produce far more from an acre of land than we do here. If we too start using good seeds and fertilisers and what not, production will go up a great deal. From here in your area, from Meja *tehsil*, a farmer called Sujhiavan has been able to produce a thousand *maunds* of grain from 16 acres of land which works out to 54 *maunds* per acre—all right, per one and a half *bigha*—of land. I agree that his land must be very good but even so, it requires a great deal of hard work. He used good seeds and fertilisers and so he succeeded. Therefore, instead of continuing to suffer in dire poverty, if you would also work harder and double or treble your production, you will become better-off and do good to the country at the same time. The real help that can be given to you is in increasing production from land. Any temporary relief in times of crisis does not alleviate your suffering.

So we have set up community blocks and national extension service all over the country. Their most important task is to increase agricultural production, and at least double it very soon within the next year or two. We must work very hard to reach this target so that even if at some time, there is damage to crops or rains fail, there will be no harm done. We will have enough stock to tide us over a crisis. We will be in a strong position in this way.

I feel very bad to see the condition of your village. Every village must have a good school which you do not. We must look after our children with great care because they will grow up and serve the country. In fact they are India's future. They are not well looked after at the moment because the government does not have enough money. These things cannot be done by magic. Where is the money to come from? It does not come from outside, nor does it fall from heaven. It has to come from the people's pockets as taxes. This is the dilemma before us. On the one hand, we want to invest money to provide education, set up industries, improve agriculture, etc., and the more we invest the better off will the people become. On the other hand, it means increasing taxes which imposes a greater burden on the people. This is a great dilemma. But it is essential to increase production from land and industries because that will improve the conditions of the country and the people. When I go abroad, I see how beautiful the villages in other countries are and the people have plenty to eat, good clothes to wear, they get good education, etc. Then I feel bad that it is not so in our country. Our people should also get all these things and a time will come when it will be possible. But it cannot be done by magic. It requires hard work. You must understand what your duty is and all of you must work together in cooperation because in unity lies our strength.

We attained freedom because the people all over the country worked for it peacefully and unitedly, irrespective of religion, caste and community. That

freedom is for all of us and people of all religions have equal rights. The so-called higher castes can no longer oppress the others. As you know, we must uplift the downtrodden sections of our society and bring about, in a sense, economic freedom. The five year plans, the community projects and other things are aimed at this. All of you must form a village cooperative to do cooperative farming, and share the produce though your ownership of the land will remain intact. It ensures greater production and wherever this has been done, the farmers as well as the country have benefitted. Working together means more strength and enables the people to fight against injustice and oppression and pressures of the petty officials. Unity gives strength. Please think about all this. The government tries to do its best because somehow the country has to progress. Poverty is not a good thing.

I see beautiful little children, boys and girls, before me. I want them to grow and develop, get opportunities to advance. With the right opportunities, who knows, one of these children could well become a Minister or a Prime Minister in future. We do not have kingdom or hereditary monarchy in our country. Whoever has the ability can come up. Why should your child not become the Prime Minister of the country? After all, our President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, is not a king though he holds the highest post in the country. He comes from a land-owning family in Bihar. But he has great ability and has served the country very well for which the country respects him and has elected him to the highest position. It is not necessary to be born in a particular community or family. Ability is what counts. So our duty should be to provide opportunities to everyone to study and become trained so that each may go as far as his ability takes him. They will grow up and serve the country by doing big things. This is how we must build a new India with courage and hard work. Now I must go. So I take your leave. I congratulate you on these rains. Please take advantage of it.

Please say *Jai Hind* with me thrice. *Jai Hind!* I cannot hear the children's voices. *Jai Hind! Jai Hind! Jai Hind!*



## 8. To Panjabrao S. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 20, 1958

My dear Panjabrao,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 20th July about Meals for Millions. I have read it carefully, but the economic side is not quite clear to me. If these meals are given as they should be, it will be for the State Governments, corporations, municipalities, etc., to provide for them. We must prepare full information on the subject in a small pamphlet form.

But before you do this, you should discuss this matter with our Health Ministry and then with the Planning Commission.

I am sending your letter to the Planning Commission. You might have the discussions I have suggested and then prepare a clear note which can be sent to State Governments, etc. Recently, at my request, the Central Nutrition Laboratories in Coonoor prepared a number of sample balanced diets and mid-day school meals. I sent these to the Chief Ministers of States.<sup>3</sup> As a matter of fact, most of these meals were from the point of view of South India. In case you have not seen this brochure, I am sending a copy of it to you.

In this matter, you might also correspond with the Coonoor people.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Cooperation.

3. See *ante*, p. 112.

## 9. To S.M. Banerjee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 24, 1958

Dear Shri Banerjee,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 18th.<sup>3</sup> We have all been greatly concerned about food prices.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately they are coming down slightly now.

I agree with you that this is not a matter for political parties to be ranged against each other. We should consider it in consultation. I have suggested this to our Food and Agriculture Minister and he will arrange such meetings for consultation. I do not think very large meetings help, as there can be no real discussion then.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS.
2. (1919-1987); trade unionist; served in ordnance factories, 1942-56; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-67; Joint Secretary, All India Defence Employee's Federation, 1953.
3. Banerjee had written that the food problem should be tackled on a national level and that all the political parties, irrespective of their differences, could forge a common platform to discuss the food situation. An all-party conference would be useful and would create a healthy atmosphere in the country.
4. A detailed analysis of food price index for the year 1958 showed that the price of food articles rose from 102.5 per cent to 121.4 per cent and of all commodities from 106.0 to 116.0 between January and August 1958.
5. In another letter dated 23 July 1958 (not printed), Nehru agreed with Food and Agriculture Minister A.P. Jain that the food problem should be discussed in the Informal Consultative Committee of Food consisting of representatives of all parties in Parliament.

## 10. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24th July, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I mentioned at the Cabinet meeting yesterday that we must consider the food situation afresh on new lines of thought, if that is necessary. I feel that we have got into certain grooves and we cannot get out of them. The steps we take are

1. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS.



right enough to meet a certain situation but we stop at the fringe of the problem. We seem to accept certain present-day conditions as being axiomatic. I doubt if in any country all this trade in food, which is so vital to our people, can be left to proceed in an anarchical way when conditions are so difficult.

Then there is the question of consumption. No efforts apparently are made to reduce consumption, public or private. It seems to me scandalous that all of us private individuals as well as hotels and others continue our normal lives when there are these terrific difficulties in a great part of the country.<sup>2</sup>

We are beginning to live continuously on charity of other countries.<sup>3</sup> This is a bad outlook.

I think that even before we meet in Cabinet next time, some of us, including V.T. Krishnamachari, should meet to have an informal talk on this subject. Meanwhile, I should like you to investigate what steps we can take in Delhi to control consumption.<sup>4</sup> Delhi is a symbol. At the present moment Delhi is also a scandal in regard to consumption. We can consult the Delhi authorities about this or the Home Ministry.

It is to be considered also how far distribution can be organised on some cooperative basis.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In 1957-58, due to extremely adverse climatic conditions experienced in different States, the overall production of foodgrains declined by 9.8 per cent and 5.7 per cent compared to 1956-57 and 1955-56 respectively.
3. During 1958, about 26.74 lakh tons of wheat was imported from the USA, Canada and Australia. About 4 lakh tons of rice was imported from Burma and Vietnam. One lakh ton of sorghum too was imported from the USA during the same period.
4. The Delhi Guest Control Order, which came into force in 1959, was a step in this direction.
5. The strategy of the Food Department to face the food problem in the country included the creation of separate rice and wheat zones in 1957 to segregate heavily deficit areas or other important consuming centres where the Government could release adequate stocks of foodgrains from the Central reserve.

## 11. Food Production and the Role of Bharat Sewak Samaj<sup>1</sup>

As India takes rapid steps towards industrialisation, it would be fatal for the country to ignore the requirements of food. India cannot continue to depend on foreign imports for its food requirements without endangering its whole economy and slowing down the process of industrialisation.

These are difficult problems, big problems which cannot be solved by depending on the Government, whatever the resources of the Government might be and however hard the administration might work. Notwithstanding its large population, India has enough of fertile land and unexploited resources to adequately meet her food requirements. If the people and the Government collaborate there is no reason why the country should not be able to produce enough food for domestic consumption and export.

Tasks of this magnitude require the active collaboration, not merely cooperation, of the people, and in this vital sphere the Bharat Sewak Samaj<sup>2</sup> has a great role to play. I have been deeply impressed by many of the projects and activities which the Bharat Sewak Samaj has undertaken, particularly by what is being done for children in some places. But I feel that while all these projects and activities deserve to be encouraged, the great task before the country is to increase rapidly its food production. The Bharat Sewak Samaj, therefore, should concentrate primarily on programmes and projects intended to build up nationwide collaboration for increasing the food resources of the country.

There are so many things to be done in this connection. By organising and encouraging public participation in construction works, by creating more intimate coordination of activities between the Bharat Sewak Samaj and the community development organisation and by instilling among the people at large, among farmers and workers, the spirit of hard and intensive work.

There is no reason why, if the people and the Government collaborate and act in a spirit of dedication, India cannot produce enough food to meet the requirements of its large population as also to export substantial surpluses and thereby earn valuable foreign exchange for importing essential machinery for industrialisation.

1. Speech at a meeting of the Central Board of the Bharat Sewak Samaj. New Delhi, 26 July 1958. From *The Hindu* and *The Hindustan Times*, 27 July 1958.
2. Registered as a non-political, non-official organisation in 1952, the Bharat Sewak Samaj was devoted to the task of economic and social reconstruction of India by mobilising voluntary public participation.



The growing tendency to exploit, for political and selfish purposes, issues relating to caste, provincialism, language and other narrow, petty differences, without regard to the greater interest of the country is deplorable. I am happy that these evil influences are absent in the Bharat Sewak Samaj. If the Bharat Sewak Samaj is to achieve its objectives, it should not only keep out such tendencies but those who at any time showed signs of these tendencies should be kept out of the organisation. The strength of the Bharat Sewak Samaj lies in its ability to work with the people in a spirit of devotion, without even the pride which is sometimes attached to service.

## 12. To Babulal Patodi<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1958

Dear Babulalji,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of 16 July.<sup>3</sup> I cannot say about this area but you are right about the difficulties faced by the people due to rise in prices. It is possible that there might have been mistakes in making arrangements. But I do not think that the administration was not unconcerned because these issues have been discussed several times. Unfortunately, the harvests have been bad in the last two-three years, and especially, during the last year. Our population has also increased. There has been neglect in some areas of the country. But all this has resulted in one good thing—we are made to face the reality behind these questions. We can solve these problems, but there is only one solution—we should increase production in the country.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 38 (6)58-PMS. Original in Hindi.
2. Congress Member of Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly from Indore City Central.
3. Babulal Patodi had written about the difficulties faced by the common people on account of rise in prices of wheat and coal. He explained that though the land in Madhya Pradesh, especially Malwa region, was very fertile and was producing surplus foodgrains, indiscriminate export of wheat from the State had led to the rise in the price of wheat from Rs 14 to Rs 20 per *maund*. He attributed it to the carelessness of the administration. He also wrote that he had written to the Chief Minister, the Minister concerned, and senior officials about the deteriorating conditions but had received no reply. So he asked Nehru what was the duty of a Congressman in such a situation.

### 13. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am writing to you again in regard to agricultural production and connected matters. The more I think of our economic position and the difficulties we have to face, the more I am driven to the conclusion that agricultural production is the only foundation on which we can build. I have said so before on many occasions, and I am sure that you and your Government fully realise this. And yet, I have a feeling that the Departments of Agriculture of some of the States are still supposed to be relatively unimportant Departments and do not show the energy and vitality that they should. They move in the old grooves and expect the Central Government to come to their help whenever they are in a difficulty. This process cannot obviously be continued for long. I am almost inclined to think that it might be a good thing for the Chief Minister himself to take charge of Agriculture and to shake things up or, alternatively, that he should be chairman of a cabinet committee dealing with this matter.

2. You know well the difficulties we are facing in regards to foreign exchange and how we are making every effort to raise loans and credits on a massive scale. It is no pleasure to us to do this. Indeed, it is rather a humiliating business to go abroad for help. Also, all these loans and credits mean a greater burden in the future. We cannot possibly repeat this performance again, that is, ask again for massive loans. Once is enough. Therefore, we must shift for ourselves in this matter in the future.

3. The rains have come, though they have not been uniform. In some places, there have been floods and, no doubt, in the course of the next two months, we may have more floods. Generally speaking, the rains have been fairly good in the South, in Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Punjab. They have not been so good in Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh. Meanwhile, prices have continued to be rather high in Bengal, Bihar and Uttar Pradesh and, to some extent, elsewhere.

4. All of us know what we have to do in order to increase our agricultural production. This has been said so often that, perhaps, it sounds a little stale

1. File No. 47(39)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, pp. 106-108.

This letter was also sent to the Agriculture Ministers of States, all Central Ministers, Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission and Governors of all States including Jammu and Kashmir.



through too much repetition, Yet, it has to be repeated.

5. The very first thing to do is, as I have hinted above, to shake up the Agriculture Department in the States. I gather that many of the employees in these Departments are still on a temporary basis and, generally speaking, they are in a low grade in regard to emoluments and terms of service. Surely, agriculture being so important, we should treat it as if it was important.

6. I think that every State should now lay down a concentrated programme for agricultural work and production for the next six months. That is, preparation should be made from now onwards for the next *rabi* crop. Detailed targets should be laid down for this purpose, not only for the State, but ultimately for each family of an agriculturist. Each farmer should know what to aim at for this *rabi* crop. In this matter the community blocks should be particularly helpful. Teachers and students of agricultural colleges and institutes should be asked to do practical work for some time in the fields. This will be good for them even from the point of view of their specialised education; it will also help to activate people in the village.

7. It has been frequently said that we are not using the available resource in the States. Thus, tanks and wells are in disrepair, available water in canals is not brought through channels to the fields, tube-wells are not being fully utilised because channels have not been fully made, etc., etc. This requires the most urgent attention because it can yield results quickly.

8. The other day, I was in my own district of Allahabad,<sup>2</sup> and I wandered about in the villages. This district had been hard hit because of drought for almost three years running. To a small extent, it is irrigated. Large numbers of peasants complained to me about their difficulties in obtaining water from the canals or the water channels. They complained of the petty employees of the Irrigation Department who harassed them or wanted money from them. Even when they gave them a little water, it was probably too late. I could not, of course, enquire into these complaints, but they were so widespread that I was compelled to believe in them.

9. Another odd fact came to my notice in Allahabad District. This was the lack of cooperation between the executive authorities and the Irrigation people. Indeed, the District Magistrate himself complained to me that his advice was ignored by the Irrigation authorities. This lack of cooperation in a vital matter was strange and deplorable. It seems to me that the District Magistrate is in a far better position to judge of conditions and what should be done, and the Irrigation authorities in the district should function under him and carry out his directions. Indeed, there should be coordination at all levels, and the

2. On 15 and 16 July 1958.

Ministers in charge of the different Departments should see to it that there is such cooperation.

10. It is sometimes said that food production is suffering because land is diverted to cash crops. As a matter of fact we want the cash crops also. What is necessary is intensive cultivation by better irrigation facilities, better seeds and manures and fertilisers. Fertilisers are now in great demand and we cannot fulfill this demand. We shall try to get as much as possible. But, in view of our foreign exchange difficulty, we cannot get all we want. There should, however be no lack of green manure and compost if a strenuous attempt is made. In Madras State there has been progress in the use of green manure with very satisfactory results.

11. In parts of Bombay State, great success has been obtained from bunding and food production is going up considerably. These are important but simple operations which can be taken up anywhere in India, involving no great expenditure. The silt that accumulates in tanks is also very good as manure and, incidentally, the removal of the silt improves the tank also. Relatively easy measures can be taken for the storage of rain water.

12. There is often a good deal of land on either side of roads or the railway lines which is wasted. There is no reason why this should be left uncultivated.

13. Somewhat better ploughs would obviously help greatly in ploughing. Some other simple agricultural implements would also be useful.

14. Many States are giving prizes to good agriculturists. This system might be extended greatly. Prizes should not go merely to districts, but to villages as well as individual agriculturists who have done well. In my recent visit to Allahabad, when I was pointing out to a large meeting of peasants that their production was very low (it was about eight to nine *maunds* of wheat per acre), a very simple peasant came up and said that he had produced 49 *maunds*, 20 *seer* and 5 *chhataks* of wheat in an acre of his land.<sup>3</sup> The other peasants presents nodded as they knew of this. It is clear that where an effort is made at intensive cultivation, the yield increases greatly. There is no reason why this effort should not be made everywhere. I have suggested above that teachers and students of agricultural colleges should go out to the field and plough and generally give an impetus to the work in the fields. The peasants who win prizes for good work should also be utilised for this purpose.

15. The real question is how to change the psychology of the peasant and to make him self-reliant. In fact, we have most of the material with us. It is only the energy and determination that appear to be lacking.

3. See *ante*, pp. 113-117.



16. We have made some progress in collecting statistics of food production, etc. But even now they are very unreliable and there is no uniformity in the method of collecting statistics. It is impossible to frame policies and programmes unless we have accurate information about production. Not only must this be accurate, it must be uniform also, that is to say, more or less the same criteria should be employed in all the States. Unfortunately, in this, as in some other matters, there is some kind of rivalry between the States as well as statisticians. This is not a scientific approach. We shall have to have crop survey on an extensive scale employing the latest methods for the purpose. Fortunately, the Indian Statistical Institute in Calcutta, which often does work for us, is capable of doing this work adequately.

17. When prices go up and food is scarce in some parts of the country, it is painful to see waste and extravagance in other parts or amongst some people. This is inherently vulgar and has a bad effect. I think, therefore, that States should think of checking this waste and extravagance in regard to foodgrains in hotels, restaurants, weddings, feasts, etc., as well as in private homes where this takes place.

18. But the main thing is to concentrate on this business of food production during the next six months for the *rabi* crop. Let us fix targets everywhere and see what we can do during this period.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 14. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 6, 1958

My dear Ajit,

The other day I sent you a cutting from the *Eastern Economist*. This referred to the confusion created by contradictory announcements in regard to cooperatives.<sup>2</sup> Other people have also spoken to me about this. I think that we must issue a precise statement defining clearly our policy in regard to the formation of cooperatives so as to remove all doubts.<sup>3</sup> It is not a good thing in any matter, much less in a vital matter of this kind, for people to be left in doubt as to what exactly Government's policy is.

1. JN Collection.

2. On 29 July 1958, Nehru sent a copy of an article from the *Eastern Economist* of 27 June 1958 with the caption "Curiouser and Curiouser". The article dealt with policies and programmes of the Government with special reference to food and co-operation. It stated: "It is becoming curiouser and curiouser in high quarters of Government, what with policies and programmes being constantly thrown into the melting pot. This is nowhere more in evidence than in respect of food and co-operation.... Only in April last... the Prime Minister told the public that he and his Government had committed a mistake in deciding in favour of big State-sponsored or State-partnered cooperatives as recommended by the Rural Credit Survey Committee and this major policy decisions had come in for revision...the Uttar Pradesh...have initiated some steps to split up a certain number of big societies into a larger number of small ones, each possibly covering one village. But the Union Food and Agriculture Minister told the UP cooperators last week that 'it was a dead concept that there should be one society for one village.' Mr Jain has since...described this as a misleading report because he had favoured large cooperative societies covering four or five villages only if they were too small, each having 50 households or less.... It was therefore, obvious that that Prime Minister's changed stand that there should be only one small cooperative society for every village was being questioned." The article concluded that: "If the Government had decided on some norm or other for the village-size in terms of households and if the Food and Agriculture Minister had meant to say that a certain number of tiny villages would have to be grouped together in accordance with that norm, that would have been understandable. But he said no such thing and it was, therefore, obvious that the Prime Minister's changed stand that there should be only the small co-operative society for every village was being questioned."

3. See also *ante*, pp. 99-100.



Therefore, will you please put this matter up before the Cabinet at an early date? A note might be prepared giving the facts as they are today. It need not deal with past history, and it might be relatively brief.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 8, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 7th and the pamphlet on the *rabi* campaign, that you have sent.<sup>3</sup> I am very glad indeed that you have launched this *rabi* campaign<sup>4</sup> and you have all my good wishes.

It may be, of course, that floods and waterlogging may do harm. But I would any day have floods than a drought. In any event, we cannot expect to have just the perfect balance of rain.

I am impressed to learn that you are creating an army of 250,000 workers. While it is necessary to preach, it is far more important to do the work themselves. That is the best form of preaching.

So, good luck to you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of UP.
3. Sampurnanand had written that Nehru's speeches in Allahabad villages (see *ante*, pp. 113-117) on food production and intensive cultivation had given a moral boost to the *rabi* crop campaign launched by the State Government. He added that the *khari* crop campaign launched some months ago had, despite drought, been a success both materially and psychologically.
4. A *rabi* campaign was organised in eight States—Punjab, Rajasthan, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Mysore, Bombay and Andhra Pradesh—and the Union territory of Delhi in cooperation with the Central Government for the 1958 *rabi* season. The crops to which special attention was to be devoted were paddy, *jowar*, maize, *bajra* and *ragi*. An even more extensive campaign, covering all the States and the Union territories of Manipur, Tripura, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi was planned for the *khari* season 1959.

## 16. To Vishnu Sahay<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 9, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay<sup>2</sup>

I am anxious that the paper prepared by the Food and Agriculture Ministry on certain proposals made by Professor Mahalanobis<sup>3</sup> on crop surveys, etc., should be considered by the Cabinet at an early date. It is important that Professor Mahalanobis should be present at that meeting. We have in fact been waiting for him all this time.

I would have suggested that this paper might be put up at the next meeting of the Cabinet provided it had been circulated to members previously. It is a long paper. But I suggest that you might ask the Food and Agriculture Minister as to when it would suit him to take this up. I gather that he is meeting Professor Mahalanobis tomorrow.<sup>4</sup> It is possible that he might like to add to his previous note or vary it after this meeting.

There is another matter, somewhat connected with the above, about which I have asked Professor Mahalanobis to prepare a paper very soon. This relates to a proposal to centralise to some extent the work of gathering statistical information.<sup>5</sup> I remember writing a note on this and allied subjects some months ago after an interview I had with a Soviet statistician who had come to India and spent some months here in examining our system.<sup>6</sup> He had given me a note which I think was circulated to Cabinet Ministers. In this note proposals about

1. File No. 31(72)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Cabinet Secretary.
3. P.C. Mahalanobis was the Director of Indian Statistical Institute, Calcutta and Member of the Planning Commission.
4. Vishnu Sahay informed Nehru on 11 August 1958 that at a meeting with Mahalanobis on 10 August, A.P. Jain, the Food and Agriculture Minister, pointed out that the all-India figures of food shortages, collected by the National Sample Survey were not enough as he wanted state-wise and region-wise figures. Mahalanobis said he wanted fuller information about the use of regional data by the Agriculture Ministry. It was agreed that the Food and Agricultural Ministry would prepare a paper on the subject and send it to Mahalanobis in a month's time.
5. Vishnu Sahay further informed Nehru that Mahalanobis was going to prepare a paper on centralisation of the collection of statistical information and would send it very shortly.
6. A.E. Ezhov, Deputy Chief of the USSR Central Statistical Board and Chairman of its Scientific and Methodological Council. For his suggestions, see also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 221-222.



centralisation and uniformity were made. I have no recollection of what we decided then. Anyhow, you might ask Professor Mahalanobis to prepare his note on this subject and give it to us soon.

I take it that you are keeping the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission<sup>7</sup> in touch with the work of the Manpower Committee which met the other day and sending him all papers in that connection.<sup>8</sup> There is, as you know, a section of the Planning Commission dealing with manpower and Pitambar Pant<sup>9</sup> is in charge. You might send him all papers connected with the Manpower Committee also as he should be kept informed of this. All these papers relating to the Manpower Committee should also be sent regularly to Professor Mahalanobis as a kind of unofficial member of the Planning Commission.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. V.T. Krishnamachari.
8. Efforts for manpower planning were initiated with the setting up of Scientific Manpower Committee in 1947. In September 1956, a Manpower Committee of the Cabinet chaired by the Prime Minister was established, and a Directorate of Manpower Coordination was also formed in the Home Ministry.
9. Head of the Manpower Division since 1956. He was made, in addition, the Head of the Perspective Planning Division of the Planning Commission in 1958.

## 17. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 10, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Thank you for your letter of August 9 with which you have sent me a note about the present system of collecting food statistics. I have read this note. I am not impressed by it. I am afraid we are still pursuing methods which are out-of-date and which have been discarded by other countries, even though they had better organisation than we have. It is odd that the method partly evolved by Mahalanobis in India (for which I think he got the FRS) and which

1. File No. 31(72)/58-71-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

has been progressively adopted in other countries, should not be considered worth while in India.<sup>2</sup>

However, we shall be considering this matter in Cabinet soon.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See also the preceding item.

## 18. To Seth Achal Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
12th August, 1958

My dear Achal Singhji,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 11th August. You suggest the removal of region-wise restrictions on the movement of food and thus according to you create equality throughout India. This is a strange view of equality. What you suggest will actually increase inequality as foodgrains will flow into certain richer regions like the cities of Bombay and Calcutta and be wasted there, leading to higher prices everywhere. It was with a view to have equality that this region-wise restriction was kept up. This helps in keeping prices down too to some extent. It is true that on some borders like the UP-Punjab border it creates anomalies and difficulties. If that restriction was removed now, it would immediately result in prices going up in the Punjab and elsewhere without much benefit to the UP, though some little benefit may perhaps come. Anyhow this matter is always under consideration.

You are quite right in paying a tribute to Rafi Ahmed Kidwai.<sup>3</sup> But please remember that he was fortunate in having very good harvests. Last three years have been very bad from this point of view. I hope that this year it will be better.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(25)/56-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Agra; Member, Parliamentary Consultative Committee for Food and Agriculture.
3. A prominent Congress leader from UP and Union Minister of Food and Agriculture from 1952 till his death in 1954.



## 19. Government Policy on Food and Agriculture<sup>1</sup>

Deputy Speaker,<sup>2</sup> Sir, I decided to seek your permission to speak for a few minutes because, following the trend of this debate, I thought it would not be proper for me merely to be a silent listener. I am not going to discuss the complexities of the food and agricultural problem, because that would be a long task, since so much has been said from not only the side of the Opposition, but also from this side of the House in criticism of the food and agricultural policy of the Government and my colleague, the Food and Agriculture Minister.<sup>3</sup>

The first thing I should like to make clear is that in this matter whatever decisions have been taken, whatever steps have been taken, are not the sole responsibility of the Food and Agriculture Minister. They are the responsibility certainly of the Cabinet, the whole Government of India and certainly my responsibility also. In a matter of this kind, where important issues are involved, it is obvious that no Minister can take those decisions without reference to the Cabinet, to the Government of India and, as it happens here, to the Planning Commission. It may be that we have made mistakes that we are all in the wrong. I am not for an instant complaining that criticism is made. But my first point is that the responsibility is shared by all of us for the decisions and the policy that is being pursued and we have been in intimate touch with that policy and with those decisions. I do not mean that kind of constructive responsibility which every member of Government has in view of our joint responsibility, but rather the fact that we have been constantly in consultation and have shared the responsibility for those decisions. So, in so far as we have failed, we are all responsible for that failure.

The second point is that everyone knows that this food problem, the problem of agricultural production, is one in which the States have a great deal to say, naturally. In fact, it is their chief function. Sometimes, the interests of the States pull in different directions. Naturally, the government of a State has to consider the interests of its own State as well as of India as a whole; and, if, under various pulls, it sometimes prefers the immediate interests of its own State, which may not be good for the whole country, one can understand it. It is a natural feeling, but it does come sometimes in the way of some all-India policies that ultimately might be to the advantage of every State. The fact of the matter is that in the last few years, we have had an extremity of ill luck.

1. Extracts of the Speech in the Lok Sabha, 21 August 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols. 2247-2257.
2. Hukam Singh, Congress Member from Bhatinda.
3. A.P. Jain.

That too is not an excuse, of course. It will be absurd for the Government to take shelter merely behind bad monsoon. I am perfectly prepared to accept that. Naturally, it may be an explanation occasionally, but there it is.

An honourable Member referred to the conditions in eastern Uttar Pradesh.<sup>4</sup> One may refer to the conditions in other parts of the country also, in parts of Orissa and Bihar, which are relatively even less developed than other parts and which may be economically more backward. It is a problem of extreme difficulty to pull them up. That again is not an excuse for the shirking of responsibility, but I am merely pointing out that these problems cannot be solved—in any country; it is not a question of India alone. It is no good comparing India to the USA, Germany, England or other countries, because conditions are totally different. Conditions are different from several points of view. Conditions are different because the pressures of population are not so great there.

Taking the Soviet Union, the ratio of population to area is probably 16:1—I forget it now—or it may be 10:1. So, there is plenty of land with relatively lesser human beings. The only country which is comparable to India undoubtedly would be China in terms of huge population and land. Also, all those countries of the western world which have done fairly well in the economic sphere and have grown, have done so, in the course of a large number of years and have built up certain economies.

Now, our problem is a tremendously complicated problem and so is the problem of any other country situated like us, whether it is Pakistan, Indonesia or China. China may have a different socio-economic system, but the problems are essentially the same. I cannot say what success China will have in dealing with this problem. But I am absolutely sure that it will have a very very hard time in solving it. Whatever policy they may adopt—they may put up all the big machines and big plants in the world—the agricultural problem will remain the basic problem of China, as it is for India.

So, the problem is an exceedingly difficult one. Mr C.D. Pande<sup>5</sup> talked about population control. That obviously is an exceedingly important problem, though in the context in which he said it, it has no great relevance. We cannot

4. Shibbanlal Saksena, Independent Member from Maharajganj in UP, quoted from the chapter on scarcity areas of the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee report. He stated that crops in eastern UP, already a deficit area, were further affected by droughts and floods for seven years. He informed the House that distribution of 30 *maunds* of wheat and 20 *maunds* of coarse grain had been reduced to 10 *maunds* and 5 *maunds*, and the amount allotted for relief had also come down from Rs 1.15 crores in 1956-57 to Rs 50 lakhs in 1957-58 and it was further reduced to Rs 33 lakhs in 1958-59.
5. Congress Member from Naini Tal, Uttar Pradesh.



control the population in a year or two. If we made all the efforts in the world to deal with the population of India, we should take 20 or 25 years before it begins to have any marked effect on the situation gradually—if we try family planning, population control and all that. I am quite convinced about that and all honourable Members here, I hope, will help in that process by propaganda and otherwise, apart from any personal help that they might give in the matter.

Mahavir Tyagi:<sup>6</sup> Some concrete steps have to be taken in this regard.

Jawaharlal Nehru: But we must realise that is rather for the future, it does not meet the immediate difficulty. The immediate difficulty can only be met fundamentally by greater production—that is axiomatic—of foodgrains: in fact, all agricultural production; also, of course, industrial growth, both sides. Now, that becomes ultimately a problem of planning on a bigger scale, and it is a problem in which, with all the goodwill in the world and with all the good measures, the Government cannot wholly succeed without a large measure of cooperation of the peasant and the agriculturist in the field. That is where the individual comes in. An individual who is not used to being hustled into new ways, pushed about. He is, I think, a bright individual. Once he is convinced, he moves. It takes some time to convince him, some time to make him get out of the old rut and look at the problem as a whole. There are, of course, all kinds of people, and it takes time.

But, unfortunately, just at the time when we try to do all this, ill luck pursues us, as it has done in the past three years, continuously; a remarkable record of ill luck. Well, it is sad and we must bear the responsibility for it. We cannot shirk it. Because, I do not believe in casting the responsibility on the gods or on the monsoons. It is the responsibility of the human beings in this country and of the Government of this country to meet any difficult problem that may arise. But in meeting that responsibility, I think, they are entitled to place the picture before this House and to seek the goodwill and cooperation of the House in dealing with this tremendous problem, because this really is the basic problem of India.

We talk about big schemes and big projects, hydro-electric works, steel plants and all that. But behind that all, encompassing everything that we have, is the problem of agriculture, the problem of food and agricultural production. And I can assure this House that whether we succeed or fail from time to time, we realise the utter, absolute and basic importance of this problem in India. I should confess to this House quite frankly that I did not myself realise it. I

6. Congress Member from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

realised it is important always, but not quite that much as I do today, the last year or two— certainly the last year or two. And if you had asked me six, seven or eight years ago, I would have said this is a very important problem and I would have probably taken a much more easy and optimistic view than I subsequently did, not being an expert in it, only knowing the fact which everyone knows, that food is important and is to be produced in India or must be got from outside; it does not require an expert to know that. But gradually under stress of circumstances and failure of the monsoons in various parts and difficulties to get a move on in various matters, though we want to get a move on in various matters, well, speaking for myself, I learnt that bitter lesson slowly and painfully, and I realise now that there is nothing more important in India than production, agricultural production, more specially food production. So far as the Government is concerned, it realises that; so far as the Planning Commission is concerned, it realises that and works towards that end. We have tried to bring this realisation, so far as we could, to all the State Governments also, because the State Governments, knowing the importance of agriculture, were still paying attention to other matters a little more.

As I said, I am not dealing with the larger problem. Now, it is a very difficult and complicated matter to deal with in a few minutes which, with your indulgence, I have stolen from the time allotted to this House. But I would like to point out again, not by way of justification for anything that has happened but with a view to try to understand the problem, that you cannot—take the eastern UP—by any measure that you can devise, pull up the whole population of a heavily populated area, of a very economically backward part of the country. You cannot pull them up suddenly. It just cannot be done. You have to go through the difficult process, and I agree also that we should, all over India, pay much more attention to these areas, whether it is the eastern part of UP, or parts of Bihar, Madras, Orissa or Bengal. We must, by governmental measures, try to pull up the parts that are more backward, because the normal course, the normal laws and normal forces that work are always in favour of the better off, not the lesser off, whether you deal with individuals or you deal with nations. A nation that is prosperous will become more and more prosperous rapidly. A nation that is less prosperous may make double that effort, but the progress will be slow. It is the old maxim—unto those that have, more shall be given, and from those that have not, even what they have might be taken away.<sup>7</sup> These are natural forces. These are forces of, if I may use the words, “unrestricted private enterprise”. The moment you leave it to it, whatever virtues private enterprise may have—and it has some virtues—private enterprise crushes

7. From The New Testament, Matthew:25:29.



the weak and supports the strong. It marches on the shoulders of others. So the result is that, as countries go ahead, so the regions in a country. The richer region in the country will advance faster, because it has got the guts, it has got the ability to advance, it has got the strength to advance. Take individuals. The poor peasant of eastern UP or Orissa is as good a man as anybody else, but when you compare him physically with, let us say, a peasant of the Punjab, obviously not. The Punjabi would be heftier, he eats three or four times as much, does a hard day's work and produces more, because he is better-circumstanced. Now, if we leave this to natural forces, the people of eastern UP will sink and sink and sink, as also people in other places in India, whether Madras or Orissa. Therefore, it becomes important for the State to come in, to try somewhat to redress the balance by helping such people more. In fact, all activities of the State, whatever we may do, whether it is some form of control or anything, are attempts to do that. Even in the remedy there are some disabilities.

The real thing is to raise the level of the people, to raise them physically, their capacity to work, their mental capacity for progress and take them out of the ruts. It is not a rapid process. It has to be gone through. So, I am merely pointing this out in relation to the more economically backward or unfortunate parts of our country. We have to look after them. We have to pull them up. It is no good our having an argument, as honourable Members apparently do. How bad are conditions in eastern UP? How do you measure that? They are, of course, bad. They have always been bad. I have seen them bad for the last 30 years. I think they are now much better than what they were 30 or 40 years ago. Definitely they are better, if one can judge, apart from statistics, even from the crowds that one sees. I see crowds. The crowd is far better now. It is better dressed and it has got better houses.<sup>8</sup>

Well, I am not aware that a crowd of a hundred thousand that I address has a majority of Government officials. These may be the crowds which the honourable Member addresses—small crowds. I have seldom addressed a crowd under 50,000 for many years.

However, I may be right or wrong. I am giving a personal impression of crowds, of their being better clad. I have no doubt about it. Of course, the pull towards poverty is always great and there is no power of resistance. Whenever a calamity comes, like a bad monsoon or a flood or a drought, down they go like ninepins. It is a fact. Whether a person has died of starvation or not I

8. At this point C.D. Pande agreed with what Nehru had said. However, Braj Raj Singh, Socialist Party Member from Firozabad, said that there were more government officials in the crowd.

cannot say, but when a person lives in a semi-starved condition, it matters very little whether he has died of starvation or of some disease or of some weakness. It is a fine point which may be discussed by experts.

The point is that people in eastern UP and in other parts of India like this live always on the verge of subsistence and are knocked down by anything that occurs. What can the Government do in the circumstances? Well, it can do its best, but its best is not very much. It is something to carry on. And if a government or the people are hit time and again by calamity, it becomes exceedingly difficult to deal with that situation competently. But, as I said, let us deal with the situation as best as we can. The real thing ultimately is an increase and a fairly rapid and extensive increase of production. As I have said previously here, I am convinced of the fact that production can increase rapidly and considerably. There governmental factors come in, undoubtedly, but other factors—human factors of getting the millions of people on the move and psychological factors—come in. In that I would beg the honourable Members of this House and others to help. Condemn the Government if you like, but for heaven's sake do not suggest anything which condemns the millions of our people and make it more and more difficult for them to progress. What I mean is—and I say so with all respect—let us not create an atmosphere in the country of despair, of weakness, of impotence when people simply lie down and complain and blame and not get up and do the job themselves, because we have got to develop the habit of the ordinary man doing the job and not relying for almost everything on the Government, whatever the Government may be. The Government may change. May I finish, Sir. I want about half a minute more.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Order, order.

JN: It is important. One of the most dangerous developments in India in the last few years has been the quite extraordinary dependence of the individual on the outside authority—whether it is a municipality, whether it is somebody, whether it is a panchayat, whether it is a state government or whether it is the Government of India or some foreign help. It is always looking to somebody else for help. I do not deny that sometimes it has to be done; it should be done. It has to be done, but this mentality in the country is a dangerous mentality. The peasant and the farmer know that there are so many things that he used to do which he does not do. He used to look after the village well or the village tank. Now he wants the Government to do it all the time, and the village tanks are going to pieces. All the old zamindars and jagirdars looked after them. They have vanished taking the tanks with them or breaking up the tanks in the process.



So, all these factors remain in a changing society, changing social system, somewhat uprooting the old and the new not adapting itself adequately and fast enough to it. But this is, I do submit, perhaps the most dangerous development, of always expecting others to do a job—this lack of self-reliance, self-dependence, feeling of self-help from every point of view.

Now, again I would qualify what I have said because there is at the same time a spirit of self-help also rising. This is a big country. You can see all the forces at play, both uphill forces and downhill forces. There is that spirit of self-help rising. The whole purpose and object of the community development movement is not to build roads, to build schools, to build this, to build that and to build anything. If it has one purpose, the real purpose, it is to build human beings and make them self-reliant.

## 20. Grow More Food for Equitable Distribution<sup>1</sup>

Though there is nothing special on the agenda today, I thought we should meet as we had not met for a long time. There are many important matters before us, the main being food. It is obvious that food is always an important issue but now it has assumed greater importance. There was a heated debate on it in the Lok Sabha recently and much of what was said is worthy of note.<sup>2</sup> So, I want to say a few words in that connection.

The problem of food can be considered from two or three angles. One is more production which is the basic factor obviously, and the second is a fair distribution of what is produced. With fair distribution, it has also to be ensured that prices do not go up too much. As far as raising the level of production is concerned, many of us have often mentioned that it should be done as soon as possible. I feel that we can and must produce more. At least on paper it can be proved that production can easily be doubled or trebled. By that I mean that if we take ten or 20 acres somewhere and work very hard, we can produce double or treble of what we are doing now. But, then, it is one thing to do something with ten or even 100 acres and it is quite different to be able to do it all over the country. The human element comes in—the will of millions of

1. Speech at a Congress Parliamentary Party meeting, 28 August 1958. Tape No. M. 36/C, NMML.

Nehru first spoke in Hindi along the same lines.

2. For Nehru's speech on the food policy in the Lok Sabha on 21 August 1958, see the preceding item.

people to work, their capacity to work, equipment, training, etc. Many things come in.

So, when I say that it can be proved on paper that we can double our production, it means that if we choose a piece of land and put in the maximum effort possible, use fertilisers, good seeds, etc., then decidedly we will succeed. It is obvious; this experiment has been tried in many places successfully. But the difficulty comes in when you try to do that with millions of people because the whole thing can get out of control. The maximum you can do is to build up a climate, provide the opportunity and mentally prepare the people for it. But it is certainly not something which can be achieved by passing a law. A law can at the most pave the way. When human beings are involved, everything depends on the individual's will to work. I have often said that in ten years we should double our production and I feel that it is not impossible.

Recently, when this matter came up for discussion at the International Conference of Agricultural Economists in Mysore, where people had assembled from all over the world, I said that in ten years food production should be doubled.<sup>3</sup> Some of the delegates told me that such a thing has not happened anywhere in the world till now. Yes, we can make plans on paper, they said, but it has not actually happened anywhere.

As far as I know, Japan has made tremendous progress. They have put in a great deal of effort. They had taken up this task long ago, almost 50 years ago, with great determination and were able to achieve an increase of three to four per cent in the production every year. This shows that increase may be as much as 50 per cent or more in ten years. I was amazed to hear this.

In the big communist countries, the entire might of the state has been geared to this task. But if you do not count the new land which has been brought under cultivation, they have not achieved much increase in their agricultural production. As you know, there has been tremendous progress in the Soviet Union but in reality that progress has been mainly on the industrial side. In agriculture, their achievements have been very disappointing. There has been some progress, I don't deny that, but there have been many setbacks because they were in an entirely new field in which millions of human beings had to be dealt with, their habits had to be changed, etc., etc. The Soviet Union has succeeded to a large extent in changing the age-old habits and in introducing a new climate. But in agriculture, they have not succeeded so well. Of course, they have brought in a great deal of fresh land under cultivation. We also try to do that. But the important thing is to raise production from the land already under cultivation.

3. See *ante*, pp. 82-91.



This is the basic thing. I would like to tell you in this connection about the Report of the International Bank of Reconstruction and Development, which is not favourably inclined towards us and tends to review our progress rather critically. This Report was published in July—about two months ago—that is, of the situation as it existed about six weeks before they came here, and they were here during the last three months. Now I think you would be interested to know this, so I will read out some portions of that Report.<sup>4</sup> They had come here to review our economic situation in order to decide whether they should continue to give us the same amount of credit or not.

The case for additional lending by the Bank to India at the present time must be considered in relation to the needs and achievements of the country and its potential for further economic growth. The record, that is the record of India, is impressive. To have held together a multi-lingual federal state with a population of nearly 400 million, to have raised output at a sustained rate of two to three per cent a year and possibly more with a little price inflation, to have built up almost from scratch the foundations of a modern industry and to have done all this by democratic means is an achievement of which there is no parallel in history.

There is another extract. I shall read it out to you, though it is not that relevant:

Not least among the dangers to be guarded against in the present stage of India's development is the pursuit of welfare at the expense of efficiency. A tendency in this direction has been reflected in the emphasis initially placed on welfare, in the community development programme, in the lavish social amenities usually provided, associated with new government factories and recent talk of introducing a system of unemployment insurance for industrial workers, in some of the measures taken for the protection of cottage industries, etc. These are all desirable aims in themselves. But they are liable, if pursued to excess, to slow down the pace of economic growth. Nor does it always realise that policies designed directly to protect the interest of a particular group may work indirectly to the disadvantage of the community as a whole.

4. The report entitled "Current Economic Position and Prospects of India" was submitted by a two-man team of the World Bank which toured India in May 1958. This report formed the basis of the Five-Power Aid-to-India conference convened by the World Bank in Washington on 25 August 1958 in which Canada, UK, USA, West Germany and Japan participated.

Now, I shall read out one passage relating to agriculture. The report is interesting, I cannot read the whole report:

Much criticism has been levelled at the slow progress of Indian agriculture and if progress is measured in terms of potentialities of growth it has certainly been slow. But, most competent observers seem to agree that production is increasing fairly steadily, the rate of increase being estimated at two to three per cent a year. In 1956-57 when the weather was on the whole favourable the recorded output of foodgrains and pulses rose 3 ½ million tonnes or 5 per cent and the index of total agricultural production by 6 per cent. Output in 1957-58 on the other hand has been adversely affected by a severe drought which damaged the rice crop in many of the central and north-eastern areas. As a result the foodgrains output is expected to be about 2 ½ million tonnes less than in the previous year. Production of sugarcane has increased by 7 per cent or 8 per cent, and of groundnuts by about 2 per cent. But production of cotton, jute and some other cash crops has declined. The latter figures that we have received have shown a greater deficit this year than in the previous year that is true.

What I was venturing to place before you was this that we must not be swept away by sudden developments. We have had to face three years of drought and floods, which is really an unprecedented run of bad luck. But we have to be prepared for bad luck, undoubtedly. The progress made in agricultural production has been as good as in any country in the world. That is what the people were saying at the Mysore conference. It is perfectly true that so far as we are concerned we are not satisfied with it. And we should not be satisfied with it, and we should go much faster and I believe we can go faster and I believe we will go faster. Now, the difficulties in the way may be governmental difficulties, erroneous policies. That apart, the real and basic difficulty is to get 300 million people living in the villages on the move, to get out of certain ruts of habits, certain lack of vitality, certain lack of hard work and all that, which is a difficult thing when you are dealing with hundreds of millions of people. I believe changes are happening and will happen even more.

In this report that I have read to you there is a reference to the community development programme which laid stress in the first two or three years on social amenities. Whether that was a right stress or wrong stress, we need not argue now. But there are both sides of the question. It was considered to be a right stress because it was meant to pull out those hundreds of millions out of their ruts, make them interested, make them feel the joy of doing something and getting results from it in the shape of a better village, better road, better



school and what not. It was not productive in the sense of foodgrains and agriculture, it is true. Now it is quite possible to argue, and I may agree with that argument, that greater stress should have been laid at the initial stage on this. We have both sides to this question. As a matter of fact the result of even those two or three years, early years, of the community development scheme were quite satisfactory from the food production point of view in those areas, considering the average production. I have not got the figures now but the figures were quite good as far as I remember. Of course, in those years the community development areas were limited in India. Now, they are spread out, covering nearly 200 million population, covering nearly 200, 300 thousand villages. But, in the last and this year the whole emphasis has been given to food production, agricultural production, chiefly food production, in the community areas. And I have no doubt that this is going to bear result and adequate result, as one thing is certain that when you deliberately concentrate on somethings in a certain area you can increase food production, you can double it or treble it.

Once, I was in a remote corner of Allahabad District some months ago, and it is a bad district from the point of view of food production, the average is I think nine *maunds* per acre. And I was telling them it is not enough. One man got up, not a prosperous kisan but a *kurmi*, came up and said—could he say a word, I said yes. He said “I have produced 49 *maunds*, 20 *seers*, 5 *chhataks* in an acre of land” which was five times of the average production of that place. Now, I presume that the land was very good, I presume that he worked hard, that he gave good manure to it and water and good seeds. Admitting all that, the point is you see in that selected piece of land he increased his yield 500 per cent. Not 10 per cent or 2 per cent, five times, from 9 *maunds* to 49 *maunds*, nearly 50 *maunds*. Now, if he could do that I am quite sure that others can at least double it. It is not too optimistic but again you come up against the human element. It is one thing to make or 10 or 100 persons to do something. It is another thing to deal with 300 million people, and to meet their requirements of manure, fertiliser, water and all that. Therefore we came to the conclusion some time ago that we should concentrate on the areas which normally have a good water supply. What are those areas? Of course the irrigated areas. Secondly, areas chiefly in the south of India and elsewhere where there is plenty of rain normally. If we concentrate on that area and even if that area gives us an additional yield that would be a great deal. It is a big area. Of course we work in other places too.

I have no doubt if we look back on the last ten years or so of our work we shall find that if we had done something slightly different, results would have been better. We made a mistake there, we did not give priority to this of course.

Nobody is perfectly wise, one learns from experience. We have learnt from experience. But, by and large the actual direction given—if you read the Planning Commission's reports—in the First Five Year Plan and the Second is a correct one. How far it has been reflected in activity is a different matter. Because here again we come across the fact that it is the States which have to function directly. And a State itself in India is a big thing, it is not a small thing. The Government of India's policies have to be implemented by the States, then the States' policies have to be implemented by all kinds of organisations and ultimately by the farmer. And normally when these things go through all these links, they get weaker and weaker by the time they reach the level of the farmer. Therefore, the importance is certainly of the policy but much more so of how far that policy reaches the farmer and is implemented by him.

Now, one important result of our activities has been to build up for the first time in India some kind of an organisation which can reach the farmer immediately, which can carry the message of a right policy to the farmer. That organisation of course is the community development organisation, community block, etc. Now, often criticism is made of this policy. Now, the criticism of the community development blocks is very often justified for two reasons. One is that we always aim high and in aiming high we are disappointed that the results have not come up to our expectation. The other is that having spread out over 300,000 villages in six years—it is not six years yet, it is less than six years when this was started on October 2, 1952, just under six years. It has been an amazingly rapid spread in five years and nine months to 300,000 villages in India. Inevitably, if you spread out in that way it becomes thinner in places, the spreading out becomes thinner. You cannot concentrate on 50,000 villages at a time. You can concentrate on one State. Every State must have its share. But we tried to spread out, though we did not have sufficient number of trained personnel.

The whole thing is a question of trained personnel apart from some equipment. So we started training people rapidly, we gave them six months' training. As for the *gramsevak*s, we gave them nine months' training; now we give them a year's training, may be over a year. I do not exactly know the figures but I imagine that between 25 to 30 thousand *gramsevak*s who have received this training are functioning now. And they are the base, the foundation, of the system. And there are some thousands of other people—specialists in animal husbandry, veterinary, doctors, educationists, engineers and the like. So we have got this trained corps of people working in these areas which now cover about three-fifths of rural India. Now, again, how they function nobody can guarantee. But we have given them a fair training and they will have refresher courses too, because in this matter, as in every other matter, what counts is the



training—how to use little gadgets. I am not talking of tractors but of slightly better ploughs, better fertiliser or manure, better seeds and so on. Everything should be within the capacity of the average farmer. But when there are 300 million farmers, it becomes difficult to train them and tackle the work, not from the financial point of view but the human point of view.

My impression is that the farmer in eastern UP is not in a good condition. He is in a very bad condition which is getting progressively worse. Well, he is not a hard worker. I do not blame him, I mean to say he has faced so much trouble and all that. Now, why is it that now, of course, a Punjabi chap works much more, he is tougher? But, go to south India: the production in south India is pretty satisfactory, compared to north India, why is that so? In India we are all much the same people; I would say not much difference. But, in some areas they work harder, in some areas they work less and you can see the results in their production, not only in their production but in their approach of the problem. They get rather helpless and the more helpless you get the less you work, the less you depend on yourself, you start depending on fate. The big problem is of changing this mentality and making them hard-working, taking more joy in their work and expecting results, working for results. That is why we said that we must have targets for each individual family. A state's target or even a community block target is not enough. Each farmer must lay down a target so he knows what he is working for and work hard. Possibly he may not reach it but he will be able to judge, that is one thing I want you to bear in mind. Because I think that in spite of all the difficulties that we have faced and in spite of many wrong things that we have done, in the balance our achievements has been creditable. It is true that compared to the problems before us, compared to our expectations it has lagged behind considerably. And we can only catch up by, well, greater emphasis, greater hard work and looking ahead and planning ahead, that is one thing. That is in regard to production. And after all the whole food problem in India depends basically on production. It is obvious that production should go up and production can go up. Now, I am not prophesying and I may be proved a fool and wrong, but, I think that you will probably find a fairly biggish jump in the next year, that is in production, partly due to the more concentrated work that has been put in, partly due, well, just the having had three very bad years it is about time we had a good year. But, that is just luck.

Now, another aspect, I regret to say is that even now, we really do not have accurate statistics, and I think that we should not spare money, however much it may cost, to build up an accurate system of getting statistics, and when I say system I do not mean that you get an annual figure, that is not a modern state's method. You should know almost every day, if not every day

every fortnight, every month what the position is; in modern states that happens. Now how is that done? The present system of the *patwaris*, reliance on *patwaris*, is obviously not good enough. Even though even now there are crop cutting and sample surveys and all that. But, somehow at the base comes the system of the *patwaris*, somewhere or the other, and it cannot be relied upon. And it is wrong and absurd to rely upon an out-of-date system when you have the most modern systems of doing this. What is the modern system? The modern system is well known as Sample Survey System. Now it is rather surprising perhaps, you will think, for me to say that the sample survey system is supposed to be more accurate than the full survey.

In fact, in some countries like the United States of America they are thinking of even making their decennial census based more on the sample survey than the full census. They will have the full census, of course, they go deeply into it. In the United States they found that at the last ten years' census, they checked it later, they had counted six million people less than they ought to have done. It is a big figure, six million. They were out by six million in spite of their modern methods and all that. And how did they find this out? By sample survey. By sample surveys, which they considered more accurate, they found out that their previous full-blooded census figure was wrong by six million. Now, I am told that—I am talking about census now—they are proceeding on a new line. They will have every 10 years a very simple census without details, without many details, very simple census, ten years census. But, every year they will have a full sample survey with enormous details. And so every year they will go on correcting it.

Now, when I say sample survey there has been another improvement and that improvement has come from India, and improvement in the sample survey from our Statistical Institute near Calcutta. It is a simple thing but you will see the improvement. What is a sample survey? It does not mean that you just take a sample and may judge the rest. It means that you take thousands and thousands of samples of all kinds and that brings you nearer to truth. Suppose you are dealing with Uttar Pradesh. Well, the sample survey in Uttar Pradesh will probably take you to 10,000 villages, not a few, spread out all over. And the sample surveys are always taken by trained people unlike the census which is taken by untrained people, so it is more accurate. Now the 10,000 villages have a sample survey and you get certain results which are said to be fairly accurate within 1 per cent. At the same time or immediately after you have another sample survey over the same area, Uttar Pradesh, choosing 10,000 villages but a different set of 10,000 villages not the same 10,000 spread out all over. And with different sets of people doing it. So that you cover the same area but not the same villages. Then you compare the results of the two, and if those two independent



samples for independent villages and independent workers more or less coincide then you are supposed to be pretty near accuracy. This device, this improvement, was made in our Statistical Institute in Calcutta. And it has been welcomed abroad some years back. As often things are done here we are ourselves rather slow in adopting it, but they have adopted it in America and elsewhere.

Now I have said all this really in connection with food. Because I feel that we must have accurate surveys of food, continuous surveys. And not merely to know how much is produced. But, the survey should tell you why in somewhere more has been produced, why less has been produced, what has come in the way of that kind? This sample survey method, which is a double-sample survey, which is a continuous thing, is a costly business. But, any cost is better if it pushes us on. Because, I would say, if suppose we spend 50 lakhs over these surveys, well, 50 lakhs is worthwhile as we are spending hundreds of crores over this business. And we know where we are and we know what the fault is in a place, why we have not succeeded. So it is not merely the question of production but the detailed knowledge that is important, I think.

Now that so far as production is concerned, I need not tell you what you know very well of how we have not utilised our existing resources. Plenty of members have criticised it quite rightly, whether it is tube wells not being used, tanks going wrong, canal water flowing but no channels to the villages, which used to be done. Many of these things were the functions and the duty of the big boss, the zamindar—to keep the tanks going, to keep the wells going. Now, the big boss has been eliminated; normally speaking the village community should have done it. The village community, not being used to it, does not do it right and therefore nobody does it. And unfortunately the idea that everything should be done by the government of ours is so widespread that things are not done because government cannot do these things, no government can or should. So we have come between this gap period of one system ceasing to function—the zamindar function in regard to tanks and wells—and with nothing else really taking its place and the tanks going all to pieces. Naturally, now of course in the last year or so, much attention is paid to this and I have no doubt that gap will be filled.

All this requires the human element, meaning hundreds of millions of people working, not an officer. Personally I am convinced of this fact. Socialist as I am, I dislike too much officialdom functioning. I dislike in the village the official functioning and the people looking on. I mean the people must function whether it is the *gram* panchayat whether it is the *gram* cooperative. I dislike the idea, in fact, am basically opposed to the idea of cooperation being run by an official. I want and you want and that is the only way to build up India. After all what

we want, if I may say so, is not more food, more this, more that; we want better human beings in every way. Once you get the better human beings all the rest flows from it. If the official goes and does the job there you may get something out of it. The official goes, the job goes with him. It is infinitely better if the people do it and you build up the people, self-reliant people and all that.

Therefore, I have been anxious that our cooperatives must be run by villagers, ignorant villagers, foolish villagers, knavish villagers, scoundrel villagers. But, it must be run by villagers, even if they are ignorant and knavish. You have to face these consequences. To say, some people say even in some reports—government reports—we cannot rely on the villagers, they quarrel. Of course they quarrel; don't you and I quarrel? We all quarrel. I mean to say you do not wind up a Parliament, for the people sometimes abuse each other in Parliament. We have to get over these difficulties and train them in this business and training comes from doing the job oneself. And therefore I have been always in favour of the small village cooperative, not under existing laws which are restrictive, which come in the way, which really are meant for the well-to-do, not for the poor peasant. But realising that a small cooperative will not have the resources, I will try to help them in some way or other. But, not by imposing an official over them, let the official help. Now you can get over the difficulty of small cooperatives by having, if you, like a federation of a number of small cooperatives. An alliance of them so that you get the advantages of that larger cooperative functioning. But essentially what I want, and what a cooperative system is meant to give, is that close feeling of integration in the members of the cooperative. If you have a relatively small one, of one village or say two or three, the small villages near each other people know each other more or less. They know who is good who is bad. But the moment you go outside that range, you get people who do not know each other, and the villager does not trust whom he does not know and he is quiet and the whole thing collapses or an official runs it. He never gets that feeling of self-reliance in doing things for himself.

So, yes, now there is one other aspect which troubles us now, apart from production the policy governing distribution of what we have. Of course, no very firm rule can be laid down; it has to be adapted to circumstances as they are. And you may change the policy from time to time; it depends. In theory where there is short supply there should be adequate controls to see that they reach everybody. Mind you, in the worst period that we ever had the most that can be said is that we are 10 per cent short. It is a very big figure 10 per cent, normally it is 5 per cent. But, the worst period is 10 per cent. Now it should not be beyond the capacity of a nation to face a 10 per cent shortage in anything



including food, by avoiding wastages, by avoiding this, that other. It is not such a terrible thing, provided there is equitable distribution. How can you do that? By controls, but nobody likes controls. In theory you can do it, in practice it means building up an enormous organisation which may, parts of which may, be very corrupt and this and that and nobody likes it. And a large sum of money and other things are wasted in running the control system and all that, nobody likes that. Yet an occasion may arise when whether we like it or not we have to go in for controls. Because otherwise much mischief is afoot. I do not say that occasion has come now, I am merely saying to you that an occasion may come when you have to do it whether it is food or whether it is anything else. Though we should like to avoid it and we will avoid it, I hope.

On the other hand it is obvious that you cannot allow a free market. Wherever there is this deficit, a free market will mean that the poor people will suffer; a free market will mean that food will flow into the richer areas of India, be wasted there in the big cities, Calcutta, Bombay, etc., and, the richer regions. The rich will get more and more and it works very hard on certain areas, the poorer areas. You will remember the axiom. It is an axiom I have quoted, that biblical saying, to you previously, "Unto those that have more shall be given, and from those that have not even what they have shall be taken away." That is strictly applicable to economic forces if left unrestrained. If free enterprise is left unchecked and unrestrained, there is no doubt that it works to make the rich richer, the rich country richer, the poor country poorer, the rich region in a country richer, the poor region in a country poorer, the rich individual richer, the rich group richer—it works that way. Of course, no country allows that to happen. Even a highly capitalist country like the United States has an enormous number of controls. Don't you imagine that it is all unrestricted free enterprise, it is full of controls. Therefore, you must have some controls if there is a deficit. Should there be controls is another matter. Here some controls were introduced in regard to the movement of food. There was free movement within two, three States, but outside them the movement was restricted. This idea is good, because then you isolate areas, make them self-sufficient within that region and isolate some deficit areas which you can deal with separately. Otherwise the whole place is a mixture of deficit and surplus areas and you cannot deal with that situation. So that was the idea behind that. As the situation changes one considers what one should do and on the whole that has functioned well.

Now, lately as you know, and many of you are from Uttar Pradesh, the prices have shot up in Uttar Pradesh even in the western districts—in the eastern districts it is of course bad. And it has been very painful to see this and I do not pretend to tell you, perhaps you know more, why it has happened. I

am told that one of the reasons for this has been not the lack of food so much as the lack of transport to carry food to various centres, like Hapur and Hatharas, I do not know. Because the rains have been so heavy that movement by the road was stopped for some days and therefore grain could not easily reach there.... I am talking to you not about the long-term business but about the last fortnight when undoubtedly the movement had stopped in the local area and that created an absolute scarcity in that particular area, where there has been so much of water- logging. That is one reason. But broadly it was due to the fact that movement in Punjab and Delhi had stopped. Now, if that particular barrier is removed, and I am not offering my opinion, I am merely putting it to you, the result would be inevitable that all barriers in India should go. If it is really difficult to keep other barriers then we have to consider what the result of removing all barriers would be, whether the risk is worth taking or it is dangerous. I am not expert enough to offer an opinion, I am told by those who are experts that the result of this will be very risky for the whole of India and that it will not be compensated by doing good to Uttar Pradesh. The Punjab Government vehemently opposes this because prices will rise in the Punjab because of this.

Apart from this, the fact remains that the people, traders, grain dealers, have been profiteering heavily by the rising prices. How can that be checked? It is not an easy matter. One can deal with big grain dealers, of course. But, it is not a particularly easy matter to deal with a large number of small, relatively small dealers. You may seize the grain or call upon them to deliver it, you may catch one or two persons but, probably the rest would, as it is called, go underground and produce momentarily even a greater scarcity. Ultimately sometime it will have to come out. But for some weeks, months it may be greater scarcity and greater consequences. Now, legal measures may be taken, you may punish a man if you can catch hold of him, if you get enough proof; it is not particularly easy. Now, it worries me why people who are profiteering should get away with it. It makes one angry to find when a large number of people are suffering, some people are profiting by this. This profiteering may give them a little profit now but it is going to be very bad for them, and they will lose in the long run; public opinion pressures and all that. And further, this is good advice merely, ask them to tell at what price they bought the thing and at what price they are selling it. There is no pressure, they can refuse to answer or they can give it. They cannot very well give completely untrue figures, they will be caught. And if the difference is big you can say, now listen, I am going to give publicity to your daily prices and what you bought, what you sold. So that the people may know and it is not good for the people to realise that you are profiteering so much, and appeal to them. I think the pressure will be



adequate. Or take it from the public point of view that the same thing was done by the Congress Committee in a friendly way, asking for their cooperation: tell us at what price you bought it, the price you are selling it. If they refuse to tell, well, there is no compulsion; you simply say, so and so refuses and this information be placed before the public. I think that this would be entirely legitimate. There is no illegality about it. There is no threat of the law even, but the only threat is that public opinion will not like it.

What I mean to say is we have got tied up into two types of activities. One is the state activity which thinks only in terms of the law, meaning starting a case against somebody, and they look it up, they say we have not got enough evidence, what are we to do? And thus, therefore, they do not start it. If they start it, it takes two years, everything is over and they say we have forgotten it. So they think of the law or they think of a law and order situation. They do not think of any intermediate measure like I have suggested. On the other side people have become helpless, I mean to say they wait for events or else they are incited, not by Congressmen as a rule but by others too, well, what they call, to do *satyagraha*. Both are extreme things, leaving out a host of middle things in which public opinion functions. An opinion functions, the friendly approach and the pressure approach which does make a difference, I am quite sure of it. As I said to somebody I wish I was a District Magistrate instead of being a Prime Minister. On the other hand I wish I was a President of the District Congress Committee. The two methods of approach, the official approach in the district and the Congress approach in the district—I think in either approach I would be able to show some results which as Prime Minister unfortunately I cannot; it is most unfortunate, but there it is. This of course is meant to deal with a particular situation as it arises. Apart from this, I should like to refer to one or two other matters before I finish.

In two or three days you are going to have this new Bill relating to the Hindu University which has just come out of the Select Committee.<sup>5</sup> I have not myself seen the Select Committee's report in full. I have seen brief reference so I can offer no opinion. But, may I repeat to you even more emphatically than when I spoke in the Lok Sabha how urgent and important it has become for us to take the steps indicated in that Bill—which are temporary of course—in order to save not only the Banaras Hindu University but the future of university education in India? It is I think a matter of the greatest importance from the education point of view, and from our universities point of view. How we deal with this Banaras University now? You have read in the reports and other papers

5. For Nehru's comments during the discussion in the Lok Sabha on the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill on 16 August 1958, see *post*, pp. 198-205.

and many deputations have come here and I am told quite a number of people have permanently settled down in Delhi to meet members of Parliament and to canvass them against this Bill. And the situation in Banaras itself, in the University, is not a particularly good one. It is rather an extraordinary situation. Most of the students are attending classes, most of the teachers are doing their work. They want to do their work. They want to study and to teach. But a group of persons chiefly from outside the University and some University people come in and regularly lay siege to it, do not allow persons to go this way or that way. Do not allow professors to go, do not allow the Vice Chancellor to come out of his house or to go into it, do not allow the Pro-Vice Chancellor to move about. And most of the other students want to carry on with their work and to study. A relatively small group is holding the University to ransom.<sup>6</sup> Now, that is a culmination of what in a somewhat smaller degree has been happening year after year in the Hindu University. Groups have held it to ransom, not allowing anybody to function except according to their own wishes in the matter. It is a pretty bad lookout. In a sense I am sorry for what has happened, in a sense I am glad. I am glad in the sense it has come to a crisis, you deal with a crisis. It really is amazing that some of the finest men we have produced in India have been Vice Chancellors there. There is a procession of them—one after the other they go and find it impossible to function and come away; this must be put right. And I want you to look at this matter in this context and not be influenced by this special pleading or canvassing that might be going on here and which rather brings in the personal element of groups, etc., who do not want their special position to be challenged. I am sorry I have taken so much of your time, thank you.

6. This was pointed out in the Mudaliar Committee report. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 170 and 201.



## 21. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1958

My dear Ajit,

I had a large number of MPs at my house this afternoon, many of them from the UP. They were all much perturbed by the high prices of wheat prevailing in the UP. Right near the Delhi Border prices are almost double that in Delhi. As you know, the UP Government is facing a very difficult position. Ali Zaheer<sup>2</sup> is coming to see me on the 28th afternoon.

Have you thought over this position and is it possible for us to take any steps to meet it? We can hardly be silent spectators of this dangerous trend.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(77)/58-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Minister of Justice, Food, Civil Supplies and Forests in Uttar Pradesh Government.

## 22. To Bimalchandra Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1958

Dear Bimalchandrajī,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 26th August. With much that you say, I am in full agreement. As a matter of fact, there are hardly two opinions about some of the approaches you have mentioned. At least for a year and a half we have laid the greatest stress on agriculture and the community development blocks have been told to concentrate on this as a measure of the highest priority. Stress has also been laid on small schemes such as you have mentioned and in fact in some States much progress has been made on these lines.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1918-1961); Minister for Works, Building and Revenue, 1948-57, and for Land and Revenue, West Bengal Government, 1957-58; wrote extensively in Bengali; English rendering of his works include *Problems in Education, Society and Literature, Trends of World History and India* and *Society and Civilization*.

We feel dissatisfied with what has happened and we should always be dissatisfied. But nevertheless, the actual progress made in agricultural production has been quite creditable. This has been acknowledged by the International Bank after a close study conducted this summer in India. In fact, there are hardly any instances in other countries of progress at this rate. It is true that during the past year the rate has come down because of the very heavy damage because of floods and drought.

I agree with you that it is necessary to study local contours, etc., in order to develop proper agricultural and irrigation policies. In fact this has been suggested.

I do not know if much good will come by our having some more regional planning councils. We seem to have an abundance of councils and committees. The point is that they should work intelligently. Also that the existing resources should be fully utilised and unfortunately they have not been so utilised.

I am sending your letter to our Union Minister of Food and Agriculture.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 23. To Ajit Prasad Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1958

My dear Ajit,

Thank you for your letter of August 29 about your talks with Kripalani,<sup>2</sup> Asoka Mehta<sup>3</sup> and Goray.<sup>4</sup>

I agree that we must not encourage a mentality of scarcity, but that rather we should try to create a mentality of hope and self-reliance.

But there is one thing which I feel must be done and that is to reduce wastage in parties by limiting the number of persons that can be invited to functions where cereals are served. This should apply even to wedding parties and the like. Quite apart from the question of saving cereals, I think that this is

1. JN Collection.

2. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Sitamarhi, Bihar.

3. Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Muzaffarpur, Bihar.

4. Narayan Ganesh Goray, Praja Socialist Party Member of the Lok Sabha from Poona.



good in itself and it discourages some anti-social tendencies of our society. To most middle-class people it comes as a boon.

In particular, I think we should do this in Delhi where there is so obvious and blatant wastage.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 24. To Shibban Lal Saksena<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
29th August, 1958

Dear Shibban Lal,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 26th August today and have read it.

I agree with you that in the ultimate analysis my Government as well as State Government as well as State Governments are responsible for what is done or not done in any part of India. Naturally, however, all these Governments function under certain limitations which can only be got over gradually by planned efforts and hard work. This is more particularly the case in regard to agricultural improvement and, even more so, in regard to what are called the backward areas, such as the districts of eastern Uttar Pradesh. I am perfectly prepared to admit that some step, if it had been taken in time, would have produced better results. It is always easy to be wise after an event.

The main purpose of what I said in the Lok Sabha,<sup>3</sup> and which you have quoted, was to stress the gravity of the situation in these backward areas and the necessity to deal with them as a high priority measure. But it is a well-known fact in planning that the entire picture has to be seen in order to gain results. Otherwise, our efforts would be largely frustrated. Thus, the question of food production has to be tackled from two points of view: where the chances are to increase that food production fairly rapidly, that area has to be encouraged to do so as the total food production of the country is of importance for everyone. Secondly, the backward areas have to be helped as much as possible. There is a certain conflict between these two approaches which has to be balanced.

1. JN Collection.

2. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Maharajganj, UP.

3. On 21 August 1958. See *ante*, pp. 132-138.

Unfortunately, because of a large number of factors, industrial development takes place more in certain areas which are more favourably circumstanced for that purpose. If we want a steel plant or any major plant, it has to be situated where it would yield the best results and where raw materials, etc., are available. The eastern Uttar Pradesh and some other parts of the country have not this advantage, though efforts should be made in other ways for them to develop industrially wherever possible.

You have put forward various proposals and you have referred to some remarks that Shri Charan Singh<sup>4</sup> is reported to have made. I do not know how far this report is correct. In areas of distress obviously help should be given and land revenue remitted. It would be improper for people who are actually in distress to be proceeded with forcibly for the realisation of land revenue. But even in areas of distress there are often people who are tolerably well off and who can afford to pay land revenue. There is no reason why they should not pay. But, as I have said, every effort should be made to relieve the burden on people who are in distress and it is Government's business to do so.

The fact, however, has to be recognised that in a country which is poorly developed people generally are necessarily poor. This applies to agricultural areas more particularly. It may be said with some truth that such people should not be burdened with taxation. On the other hand, the whole development process means creating a surplus for development. If a poor country functioned as a richer country might do, the result would be no development at all and the country or the area sinking further and further into the morass of poverty. That is always the basic difficulty in dealing with the development of a poor country or a poor region. In order to get over this dilemma, a period of even greater difficulty has to be passed. That has been and is the case in other countries which face this problem. There is no other way to solve this problem. Higher standards and social amenities only come when certain resources are built up. The building up of these resources inevitably casts a burden on the population in general. We should always try to cast the great part of the burden on those who can more easily pay it. But however much that might be done, inevitably the burden has to be spread out because the vast majority of the population is not well off.

How best to do this is a matter which requires the most careful attention and planning both from the short term and the long term perspective points of view. If we sacrifice the long term perspective for some short term benefits, as sometimes we must, this means giving up the hope of future progress to that extent.

4. The Revenue and Finance Minister in the UP Government.



I can assure you that this is a matter which has engaged the attention of our Planning Commission a very great deal and is engaging it now.

You have referred to cheap grain shops, test works, etc. To the best of our ability these grain shops and test works have been opened. A considerable quantity of additional foodgrains has also been sent to the UP.

You have referred also to fees of students. I do not know what particular steps have been taken in this matter. But I do know that considerable sums have been provided to pay for the fees of students who may be in distress.

As for comprehensive integrated river valley schemes, it is easy to refer to them. But it is not at all easy for them to be worked out so as to be feasible and advantageous to the people concerned. My own feeling is that small schemes should be encouraged now far more than the huge schemes.

You refer to floods. I do not know if floods are a new phenomenon or not. I take it that floods have occurred for ages past. The whole geography of North India as it is, with the vast range of the Himalayas jetting out to the plains, encourages tremendous floods. It has done so, I suppose, for millions of years past, ever since the Himalayas were formed. In fact, all the plain area of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and Bengal has been built up by these floods. It is a very difficult matter to stop these floods by dams or such other works. The water has to flow. The only thing to be done is to make it drain away rapidly. The idea of drains and reservoirs preventing this is only applicable to some extent. To that extent it should certainly be dealt with. Our close study of these problems of dams and reservoirs has led to the conclusion that the idea of damming is not always successful and sometimes it brings more disastrous results.

You must remember also that the population of eastern Uttar Pradesh has grown and continues to grow at a very fast pace. This is most unfortunate as it must inevitably come in the way of any real progress being made there.

Thus, this problem has to be attacked on a variety of fronts and should be so attacked. But to think in terms of some quick remedies is not going to be helpful and may actually cause more damage in the end. But I agree with you that everything that is feasible must be done.

I need not tell you that while I appreciate your strong feeling in this matter, I do not think that fasting is a proper method. I hope, therefore, that you will give up your fast.<sup>5</sup>

5. Shibbanlal Saksena announced in Delhi on 21 August 1958 that he had begun a fast unto death as a protest against the Government's 'indifference' to the deteriorating condition in the scarcity stricken areas of eastern UP.

I am sending your letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh as well as a copy of my reply to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 25. To Sardar Lal Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30th August, 1958

Dear Sardar Lal Singh,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 25th and its enclosure.

Whatever you say about agricultural matters is always worth reading. There is only one thing I should like to say. I cannot understand why you call cooperative farming as collective farming. There is an essential difference between the two. Of course, cooperative farming can be of many kinds. There is no question in cooperative farming of ownership vesting in the state. It remains with the individual. A big farm stands on its own feet, but where, as in many parts of India, the holdings are very small they have to function in cooperation to make good. Also, there is a very important aspect of this and that is to develop a cooperative spirit in our people. The comparison with Poland or any other place does not help because Poland went in for collectives. It is obvious that all over the world a very large measure of cooperation has come into farming. That is a common factor. The only additional step is that farming itself may be done cooperatively and this is based not on some theory but on the very practical considerations of very small holdings not being able to function satisfactorily otherwise.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Member, Advisory Board of Agricultural Research, 1947-51 and Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57.



### III. INDUSTRY AND LABOUR

#### 1. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 11, 1958

My dear Humayun,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of July 9th about optical glass.<sup>3</sup> We are all very glad to know about the success of our laboratory in the manufacture of optical glass.

As you perhaps know, we agreed some time ago to set up an optical glass factory with Soviet assistance.<sup>4</sup> Their technicians have been here discussing the location of the factory. This factory, of course, will be a state venture. I understand that when they were told that we could manufacture optical glass ourselves, they said that our process could be introduced in this factory.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.
3. Humayun Kabir wrote that Dr Atma Ram, the Director of Central Glass and Ceramic Institute, and his colleagues had designed and fabricated machines for manufacturing optical glass. He added that the total cost of producing five to six tons of optical glass in a year would not be more than Rs 10 lakhs of which about Rs 3 lakhs would be in foreign exchange. He further wrote that Atma Ram had not been able to gain access to any strategic material for the manufacture of optical glass in the USA and USSR. He had not been allowed to visit the factories producing optical glass or even discuss any of the designs or formulas with the Soviet experts during his visit to the USSR as a member of the scientific delegation led by M.S. Thacker. He, however, hoped that optical glass would be manufactured in the national laboratory and would be retained as a state monopoly.
4. The Indian Government sought to establish an optical and ophthalmic glass factory at Durgapur with the assistance of Messrs Technoexport of the USSR. Though the project report was submitted to the Ministry of Commerce and Industry in July 1959, the factory at Durgapur could begin production only in 1969.

## 2. Reply to S.C.C. Anthony Pillai<sup>1</sup>

Please inform Shri Anthony Pillai<sup>2</sup> by telephone as follows:

"I have received his letter of the 20th July and have read it. I am sorry that because of the grave international crisis which is taking up all my time,<sup>3</sup> I am unable to give an interview today.

The Minister of Transport<sup>4</sup> has, however, been good enough to keep in touch with me, and we have discussed these matters. As a result, I understand that he has made every effort to reach a just and equitable solution of the problems that have been raised. As Shri Anthony has himself said in his letter, these problems have been considered by the Minister of Transport patiently and sympathetically, and in regard to most of them, there have been agreed solutions. In regard to others, the Minister of Transport has gone as far as he could in existing circumstances. I trust that the port and dock workers' organisations will appreciate the goodwill underlying the Government's attitude and the decisions they are arriving at, and cooperate fully in giving effect to them.<sup>5</sup>

Should Shri Anthony Pillai wish to see me tomorrow, he can do so at 3 p.m. in my office in External Affairs.

1. Note to Private Secretary, 20 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. S.C.C. Anthony Pillai, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Madras North; President, Madras Labour Union, and a Trustee of the Madras Port Trust.
3. The reference is to the situation in the Middle East. See also *post*, pp. 460-511.
4. S.K. Patil.
5. The dock workers struck work demanding that the rules regarding provident fund and gratuity be made uniform to all the major ports. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 153-154.



### 3. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 26, 1958

My dear Chavan,

Today's newspapers told us about the one-day strike in Bombay which paralysed all business there yesterday.<sup>2</sup> This strike showed the strength of the leftist trade unions and the weakness of the INTUC in Bombay. It showed up also the failure of the Government's policy in handling the situation. Obviously, Government's prestige has suffered by the strike. Equally obviously, the leftist unions, and more especially the communists, will get intoxicated by this and have more demonstrations of this kind. In fact, Dange<sup>3</sup> has said that this was only a preliminary canter.

First of all, I should like to congratulate you on the wise handling of the strike, that is, keeping away armed policemen and the like. I have no doubt that this is the right way to deal with such a situation, and any attempt to show Government's strength by coming into conflict with the strikers leads to trouble.

The one-day strike is over. But the consequences of it remain and will pursue us not only in Bombay, but in the rest of India. What exactly went wrong and why did the strike take place?<sup>4</sup> I do not know all the facts. But I have vaguely heard that Government refused to refer the dispute to a tribunal. I have no knowledge of the facts of the dispute. But, generally speaking, it is right to refer disputes to a tribunal. The idea of suppressing or coercing labour seldom pays. We have to be strong if a demand is totally unjustified, but we can only be strong if we are not only right, but have pursued right courses and offered reference to a tribunal when our efforts at mediation have failed.

As I have said above, I do not know all the facts and, therefore, am not in a position to give any definite opinion. But the fact of our failure is obvious, and I am disturbed at the consequences.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. In response to a call given by the action committee led by S.A. Dange and S.M. Joshi, the Communist and PSP leaders, five lakh workers of Bombay went on a one-day strike on 25 July 1958. These included the workers of 65 textile mills, some other mills and factories and engineering concerns, dockmen and clerks.
3. S.A. Dange, General Secretary, AITUC and member, Central Executive Committee of CPI, was also the Lok Sabha Member from Bombay Central.
4. The strike was to protest against the "anti-labour policy of the Government of Bombay under the Labour Ministry of Shantilal Shah" and in support of the striking workers of the Premier Automobiles Ltd.

#### 4. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1958

My dear Bidhan,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of July 26/29th about the proposed optical glass factory.

The Soviet engineers recommended to us two sites, namely, Durgapur and Naini. They said that both of them would suit but that Durgapur might be somewhat cheaper. Therefore, they had given first place to Durgapur.<sup>3</sup>

On further examination, we found that while in some ways Durgapur would be cheaper, in some other ways, Naini would be cheaper. We were anxious also that our industries should spread out and not be located in a few congested areas. This is necessary not only from the point of view of defence but also as to have a relatively even development of the country. Obviously, the main considerations are necessarily technical and economic.

The Russian engineers were going to Naini again for a further examination.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(242)/57-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.
3. The Government of India selected Durgapur in West Bengal as the site for setting up the optical glass plant in collaboration with Messrs Technoexport of Moscow. The foreign exchange required for this project was to be met from the 500 million rouble credit extended by the Government of the USSR.

#### 5. The Importance of Oil<sup>1</sup>

About two years have passed since Oil and Natural Gas Commission was established.<sup>2</sup> Even before its establishment, Keshava Deva Malaviya<sup>3</sup> used to discuss occasionally with me the schemes about this Commission. He kept me acquainted with the progress of this scheme and I was all the time interested to

1. Excerpts from Nehru's address to the officers of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission at Patiala House (now Tel Bhawan), Dehra Dun, 2 August, 1958. From *The House Journal of the Oil and Natural Gas Commission*. Silver Jubilee Number, Vol. XVI, August 1961.
2. In August 1956.
3. Union Minister of State for Mines and Oil and Chairman of the ONGC.



come here and personally see the progress, but this could not materialise before, due to certain unavoidable circumstances. I am happy that now I have got this opportunity because after visiting this place, the picture which was all the time in my mind based on reports, etc., has taken a concrete shape. I have seen some of the activities of the Commission, I have discussed also and have got first-hand information as to how much progress has been made so far and the hopes we can entertain. The first thing which impressed me is that Mr Ghosh<sup>4</sup> and all his young colleagues are full of enthusiasm and it may not be exaggeration if I say that they are working like a hunter who is all the time pursuing his prey. It is essential that we should have some aim to pursue, because mere paper work done even for ten hours or more a day, is not enough. If a person does not have a definite aim and objective in life, in which he is interested, he lives a very ordinary life; there must be something to make him interested. Some lose the interest, fall into the routine rut and beat a trodden tract and thereby make their lives uninteresting. I do not say that such a life is useless, but without aim, it leaves a vacuum. The world is progressing rapidly and there are spectacular advancements in science. These are good things, but one more thing is manifested that in spite of this all round progress, our young generation is perplexed as to the aim of this progress and where the world is leading to and with what aim? All these thoughts arise in their minds because we are passing through a changing period and in such a changing period such doubts are bound to arise.

I am much older to you and have gained considerable experience during the last 20 to 40 years. I have spent 10-12 years in jail, and Keshava Deva Malaviya was also in jail with me.<sup>5</sup> We had then a definite purpose which kept our minds engaged. During this period we had learnt some new methods, gained some new experiences, but the objective we had in our minds before is quite different from the one we have in our minds today. Such change in aim, objects and functions happen to all countries as well as in the life of an individual. The greatest aim before us today is to free our country from financial stringencies and to create maximum amenities for all. In implementing our scheme there are many hurdles to be overcome. No country can escape these whether she is

4. Austin Manindra Nath Ghosh (1902-1961); joined Geological Survey of India (GSI) in 1924 and worked in various capacities; Director, Oil and Natural Gas Directorate, 1955-56; Technical Member, Oil and Natural Gas Commission (ONGC), 1956-61; discovered oil in Cambay, Ankleshwar and Rudrasagar; author of several academic works including *New Coalfields in the Sikkim Himalayas* and *A Manual for Field Geologists*.

5. In 1922 at the Lucknow District Jail.

America, Russia, Japan or China. All have to toil and work hard to achieve quick results so that the common man may benefit out of these.

You are after search for oil and you know in the modern world oil is a very costly commodity. Some call it 'Black Gold'. In fact, it is costlier than gold in some respects. We have to look to other countries for this commodity. Hence, we must find oil in our own country and improve our financial position and be self-sufficient. You all are engaged in such an important scheme that if it succeeds, it will be of great importance to our country.

Oil is a new thing to us and we did not have the necessary know-how and we had to depend upon external technical help. Many young people have joined us without any training in oil exploration. They are being trained. I understand that we are going to have a regular training school as well. We have received help from all quarters. We have some highly qualified technicians from Russia and other countries. I have heard of them, in fact, I have met them personally and have seen you all working with them in close cooperation. I have seen all this and find that Mr Ghosh and others in the Commission and the foreign experts are full of enthusiasm and are quite competent to do their jobs. I hope that all of us will succeed in our endeavour. We are thankful to our friends, who have come from Russia and other countries for their help. I wish their cooperation with us would continue.

*Jai Hind!*

## 6. Policy for Oil and Gas Exploration<sup>1</sup>

I think it will be safer and better for the Finance Minister to mention the substance of this note at the next Cabinet meeting. If the note is circulated, I fear there is a possibility of its getting into the newspapers, which is not desirable.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to Union Finance Minister Morarji Desai, 2 August 1958. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. In his note of 2 August 1958, Morarji Desai wanted Nehru to decide whether copies of B.K. Nehru's note on his visit to the USA, the UK and Germany be sent to all the Cabinet Ministers or only the gist of the note be conveyed to them. B.K. Nehru visited these countries to explore the possibilities of getting assistance to "relieve the immediate drain" on India's foreign exchange reserves and to meet the "requirements till the end of the Plan period".



2. Shri B.K. Nehru<sup>3</sup> gives some criticisms made in regard to India's demand. I take it that he gave adequate answers to these criticisms.<sup>4</sup>

3. I might add that the criticism about our oil policy is evidently based on lack of knowledge. It may be true that we are partly responsible for the delay in exploiting the oil found in parts of Assam,<sup>5</sup> but this delay is certainly also due partly to the Assam Oil Company.<sup>6</sup> But the broad policy pursued by us in regard to oil is, I believe, justifying itself, apart from the theoretical reasons which led us to adopt that policy.<sup>7</sup>

I do not understand at all how anyone can say that "Indian policy was such that it would never end the foreign exchange drain caused by the import of oil for the Indian scale of operations, limited as necessarily they had to be by the shortage of both internal and external finance and of personnel, would never reach the point at which exploration and exploitation could be expected to yield quick and substantial results." I am surprised at such a positive statement being made.

4. I have just come back from Dehra Dun where I spent many hours in discussing matters with the members and workers attached to our Commission for Oil and Natural Gas. I saw the work being done there. I also met and talked

3. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

4. The criticisms in regard to the Indian demand related to the following: (i) What was the guarantee that India would not get into these difficulties again? A third Five Year Plan, larger than the Second, would require further help and would "delay the eventual date on which India would fail to honour her commitments"; (ii) What was the guarantee that funds ostensibly made available for economic development would not be diverted for unproductive defence and rearmament expenditure which was a predicament for India on account of rearming of Pakistan?; (iii) If deficit financing continued, there would be inflation at home and increased demand for external goods and services increasing India's requirement of foreign exchange. Did the Government of India contemplate reducing the extent of deficit financing?; and (iv) India had not taken adequate steps to increase exports. Despite the fact that oil had been found in Assam, Indian oil policy was such that it would never end the foreign exchange drain caused by the import of oil, and due to shortage of funds and of personnel, its exploration and exploitation would never reach the point to yield quick and substantial results.

5. B.K. Nehru had written that the fact that oil had been found in Assam in 1954 and had yet remained unexploited was criticised.

6. Assam Oil Company was a wholly owned subsidiary of the Burmah Oil Company.

7. As a first step towards realising the objective of state control over petroleum resources, as stipulated in the Industrial Policy Resolution of 1956, the Oil and Natural Gas Division was created in the Ministry of Natural Resources in the same year, which was soon developed into a Directorate and on 14 August 1956 into a Commission.

to the Russian experts now working with this Commission. The work done by this Commission is very impressive. Apart from the actual results, one very satisfactory feature was the considerable number of young men and a few women who have been trained or are in process of being trained. They are a fine lot and they were brimming with enthusiasm for their work.

5. The Commission was started less than two years ago. The actual results achieved are surprisingly good. No one, of course, can say with certainty at this stage that we shall discover large quantities of oil in India, but the chances are very fair indeed. The speed of the work also has been faster than that of some of the major American companies working in other parts of India.<sup>8</sup>

6. It must be remembered that we are actually cooperating in exploration, etc., with Stanvac.<sup>9</sup> They have spent already several crores of rupees, of which a quarter is our share, without any results. Where we are working on our own, we have spent much less and have produced as satisfactory results as can be expected at this stage, with a good promise of greater results in the course of perhaps six months or a little more. The speed of obtaining these results entirely depends on the number of drills that can be made to work.

7. It is, I believe, established now that the latest Russian drills are far in advance of the drills being used in the United States or elsewhere. The new Russian drill is what is called a turbine drill and it works much faster than the older type. In fact, this has created a new situation in the United States. All the oil companies there are geared up to the old system of drilling, and they do not like the idea of having to change all their old apparatus. And yet, a very prominent American expert has said, after due examination, that the old type of drill is out of date and the new Russian drill is far better.

8. In the technique of oil exploration and, more especially, of drilling, the Russians appear to be ahead of others at present. The Chief Engineer who is helping us, is from Baku in Azerbaijan. He is the topmost man in drilling in the entire Soviet Union. He was full of enthusiasm for his work here and convinced that this would bring substantial results. What I liked about him and his colleagues, was the great pains they took in teaching and training our young people who had made remarkable progress.

8. In 1936 California and Texas Oil Companies teamed up in the Bahamas to form the California Texas Oil Company Limited, better known as Caltex to expand a potential market in the Middle East and later in Africa, Australia, Europe and New Zealand.

9. Standard-Vacuum, a joint venture between Jersey Standard (Esso) and Socony-Vacuum (Mobil), had been operating in India since 1937 with a refinery at Vizagapatam in Andhra Pradesh.



9. As I have said above, I am surprised at the rash criticisms made in America about our oil policy. I am sure that even those critics would be surprised at the present achievements and would change their opinion. No one can be certain about these matters but I am inclined to think that, in the course of the next three or four years, our oil policy will yield rich dividends in regard not only to foreign exchange, but internal resources.

10. I think that it would be a good thing if some of our Cabinet Ministers paid a visit to Dehra Dun and themselves saw what was being done there.

## **7. Development of Oil Resources, a Priority<sup>1</sup>**

Initiating the discussions, the Chairman<sup>2</sup> was highly critical of the note prepared by the Planning Commission on the above subject and was of the view that this note was very superficial and paid no regard to the declared objectives of Government and the public pronouncements made by the members of the Cabinet from time to time. He felt that the Planning Commission should not in any case adopt defeatist and pessimistic views; if the principles laid down in the Industrial Policy Resolution and the decisions made by the Cabinet from time to time as announced in the Parliament are not followed up effectively, the country as a whole may have to face disastrous consequences. The economic good of the country has to be constantly borne in mind and the country's prestige and good name in the world should be continued to be maintained at all costs. He thought that the Planning Commission should have at least given him an opportunity of seeing this note in the draft form in his capacity as Chairman and the fact that this has been finalised without even a reference to him showed extreme discourtesy to the position he occupied not only in the Planning Commission but also as the Head of the Government.

2. The Chairman was of the view that the projects concerning development of oil resources should be accorded top priority. Shri Trivedi<sup>3</sup> pointed out that oil was not included in the hard core of the Plan and, therefore, the resources necessary for the development work could only be thought out after meeting the essential requirements for the projects included in the hard core. The Chairman disagreed with this view and said that this project is much more important than the projects included in the hard core and should be accorded

1. Extracts from the Summary record of the meeting of the Planning Commission, New Delhi, 12 August 1958. File No. IND/S/16/58, Industry Division, Planning Commission.
2. Jawaharlal Nehru was the Chairman of the Planning Commission.
3. C.M. Trivedi was a Member of the Planning Commission from 1957 to 1963.

No. 1 priority. It was a mistake not to have accorded this priority. Once oil resources are established, adequate reserves proved, refineries put into operation, savings and earnings in foreign exchange that are likely to accrue are very substantial. In examining these projects one should not necessarily think merely in terms of the reactions, if any, of the oil companies operating in India or elsewhere or for that matter the political or international aspects concerning oil. Examination should merely be confined to broad economic aspects keeping in view that the country's prestige and honour should be maintained at all times and be consistent with the declared objectives of the Government.

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## 8. Deployment of Troops during Strikes<sup>1</sup>

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Jawaharlal Nehru: May I make it clear that troops are not called in labour disputes?<sup>2</sup> It is an entire misapprehension. They are called in when damage is done, in order to protect property or to protect something. It is not for a labour dispute that they are called in at all. They have no business to interfere in labour disputes. They are called in, because, as a result of a labour dispute, it is possible that a situation may arise which may endanger human life or property or important installations. Take Jamshedpur, with large installations. They have to be protected. Merely because there is a labour dispute, we cannot take the risk of having those vital installations damaged. So, that is the principle.

Renu Chakravarty: Was any such damage done?

S.C. Anthony Pillai:<sup>3</sup> May I correct the Prime Minister?

Mr Speaker: Order, order.

1. Intervention in the Lok Sabha, 12 August 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols. 356-362.
2. Renu Chakravarty, CPI Member from Basirhat, had moved an adjournment motion to consider the calling in of troops on 19 May 1958 to suppress the strike by the workers of Tata's steel mill in Jamshedpur. The motion was disallowed by the Speaker but some Members wanted the Speaker to reconsider his decision and let the matter be brought before the House.
3. Socialist Party Member from Madras North.



JN: I am not going into any facts. My colleague, the Labour Minister is there. I am not going into the facts of the case in Jamshedpur or elsewhere. I am merely stating the principle that troops are not called in labour disputes. As a result of the labour dispute, if a situation arises which has done damage or is likely to do grave damage to life, property and important installations, then, they have to be protected.

S.C. Anthony Pillai: Are the police not called?

JN: The decision for that lies with the local government. If the local government wants the aid of the military, military aid for the civil power, then it calls for them. These are the rules, and there are very detailed rules about it as to why and how they should be called. It is obvious that in every such matter, the human element comes in. The person in charge has to take a certain decision which may or may not be right, and one has to consider that later. But one cannot, when a situation arises, of grave damage, wait for some kind of permission to be sought from a distant place, a thousand miles away, when by the time that permission comes, the damage may be done or the situation may become much more serious. Therefore, inevitably in such cases, there is a certain amount of devolution of authority. It is often said that there is far too much of bureaucracy and centralisation. One cannot in a situation like this deal with it from the Centre. Of course, in major matters, we have to be referred. I repeat that troops are not used in labour disputes; they are not meant to be used. But they are used when there is this kind of grave damage.

## 9. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 16, 1958

My dear Morarji,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 14th about inviting Walter Levy<sup>3</sup> to India. Certainly, you can invite him. Levy is, I am told, a consultant primarily on petroleum economics and his work does not include technical problems. He is the Adviser of Standard Oil of New Jersey.

1. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

3. Walter James Levy (1911-1997); American oil consultant; connected with various international organisations.

There is another man who is very highly thought of. He is Enrico Mattei.<sup>4</sup> He is the Head of Italy's state oil monopoly E.N.I., which is responsible for an integrated oil industry in Italy, including exploration, production, refining, distribution, ocean transport, manufacture of petro-chemicals and oil equipment. It was he who concluded an agreement for oil exploration with the National Iranian Oil Company, and he has also now entered into an agreement with Morocco on a basis of 75 per cent profits to Morocco, 25 per cent to Italy's E.N.I. This agreement has upset the big oil companies of America because they had always stood out for 50:50 profits. I think that B.K. Nehru thinks highly of Enrico Mattei. It would be a good thing to invite Enrico Mattei also. We could thereby get advice from an outstanding authority who is not tied up with the big cartels. He might indeed be asked for a report on an integrated oil policy for India for the next ten to fifteen years.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Enrico Mattei (1906-1962); Italian public administrator who organised oil industry and set up the national fuel trust Ente Nazionale Idrocarburi (ENI), and negotiated important oil concessions in the Middle East.
5. Morarji Desai replied on 26 August 1958 that he was suggesting to K.D. Malaviya that it would be more appropriate if the invitations to Walter Levy and Enrico Mattei were issued by Malaviya.



## 10. To K.D. Malaviya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 19, 1958

My dear Keshava,

Your letter of August 17th.<sup>2</sup>

As for inviting Enrico Mattei, I suggested his name because I was told that he was an outstanding man in this business and, more especially, in having a comprehensive and integrated view of it. I am not particularly anxious to have him here but I do think that he is likely to be more helpful than Walter Levy. I agreed to Walter Levy's coming here because the Finance Minister suggested it.<sup>3</sup>

Also, Enrico Mattei is not connected with the big oil interests in America or England and, therefore, can look upon this from another view-point. I am not interested in the formula of 75:25 or any other formula and the question is not of asking him to take this up here in India, but only for us to take his advice. I think that it is important that we should develop as soon as possible a perspective view of our oil exploration and development in an integrated way. We deal with problems separately and rather from a short term point of view. That was to some extent inevitable, but the time has come when we should take a longer view and know exactly what we are aiming at. The real difficulty that comes in the way of the Planning Commission or our Finance Ministry is not basically

1. File No. 17(204)/56-66-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. K.D. Malaviya wrote that he was agreeable to inviting Walter Levy, a consultant trained to give independent advice on oil economies as evolved under the 'free enterprise concept of America,' to India for consultations. As for inviting Enrico Mattei, he stated: "I cannot say anything about his ability to advise us on our problems at this somewhat premature stage. However, his formula of 75:25 which deals with Iran and Morocco for oil exploration is not any big shade different from the 50:50 already prevalent in the Middle Eastern countries. I have come to this view after my discussions with people holding different sets of views and some study of the agreements. I will, therefore, suggest in connection with Enrico Mattei that before the proposal is considered to bring him here, I meet him in Italy on my way to Rumania and then put up a proposal for seeking advice from him. I had already made up my mind to meet him to discuss general aspects of our work. After my return from Italy and my report to you, you may then decide not only to call Enrico Mattei, but some more people because one man howsoever big can never give us advice on the intricacies of an integrated oil policy. Of course, he may be competent to say something on the overall policy for which I presume there is not much for us to consult at this stage."
3. See the preceding item.

finance but that they are not quite convinced of what we are doing and what it is likely to lead to. The papers put up on oil sometimes go into considerable details but the broad course of events is not mapped out very clearly. The moment we have this thing clearly mapped out and it appears attractive, then there will be no difficulty about finance, provided some measure of success comes to us.

It is, therefore, of the highest importance that we should show this success even in one place and not spread out our energies over a number of places. As I told you, I am anxious that we should concentrate on the Punjab, Jwalamukhi Hoshiarpur area, and perhaps also Shivsagar. All the drills we can get should be employed at one place to show these results.<sup>4</sup> Once we find oil in any one place, the way will be cleared. Your Russian expert more or less said this to me.<sup>5</sup>

I do not like the idea of your going to Italy just to see Enrico Mattei. A Minister going about in search of people is not a good thing. Italy is not on your way to Rumania. Apart from this, any advice that he can give can only be useful if he is here and sees what we have done. A talk will not be profitable.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Out of the four drills of the ONGC, one was at Jwalamukhi, one at Hoshiarpur, one at Cambay and last one was on its way to Shivsagar.
5. While the Rumanian technicians were supervising the work at Jwalamukhi, technical assistance at Hoshiarpur was provided by the Russians.



## 11. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 21, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,<sup>2</sup>

What has happened to Dastur,<sup>3</sup> the iron and steel man, about whom I spoke to you some time ago? You told me that you had met him and that he was going to meet you again.

As I told you previously, I have a very high opinion of Dastur's ability. In addition, I think that he has certain enthusiasm and some public sense, which is not always to be found among our experts. But the main thing is that he is probably the most competent man for this kind of work in India. It is odd that we employ large numbers of expensive foreigners and do not utilise the services of really capable Indians. We have, in so far as I know, no real Indian consultant and have to rely on foreigners for this purpose. It may well be that Dastur's advice might save us a considerable sum of money even in the plants that are being built. But what I am interested in even more is that any future iron and steel plant that we may build should be put up with our own resources and our own experts.

Why not send for Dastur again here so that we may discuss these matters with him?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.
3. Minu Nariman Dastur (1917-2004); doyen of engineering consultancy in India and Chairman of M.N. Dastur and Company (Private) Ltd.; started his career with Tata Iron and Steel Company before obtaining doctorate in metallurgy from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 1948. He founded the consultancy firm that specialised in steel plant designing and supervision in Calcutta in 1955. It was under Dastur's stewardship that Dasturco became nationally synonymous in self-reliance in steel plant engineering and steel development. He was also instrumental in the formation of Indian Institute of Metals, Calcutta.

## 12. Production of Pig Iron in China<sup>1</sup>

Please see the attached letter from the Minister of Steel, Mines and Fuel.<sup>2</sup> I had made a reference to him on the basis of an article in the periodical, *China Today*, which had stated that a vast number of small blast furnaces were being put up in various parts of China.<sup>3</sup>

2. I suggest that you might send a copy of this letter to our Ambassador in Peking<sup>4</sup> and ask him to let us have some information about these small blast furnaces; also about the proposed production of 20 million tons of pig iron. What are they going to do with this vast quantity?

3. You might note that the Minister is thinking of sending someone to China to study the working of these small furnaces.

1. Note to Subimal Dutt, 28 August. JN Collection.

2. Swaran Singh.

3. In order to increase the production of pig iron during its five year plan (1958-62), China had abandoned its policy of relying primarily on big industrial complexes built with Soviet aid over a period of several years. Instead, thousands of small and medium-sized plants were put up all over the country. These plants were described by *The Observer* as "simply-constructed furnaces producing anything from two to twenty tons of pig iron."

4. R.K. Nehru.

## 13. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 30, 1958

My dear Bidhan,<sup>2</sup>

I wrote to you the other day that we had decided in favour of Durgapur for the Optical Glass factory.<sup>3</sup> We did so because, after careful consideration of all the factors, we decided to change our previous decision. It is not an easy matter to change decisions arrived at, but we had courage enough to do so, although we have felt strongly that industry should be spread out in India and not too much concentrated in one place. This is the policy we have laid down in the Planning

1. File No. 17(242)/57-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of West Bengal.

3. See also *ante*, p. 161.



Commission and repeated on many occasions at meetings of the National Development Council. This indeed is the only proper policy for a country's development. It is right from the point of view of balanced development; it is right from the point of view of Defence also, as too much concentration is dangerous in case of war.

I am sure you will appreciate this approach of ours and help us in giving effect to it. Nearly all the States bring pressure upon us to have big projects and locate Central plants and factories in that area. We have always told them that we are committed to balanced development, subject to overriding causes. When we explain to them, they are good enough to agree.

In India today it is obvious that industrial development is very unbalanced. To some extent this is inevitable, because some major plants have to be located near their raw materials. Inevitably, therefore, the area of coal and iron ore where Bihar, Bengal, Orissa and Madhya Pradesh meet or are near to each other, has to develop. So also some other selected areas in India. But because of this very factor, we have to take particular care to develop other areas wherever we can. At present there are some States of India which are almost devoid of industry. Neither in the First Plan nor in the Second have we been able to do anything for them. This is neither fair to them nor to India. A very backward or ill-developed area in the country is very harmful for the country.

I mention all this for I am anxious that you should appreciate this approach and cooperate in it. The other day I learnt that you were approaching the Russian experts for the drug industry and pressing them to choose Durgapur or some nearby site for this plant. I was a little distressed to learn this partly because it would be embarrassing both to these Russian experts and to us if different States approached them separately and tried to bring pressure upon them. It is far better that they should deal in this matter with the Central Government which of course must take into full consideration the views of the States. A number of other States wrote to us about this drug Industry and enquired if they should do anything in the matter. We told them that they should not make separate approaches to the Russian experts. Because of this, I was a little unhappy when I found that you were trying to induce them to favour a site that you approve of. I can tell you quite frankly that we have no particular site in view in this matter. But we do feel strongly that unless there are important and overriding reasons to the contrary, we should place this factory in some State which is industrially backward. We propose to tell the Russian experts of this approach of ours. I hope you will agree.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal

14. To Swaran Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 31, 1958

My dear Swaran Singh,

Some days ago I received a letter from R.R. Morarka.<sup>2</sup> Unfortunately I could not deal with it then. I am now enclosing it.

This letter refers to Rourkela, Bhilai and Durgapur. There are many points mentioned in it which, *prima facie*, seem to be very important. Naturally I cannot judge of their worth without further enquiry. I should like you, therefore, to go into these matters with some care.

As I have told you previously, I have a very uncomfortable feeling about these Plants, where we have to rely entirely on foreign consultants and cannot check what they tell us. That is one of the reasons why I was anxious to utilise the services of Dastur who at least can give an independent opinion.<sup>3</sup>

Some of the matters referred to by Morarka seem rather extraordinary, if true. Have we paid the enormous sums mentioned in the letter on demurrage charges to the Russian ships?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(317)/58-61-PMS.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhunjhunu, Rajasthan.
3. See also *ante*, p. 172.



## IV. EDUCATION AND CULTURE

### 1. Importance of Science Education<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that a degree college has been started at Jaintpur.<sup>2</sup> While I welcome this and wish it success, I would like to suggest that the type of education in degree colleges, though no doubt it has its advantages, has not fitted in with the needs of today which require more specialised education with a bent towards science and technology. I do not wish to lessen the significance of humanistic studies because they are important. But we have to face today grave problems in India and among the gravest is unemployment. We have to meet that problem partly by the education we impart.

1. Message on the opening of a degree college at Jaintpur, 3 July 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Sri Raghava Prasad Degree College is situated at Jaintpur in Muzaffarpur District of Bihar. Jaintpur zamindars had contributed to the spread of modern education, in collaboration with Bihar Scientific Society, right from the nineteenth century by establishing several primary and secondary schools.

## 2. To Shriman Narayan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 7, 1958

My dear Shriman,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of July 7th and your article on 'Communalism in Education'.<sup>3</sup> I have read the article. I have no comments to make about it, and you can allow it to be published as it is.<sup>4</sup>

But I fear that it is no easy matter for us at this stage to take up the question of changing the names of the Aligarh and Banaras Universities. Maulana Saheb did take up this matter and in fact a Bill was drafted to this end.<sup>5</sup> There was then a big outcry in both universities and we decided not to raise that question then.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(152)/58-PMS. Also available in *Letters from Gandhi Nehru Vinoba* by Shriman Narayan, pp. 88-89.
2. General Secretary, AICC, and Chief Editor, *AICC Economic Review*.
3. Shriman Narayan had sent his article 'Communalism in Education' to Nehru for his comments. The article was published in the *AICC Economic Review*, 15 July 1958.
4. Citing the Conference of the Punjab Teachers' Union's attempt to do away with the growing 'factional and fissiparous tendencies' in educational institutions, he emphasised the need for the eradication of communalism and sectarianism. In the article he stated that both casteism and communalism should be rooted out from the minds of general public in order to safeguard the foundations of 'lasting democracy' in India. Referring to educational institutions in general and BHU and AMU in particular he argued that the use of the words "Hindu" and "Muslim" "do no credit to our conception of a Democratic, Socialist and a Secular State" and that "it is the destiny of India to build up a classless and casteless State through non-violence, mutual tolerance and co-operative endeavour."
5. Maulana Azad as the first Education Minister of Independent India wanted to delete the words 'Hindu' and 'Muslim' from the names of Banaras and Aligarh Universities as the use of such nomenclature was against the spirit of the Constitution. A Bill to this effect was introduced in the Lok Sabha on 26 September 1951 but it had to be withdrawn in the face of stiff opposition from BHU.



### 3. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7th July 1958

My dear Chavan,<sup>2</sup>

My colleague, Humayun Kabir, has written to me about the Ismail Yusuf College, Andheri.<sup>3</sup> With his letter he has sent a note which I enclose.

It seems to me that it would be much better for the Bombay Government to settle this matter with the original donor than to carry on litigation about it in the High Court. It is for lawyers to give you advice on the legal points. But, *prima facie*, it seems to me that the old donor has some justification for what he says. In fact, efforts are made to encourage educationally backward communities in many places and sometimes even by reservation. If the college was founded on an assurance being given, it is not clear to me how the Government can get out of that assurance unilaterally.

1. File No. 40(150)/58-PMS.
2. Chief Minister of Bombay.
3. Humayun Kabir, in his letter of 6 July, wrote that in January 1914 Mohammed Ismail Yusuf of Bombay had offered to the Bombay Government a sum of Rs 8 lakhs, later increased to Rs 14 lakhs, for the promotion of higher education among the Muslim youth. The donation was accepted by the Bombay Government to establish a college in which Muslim students would be given preference in admission and to build a mosque in the college premises. The college started functioning in 1930. After the Constitution of India came into force on 26 January 1950, the Bombay Government informed the donor that reservation of seats for Muslim students had been abolished in government educational institutions. The State Government moved the city civil court in Bombay asking that admission be thrown open to all students irrespective of their caste, creed or religion without making the donor a party to the said petition. The donor's contention was that the Government of Bombay was in a position of a trustee and even if the Constitution had imposed a disability on the trustee, it did not defeat the original object of the Trust. The Government should have given up its position as trustee and appointed a private board of trustees or a recognised educational organisation like the Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay, to run and conduct the said college in conformity with the Trust. Kabir informed Nehru that there was a certain amount of resentment and agitation among the Muslim citizens of Bombay. They felt that if the Government allowed the college to be run by a private board of trustees, the trustees would assure that the admission would not be confined to Muslims alone. This had always been the case and the Ismail Yusuf College had included a fair proportion of non-Muslims. The donor and his friends, however, desired that some preference should be given to the Muslim students on account of their economic and educational backwardness.

While we should not encourage communal considerations to creep in into our educational system, we have also to remember that we do not make rules which work to the disadvantage of the educationally backward groups.

Anyhow, I suggest that you might give your consideration to this matter.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. The court settlement allowed the Chairman of Board of Trustees of Yusuf Family Trust and the President of Anjuman-i-Islam, Bombay, to nominate 20 per cent of the new entrants in the college every year.

#### 4. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 19, 1958

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

I do not know if you have received a copy of the report of the Scientists' Delegation to the USSR.<sup>3</sup> I am sending you a copy. It is generally recognised now that, insofar as education is concerned, the Soviet Union has achieved great results. This is not only in science and technology, but in cultural subjects also and the humanities. But, you will notice that the insistence on quality is very great. If at any stage, a student fails to qualify in any subject, he is dropped out and does not go ahead. This applies to teachers as well as to students, and there is constant screening for this purpose. Thus, education in the Soviet Union is highly competitive and based on individual quality.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (154)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.
3. A 15-member delegation of Indian scientists led by M.S. Thacker left New Delhi for the USSR on 30 April and returned on 23 May 1958. The 18-page report submitted by the delegation gave their observations on the organisation of scientific research and importance attached to education in the USSR.
4. Thacker observed that the USSR had achieved the magnitude of their "research power" through an integrated policy covering education and training of scientists and technologists, promotion and support of research on a large scale and rapid utilisation of research results. The principal features of the Soviet educational system were that education was free even at the university stage but only those with talent and aptitude, irrespective of race, religion and financial means, got the benefit of higher education. Students who distinguished themselves received stipends, rewards and recognition.



## 5. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
24th July, 1958

My dear Humayun,

A.N. Khosla<sup>2</sup> of Roorkee University came to see me this afternoon. He told me of the proposal to start nine new engineering colleges<sup>3</sup> in various parts of India. Further that one of these, which had been decided, should be in Allahabad and that there was some talk of another either in Moradnagar or in Delhi.

Khosla pointed out that it was far cheaper and easier to expand an existing institution like Roorkee than to start an entirely new engineering college.<sup>4</sup> This of course is obvious. While we desire to distribute these engineering colleges or institutes all over the country, we should take advantage of the existing institutions and expand them to the largest number that is feasible.

I hope anyhow that no new institute will be started in Delhi. I dislike making additions in Delhi or Calcutta or Bombay. As for Moradnagar, I do not see any particular reason why we should choose that place when Roorkee is not very far. Roorkee, I take it, can easily be expanded considerably and a great deal of money will thus be saved.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(159)/58-60-PMS.
2. Vice Chancellor, Roorkee University.
3. Under this proposal, Motilal Nehru Regional Engineering College, Allahabad was established in 1961 as a joint enterprise of the Central and the State Government. RECs at Warangal (1959), Srinagar (1960), Srinivasnagar in Karnataka (1960), Nagpur (1960), Durgapur (1960), Kozhikode (1961), Rourkela (1961), Jaipur (1963) were also started accordingly.
4. The Roorkee College, established in 1847, was the first engineering college in India. It was renamed in 1854 as the Thomason College of Civil Engineering after Sir James Thomason, Chief Engineer-in-charge of the Ganga Canal and Lieutenant Governor of North Western Province. It was given the status of a university by Act No. IX of 1948 of the United Provinces (now Uttar Pradesh). Nehru presented the Charter on 25 November 1949 elevating the erstwhile college to the first engineering university of Independent India and on 21 September 2001, through an Act of Indian Parliament, it was made the Indian Institutes of Technology, Roorkee.

## 6. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 26, 1958

My dear Humayun,

Your letter of the 26th July about Roorkee, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Khosla did not say anything to me about the Delhi Polytechnic.<sup>3</sup> He mentioned to me about the two faculties which he wanted to start at Roorkee, namely, in social sciences and in humanities.

Apart from this, he said that there was a proposal to start a number of engineering institutes in various parts of India, and one of the places mentioned was, I think, Modinagar or somewhere round about there.<sup>4</sup> In this connection, he said it would be better to utilise the facilities at Roorkee by adding to them somewhat and taking in more students. That seemed to me, *prima facie*, desirable, instead of starting an entirely new institute somewhere else.

I am rather surprised to learn that the All India Council for Technical Education does not approve of the idea of joining together technical courses with the Humanities.<sup>5</sup> I should have thought that for all round education, the two should be taken together. Obviously, in institutes specially meant for technical education, the emphasis will be on that. But a very important aspect in education will be missing and, therefore, it seems to me desirable that in technical institutes,

1. File No. 40(159)/58-60-PMS.

2. Humayun Kabir wrote that from experience in India and elsewhere it appeared that running two types of courses (degree and diploma) in the same institution had certain disadvantages. He stated that the All India Council for Technical Education had therefore been pressing that unless there were some exceptional circumstances, degree and diploma courses should be provided in separate institutions.

3. In pursuance of these principles it was proposed that degree classes of the Delhi Polytechnic be taught separately in the University Campus itself. The facilities of the Polytechnic would be utilised for the diploma courses which would continue there.

4. Nehru mentioned Moradnagar, not Modinagar, in an earlier letter to Kabir dated 24 July 1958.

5. In his reply to Nehru, Kabir wrote on 28 July: "I am sorry if my letter did not make it clear that what the All India Council for Technical Education wants is that degree courses and diploma courses in technical education should not be provided in the same institution. The Council, in fact, has been insisting that there should be some provision for Social Sciences and Humanities in all technical institutions."



there should be Social Sciences and Humanities.<sup>6</sup> In the same way, I think that what are called Degree Courses should have a technical side. The emphasis may vary, and the quantum of time given to either, in both cases.

In the Soviet Union, so far as I can remember, very considerable stress is laid on cultural education even in technical institutes and a fairly high standard is required in the Humanities.

In Delhi, it may be convenient and advisable for the degree classes of the Delhi Polytechnic being taken up in the University. But where there is no university roundabout, some other arrangement has to be made.

You say that 300 to 400 students is the optimum capacity of an engineering institution. Again, I do not know. But in China as many as 5,000 students were to be found in technical institutes. I do not know the details.

In India, it would be better to have compact and relatively small institutes spread out all over the country. But, manifestly, that is beyond our means. Therefore, it seems advisable to utilise apparatus and equipment that we have in existing institutes to the greatest possible extent.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. In 1956, Parliament enacted the Indian Institutes of Technology Act, which provided for a separate Department of Humanities for teaching Humanities and Social Sciences to undergraduate engineering students. Later subjects like Linguistics, Econometrics, Social Movements, Modern Literature, Professional Communication, Agricultural Economics, etc., were also included.
7. Humayun Kabir wrote on 28 July that they were planning to make the optimum figure of a total of 2,000 students in the four IITs. In the light of Nehru's letter, he would try to increase the number of admissions in the other engineering and technical colleges from 120 students per year to 240 and in some cases even 300. This would mean a total of 1,200 students in the institution. He stated: "For most engineering colleges in India this number seemed to be the maximum we could manage with our laboratory equipment and teaching personnel."

## 7. Compulsory Training of Youth in Social Services<sup>1</sup>

The Prime Minister said that he had given some further thought to his proposal of giving compulsory training in social services to our young men and women, in the age group of, say, 19 to 22 and he was convinced that such a training was not only desirable but necessary especially as it would improve the physical health and capacity for manual work of our young men and women and also make them better disciplined. Another advantage of this training would be to bring together everyone in the same level, whether he be rich or poor. The Prime Minister said that, in view of the heavy expenditure involved, only a limited number, say a hundred thousand, might be given the training to begin with. The Prime Minister added that he was having the details of the proposal worked out and that he hoped to bring the scheme before the Cabinet shortly.<sup>2</sup>

1. Minutes of the Cabinet meeting, 30 July 1958. File No. 2 (260)/58-70-PMS.
2. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 100-102, 213, 217 and 798.

## 8. Correlation between Ancient Culture and Science<sup>1</sup>

There is a close relationship between our ancient culture, of which we have every reason to be proud and the new culture of the present scientific age. One cannot do without the other in the present-day world.

India, at present, faces the problem of correlating Indian culture with the western culture. Ancient Indian culture is of a high order, but modern countries need scientific knowledge for development. Those countries, which have not adopted scientific learning are backward and poor. But mere science is of no avail unless it has some firm base. Modern science along with ancient Indian culture is essential for raising the standard of the Indian masses. If India lags behind in this age of science and fails to pursue scientific knowledge, it will not be possible for her to make any progress worth the name.

I am proud of our ancient culture. It is good and great. It is inspiring. We cannot afford to ignore that culture for that is the basis of all our life and the way of our living. I must however say without any kind of hesitation that while there is every reason for me and for each one of you to be proud of our ancient

1. Speech at the inauguration of the science block of the Gurukul University, Gurukul Kangri, Hardwar, 1 August 1958. From *The Tribune*, 2 August 1958 and *The Hindu*, 3 August 1958.



culture, if we decide to cling to it forgetting the great significance of the scientific age wherein theories proved by science hold good, we will not be able to march with the pace of time. We shall be left far behind and it is difficult to tell at what cost. I want therefore to say that it will be in the interest of our country and of our freedom and in the interest of the future of our land, that we make the best use of what we have in our culture and what science has to teach us. Science is based not merely on theories but on incontrovertible truths. Any nation that fails to grasp this fact will fail to go ahead and find its proper place among the progressive countries of the world, as only those countries will progress and prosper whose mainstay is the actual work done in a scientific manner; not mere loud slogans. I am not thinking at the moment much of what may or may not happen to other countries; my greatest concern is my own country, which I love most passionately. I wish, therefore, to say that if we in India have to fight poverty and establish economic freedom after we have become free politically, we must think of the scientific age going ahead by leaps and bounds. I want to tell my countrymen that the age of slogans is now gone. If we want to build up the country economically as also politically, what is required is the pursuit of science and our resolve to do things on a scientific basis and having done both these, we must decide also to work hard and harder still.

I am very happy to have been asked to come to Gurukul Kangri to inaugurate the Vigyan Bhavan of this university. This shows the growing interest which you, in the Gurukul University, have in science which is growing daily. That is how it should be. It shows a progressive outlook and I am glad to find this attitude towards science not only here but also in the other universities. I truly hope that the students going out of the Gurukul Kangri will carry with them the knowledge of science to serve their country. Even the service of the country today is an art in itself, but this art also has to be learnt and learnt with patience. The idea of the service of the country by merely raising loud slogans is now out-dated. What is required for the service of the motherland is our devotion to duty and working hard as much as we can.

No one should depend entirely on the new culture of scientific knowledge nor should anyone depend on his culture alone just because it is ancient. Both the present-day scientific culture and the old culture must go hand in hand. The pursuit of science is very necessary for our economic freedom in the India of today which has a programme of planning, symbolising its desire to grow. Planning includes imparting education to every child of school-going age in our country. We do not want even one single child to remain illiterate, for the children of today have to shoulder tomorrow the responsibilities of free India. Our children should not only be educated but they should also become

experts in medical science and other sciences. I want the students of India to learn and learn thoroughly, to specialise in these sciences in order to be able to give their best to the service of the motherland. Knowledge combined with enthusiasm and hard work will go a long way in building India of our dreams. A bridge can be built only by a person who knows what engineering is. The enthusiasm of even a hundred persons knowing nothing of engineering cannot build a bridge. The age of science or a culture of science is growing. Its growth is proportionate to the everyday success in scientific research work. We cannot, however, afford to cling to the past and remain satisfied. It is like trying to dress up a growing child in old though beautiful clothes. These old clothes which do not fit him will retard his growth and he will tear them off. In the same way, our society is growing, growing daily. It is bound to grow. Any attempt to cling to the old, howsoever beautiful it might be, is bound to retard the growth of society, which in turn, is bound to tear off what belongs to the old as it must dress itself in what is new. This protest of the society is termed revolution.

The changes that have taken place from time to time are of two kinds: those which the society could afford to ignore and those which it could not afford to do so. If you were to look through the pages of history, you would find that during the days of Gautama Buddha, the swiftest mode of communication was horse. This was true even of the Mughal days. In recent times man has made use of his scientific knowledge and you all know how swift communication is. What once seemed to be impossible has now become a reality. Man has evolved by his scientific knowledge what is called power. That power is now being used for various plans which help man to do things in minutes which were done in hours and days. As a result of this, it can now be said that man does not want to become stale. He must act and act quickly. He moves on like the water of the Ganges which appears to be so still and calm and yet these waters continue flowing. In the same way, in our society, changes take place everyday. We can ill-afford to ignore these changes. I would like to quote Benjamin Franklin said that "Man is a tool making animal." That habit to make tools and to put them to use has grown in man. Man has now produced atomic energy that can be used for bad or good purposes, just as a knife in the hands of a man can be used for bad or good purposes. But this does not mean that the knife should be regarded as something bad. Atomic energy can be used for the benefit of mankind though those who would like to use it for destruction could also do so. Need I tell you if war starts today, there may be people who are out to use that energy for the complete annihilation of half the world, and one shudders to think what will happen to the other half after use of atomic energy.



The Gurukul is an exponent of the ancient culture and rightly so because it was opened for that purpose which of course was good indeed. Its object was to save the past and it is good that it is being done. Now, our culture cannot be effaced. There is no possibility of that. Once we used to copy what the Europeans did. Now we need not copy them though copying something good is not bad at all. The Gurukul is imparting knowledge in Sanskrit which is our ancient language, and is the basis of all other languages of our country. However, scientific knowledge was of the utmost importance for all progress that we desire and for our plans to wipe out poverty from our country.

The *kisans* of our country can, if they are helped and taught to make use of the latest scientific implements—I do not mean the use of tractors, etc.,—produce three or four times the food that they are doing now. Recently, when I visited an area where rains had failed I was told that *kisans* of the area were able to produce only about 8-9 *maunds* of foodgrains per acre. I was glad to find a *kisan* come up to me who claimed to have produced 50 *maunds* per acre. It hurts me to have to spend money for importing foodgrains. This has to be done because of the low rate of production and the government's desire to see that no one dies of hunger. I want the import of foodgrains should be stopped. This could happen only if the *kisan* will work harder and use the latest implements. But now India has to spend a large amount of money for importing foodgrains from other countries.

There should be an increase in production and more factories should be opened in the country. I want the Gurukul university authorities to send their boys educated in the agricultural college to the villages where they can impart to the farmers what they have learnt. We must try to improve our agricultural produce. The poor *kisan* lived through three years of distress owing to the failure of crops due to drought. We must try to pull him out of his misery. I hope that the crops during this year will be good and the loss of the *kisan* will be made up to some extent and our country will gain by having more food. We all want India to progress and prosper. We all want India to be among the foremost countries of the world. We all want India to be No. 1. That can happen only if we all learn to work hard. While in other countries people had very few holidays, in India out of 365 days a year we have at least 150 holidays. I am not against every kind of holiday. But I do want people to work hard and then alone can we enable India to be among the foremost countries of the world.

I can go on talking to you for a long time. There are many things which come to my mind and I wish to share with you my thoughts because you, the younger generation, are to be entrusted with the most precious heritage—the heritage of a free and democratic India. I have no doubt that you will discharge

your responsibilities. I want to tell you also the three basic things for which Gandhiji always worked. I am merely reminding you of these. Of these the first is unity among the people of our country, irrespective of caste or creed. You must remember that whenever we were divided, we fell and seemed to have been wiped out for ever. Yet it always happened that we got up and began travelling on the road to progress and prosperity once again. This happened a number of times. We have to learn a lesson from what happened to us in the past. That lesson is not to feel disheartened but to stand fast to our faith in the destiny of our motherland. The second thing is the fight against untouchability and according equal opportunities to one and all, irrespective of the considerations of birth or caste. It must be remembered that if anyone is incapable, he will be left behind and the able one is bound to come up. The third thing which Gandhiji always insisted upon was hard work with a willing heart behind it. You must remember that only they fall down on the road who have the courage to make an effort to walk: no one has ever heard a person falling on the road who has never even attempted to walk. It is, therefore the privilege of the brave and the courageous to attempt to walk. They are bound to walk straight, with head erect, without fear or doubt.

## 9. Importance of Women's Education<sup>1</sup>

There is the need for a system of education which has its roots in the Indian tradition, social structure and ideals, which at the same time ensures contact with the world. The education of women has to get preference over boys' education, as it is in the home that the career of a child is made during his most impressionable age. No country can progress without giving proper educational facilities to women who play an important part in building the country and for that it is necessary that they should get an opportunity to equip themselves properly. Moreover, the condition of a country can be judged by the condition of its women, their social status, education and environment. I am happy to see a large number of women working in research centres and offices.

The Government have opened new avenues of employment. There are now more openings for everyone. We want to ensure equality of opportunity for everyone, adequate food, housing, education and avenues of employment, although we cannot have equality of status, to begin with.

1. Reply to the welcome address presented by the staff and students of the Kanya Gurukul, Dehra Dun, 2 August 1958. From *The Hindu* and *National Herald*, 3 August 1958.



India is at present at an important stage of her pilgrimage to progress and it is for all the people to work hard for the betterment of the country.

The Government are doing their best to see that no one remained uneducated. But because of financial difficulties it is not possible to implement the constitutional provision of free, compulsory education to every child for another ten years. It is a colossal task, as it involves an expenditure of Rs 500 crores.

## 10. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 3, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 1st about educational matters. I entirely agree with you that teachers' salaries must be raised. But there is a limit on expenditure beyond which we cannot at present go.<sup>3</sup> There is also the question of having more schools. As it is, we have been wholly unable to keep up to the promise made in the Constitution of making education free and compulsory within ten years for every boy and girl between seven and fourteen.

The other day, an estimate was made on a different basis. Suppose we now aimed at free and compulsory education from seven to eleven (to begin with) and tried to complete this by 1965. This is extending the period laid down in the Constitution and limiting the number of years. Even so, this required, it was estimated, Rs 300 crores in addition to the present expenditure. The estimate was made on a moderate and economical scale.

Personally, I am convinced that primary education in India at the present stage must include a simple free meal in the middle of the day. That, of course, adds greatly to the expenditure. Such a free meal, however, is being given in Madras now and in some other places.<sup>4</sup>

Then, age eleven as the limit is not much good. There is a big youth congress going on in Delhi now (WAY).<sup>5</sup> It is taken for granted there almost that free and compulsory education should go up to the age of 16 and, after that, it is suggested

1. File No. 40(143)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

3. Rs 307 crores were allocated in the Second Plan for education and Rs 30.42 crores in the Budget for 1958-59.

4. See *ante*, p. 112.

5. Third general conference of the World Assembly of Youth (WAY) was inaugurated in New Delhi on 3 August 1958. See *ante*, pp. 42-51.

that some kind of continuing courses might be given up to 21.

All this is in practice being done to a large extent in the western countries. For us, it is hopelessly beyond our means. What, then, are we to do? I am clear in my mind that we must spend less on buildings, much less. I realise that the weather is inclement and, sometimes, a building is necessary. Nevertheless, we ought rather to suffer from lack of a building than from a very low salaried teacher and no equipment. I agree that some kind of a structure is necessary to keep the equipment. I think the maximum amount to be spent on this should be Rs 1,500 and no more, but probably less. Also, I think that we shall have to calculate this on other than PWD scales which are monstrously expensive.

I think it is difficult to ask the community to pay the teacher's salary. The poor teacher will probably not get his salary for months and months. But the community can well be asked to pay for the building.<sup>6</sup>

I agree that the Centre will have to help the States in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Nehru wrote to Chief Ministers also along these lines on 26 March 1958. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 822-823.

## 11. To K.L. Shrimali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 3, 1958

My dear Shrimali,<sup>2</sup>

This morning, I received a deputation on behalf of "the Citizens Committee of Varanasi." They gave me a memorandum which I enclose. They were with me for nearly 45 minutes, in the course of which they elaborated what they had said in the memorandum.<sup>3</sup>

I told them that the Inquiry Committee appointed was on the highest level, and we had to accept their findings and recommendations.<sup>4</sup> I did not see what I could do in the matter now.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Education.
3. The memorandum dealt with the affairs of the Banaras Hindu University.
4. A Committee of Enquiry had been appointed under the Chairmanship of A.C. Mudaliar. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 170 and 201.



They said that the Vice-Chancellor<sup>5</sup> was taking quite a number of steps which were very undesirable and which were on a party basis. He had also issued secret circulars indicating that each student's party affiliations should be enquired into, that is, political parties and the like, and there was a general atmosphere in the University of students being shadowed. As a result of all this and the Government's decision, many parents were frightened to send their sons to the University, and the reputation of the University had gone down very much. I told them that the reputation of the University had been suffering for some years.

I do not know how far it is true that secret enquiries are being held about the students or teachers. I do not particularly like this kind of an approach in an educational institution.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. V.S. Jha.

6. For Nehru's interventions during the debate in the Lok Sabha on 16 August 1958 on the BHU (Amendment) Bill, see *post*, pp. 198-205.

## 12. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Humayun,

I am sending you quite a considerable number of manuscripts of mine, as promised. A full list of them is attached. In each folder a list is given of the papers in that folder.

These manuscripts include:

1. A first draft of the early chapters of *The Discovery of India*, written almost entirely in the Dehra Dun District Jail in 1941. I had quite forgotten about this. I discovered it among my old papers.
2. Manuscripts of my articles on Soviet Russia.<sup>2</sup>
3. Postscript added to *Glimpses of World History*.
4. Manuscripts of my Presidential Addresses to the Indian National Congress, 1929 and Lucknow, 1936.<sup>3</sup>

1. JN Collection.

2. Printed in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 2, pp. 379-451.

3. Printed in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 4, pp. 184-198 and Vol. 7, pp. 170-195.

5. Numerous other manuscripts of essays, articles, press statements, messages, etc. Many of these appeared in two books that were published—*18 Months in India and China, Spain and the War*. Most of the articles appeared in the *National Herald*.

Then there are some manuscripts containing notes for the Congress Working Committee. (Some of these were sent from Europe and notes made in Naini prison, 1930). Also a report to the All India Congress Committee, Haripura, 1938.<sup>4</sup>

There are also some papers relating to my trial in Nabha prison.<sup>5</sup>

Some of these papers really belong to the All India Congress Committee office. But I think it is better for you to keep the manuscripts together in our National Library or wherever they are kept. If, however, the AICC would like to have any particular manuscript relating to Congress affairs, I should like to give it to them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Printed in *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 8, pp. 751-759.

5. Jawaharlal was detained in the Nabha prison from 19 September to 6 October 1923. For details, see *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 1, pp. 369-389.

### 13. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Dhebar Bhai,<sup>2</sup>

I have discovered, to my surprise, a large number of my manuscripts handwritten. Apart from the books I have written, there are manuscripts of innumerable articles, essays, etc., and two of my Congress Presidential Addresses and notes for the Congress Working Committee, etc. I am sending all these for safe custody to our National Library where they will be properly looked after. I have sent them also most of my old letters from Gandhiji or my father or others.

Some of these papers might well be said to belong to the AICC, but I thought that the manuscripts could be better preserved in the Government Archives.

1. JN Collection.

2. President of the Indian National Congress.



I am enclosing a full list of the manuscripts sent to the National Library so that you may have this for reference.

I have also sent to the National Library manuscripts of some of my books.

I have quite a number of typed copies of these manuscripts. They are by no means complete. Also there are some typed copies where manuscripts are not available. I am sending all these typed manuscripts to be kept in the AICC Library. I do not want to be burdened by all these old papers, and they might perhaps have some value for reference later.

I enclose a copy of a letter I have written to Humayun Kabir to whom I am sending the manuscripts.

You might perhaps be interested in reading two articles I wrote on the Congress in the UP in November 1939. It is odd how they refer to some problems which face us today.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 14. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 5, 1958

My dear Humayun,

I have read with interest your note to the Director General, CSIR.<sup>2</sup>

There is one matter which I think I mentioned to you and which might be stressed. The heads of our National Laboratories should develop contacts with

1. File No. 17(3)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and Humayun Kabir Papers, NMML.
2. On 21 July 1958, Humayun Kabir asked Director General, CSIR, M.S. Thacker, to examine (i) whether the Directors of the Laboratories were in a position to initiate and carry out projects within the general policy of the CSIR or must every scheme await sanction from the Central Office, and (ii) whether transfer of certain work to the Laboratories had reduced the Central Office's work, and how the Laboratories were dealing with the transferred additional work. Kabir referred to an article in the *Economist* describing the responsibilities of a science professor who was expected to teach, carry on research, administer his department, plan and supervise the construction of laboratories, and serve on various national committees and commissions. Kabir commented that if this was true of a science professor in a British University, then the position of Directors of Laboratories in India might be worse. He enquired if Directors had suggested delegation of authority or limiting the number of Committees involving them. Kabir invited suggestions from the Directors regarding methods for encouraging promising young scientists and on how to reduce the volume of routine administration.

a nearby university. They may even become honorary professors there and deliver occasional lectures which need not be very frequent. In this way the universities and the students would get the advantage of eminent scientists and the scientists keeping in touch with the growing generation.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. To C.D. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 6, 1958

My dear Deshmukh,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 5th and the book<sup>3</sup> which you have sent me at the request of the editors of the volume, Professor D.D. Kosambi<sup>4</sup> and Dr V.V. Gokhale.<sup>5</sup> Please convey my thanks to them for this valuable gift.<sup>6</sup>

The book indeed is an example of very good production. Not being able to take advantage of the book itself, owing to my lack of adequate knowledge of Sanskrit, I certainly intend to read the Introduction.

1. C.D. Deshmukh Papers, NMML.
2. Chairman, University Grants Commission.
3. The book *The Subhasitaratnakosa*, edited by D.D. Kosambi and V.V. Gokhale in 1957 and published by Harvard University Press, had brought to notice several unknown Sanskrit poets belonging to the Pala period (7th-11th century) of Bihar and Bengal.
4. A mathematician and historian of great distinction.
5. Vasudev Vishwanath Gokhale (1900-1991); Professor, Fergusson College, Poona, 1932-59; Director of Research Studies, Cheena Bhavan, Visva-Bharati, 1937-38; Officer on Special Duty in Indian Mission, Lhasa, 1948-50; Professor and Head of Department of Buddhist Studies, Delhi University, 1959-66; UGC Fellow, Poona University, 1966-70; Trustee, Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.
6. Forwarding the book, Deshmukh pointed out that Kosambi had referred, in the introduction to the book, to Nehru's intervention in securing photographic enlargements of the Nepali manuscript and had suggested systematic efforts to secure photographic copies of manuscripts in Nepal with the support of the MEA.



I have read the note from Professor Kosambi which you have sent.<sup>7</sup> I agree with his broad approach to this problem, though I do not quite know how it will work out in detail. The Nepal authorities are seldom cooperative. It was not a particularly easy matter to get permission from them for Professor Kosambi to be given facilities for his work. Anyhow, he can be assured that we are anxious to help in this matter, and I am sure that both the Education Ministry and the Ministry of External Affairs will help. I am writing to both of them.

I would like to meet Professor Kosambi and discuss this matter with him. But I am heavily occupied for some time. Later, I hope to see him. Meanwhile, I suggest that he might meet Dr Shrimali and the Foreign Secretary, S. Dutt.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. In his note of 26 June 1958, D.D. Kosambi emphasised the need for "a systematic, patient and sympathetic survey of MSS still preserved in private Nepalese collections in the temple libraries... some monasteries...and still poorly catalogued Nepal Darbara Library collection would doubtless bring much new material to light." Kosambi referred to the Indian Government's announcements about the search for Sanskrit MSS in Tibet and wrote that Nepal would be easier and far more profitable than Tibet. He also referred to vast untapped sources of MSS in India particularly in Punjab, Rajasthan and Kathiawar. The priestly families of Nasik and *illums* in Kerala were repositories of a large number of MSS. All State *pothikhanas* had now been declared private possession of the former princes. Kosambi suggested that the best solution to the problem would be to set up an institute for microfilming every available MSS and pass a legislation making it compulsory as private collections were badly kept and many a time 'destroyed or sold as rubbish.' He also suggested that "a systematic exchange of microfilms with the great collections at Washington, London, Paris, Leningrad, Peking, Rome and elsewhere would bring back to us MSS taken away from India, or their duplicates."

## 16. To Gulzarilal Nanda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 6, 1958

My dear Gulzarilal,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 4th August about the proposals for free and compulsory education. The apprehensions you raise in your letter, I suppose, are shared by all of us. At the same time, I do feel that we have not attached enough importance to primary education. It is true that economic development must have priority. But can we really go very far in economic development without widespread educational background?

I agree with you that we have to give much more attention to the basic problem to which you refer, that is, of increasing the margin of savings.

I am sending your letter to the Education Minister.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40(143)/58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Labour, Employment and Planning.

## 17. To S.N. Bose<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7th August, 1958

My dear Professor Bose,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 5. I am afraid there has not been much addition to the Tagore Jayanti Fund.<sup>3</sup> I do not think this is due to any lack of desire to contribute to it but in India few people contribute on their own initiative. Some special effort has to be made.

1. Rabindrabhawan, Visva Bharati, Santiniketan, Also available in JN Collection.
2. Vice Chancellor, Visva-Bharati, Santiniketan.
3. Rabindranath Tagore Jayanti Fund was established in December 1957 to celebrate Tagore's birth centenary in May 1961. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 245-247 and Vol. 41, pp. 227 and 254-257.



When I was in Calcutta recently,<sup>4</sup> Dr Roy<sup>5</sup> discussed the question of an All- India Tagore Jayanti Fund. He thought that the various local funds might be incorporated in this and it might be stated that 25 per cent of the proceeds or whatever the collections might be, would go to Visva-Bharati and the rest could be used for local purposes in the area where the fund is collected. I think this idea is a good one and we are likely to get more this way than otherwise. Of course this does not mean that our fund, that is, the Jayanti Fund will cease to function. That will continue.

I am asking my office to send you particulars of the monies received by us for the Jayanti Fund.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru was in Calcutta on 27 and 28 July 1958 to address a meeting of Presidents and Secretaries of Mandal Congress Committees in the State and other Congress workers.
5. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.

## 18. Youth Congress Day<sup>1</sup>

Youth is in evidence everywhere. That is as it should be, for youth is or should be full of vital energy, spirit of adventure, hope, enthusiasm, curiosity, creativeness and capacity for hard work and achievement. It has not got stuck in the ruts of thought and action which age develops. In a revolutionary age such as the present, it is youth that adapts itself to the changing scene.

All that is so. But the question arises as to how young men and women are answering this great challenge of youth. Do they imagine that the shouting of slogans or the taking out of processions is the answer to the demands of today? Do they realise that everything worthwhile is done by a trained, disciplined and hard-working people?

The measure of our country's advance in the present and future will depend on these three qualities as well as on integrity and character. How far then are we aiming at developing these qualities in this age of great dangers as well as great possibilities?

There are all kinds of youth congresses and youth meetings in India. Most of these devote themselves to some kind of public gatherings, passing resolutions

1. Message to the AICC on the eve of the Third Youth Congress Day, 8 August 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. Also available in AICC Papers.



WITH D.C. GRANADO (L) AND KAMALUDDIN MOHAMMED (R), MINISTERS FROM TRINIDAD AND TOBAGO, NEW DELHI, 4 JULY 1958





TALKING TO BHARAT SEWAK SAMAJ SOCIAL SERVICE TRAINEES, TEEN MURTI HOUSE LAWNS, 6 JULY 1958

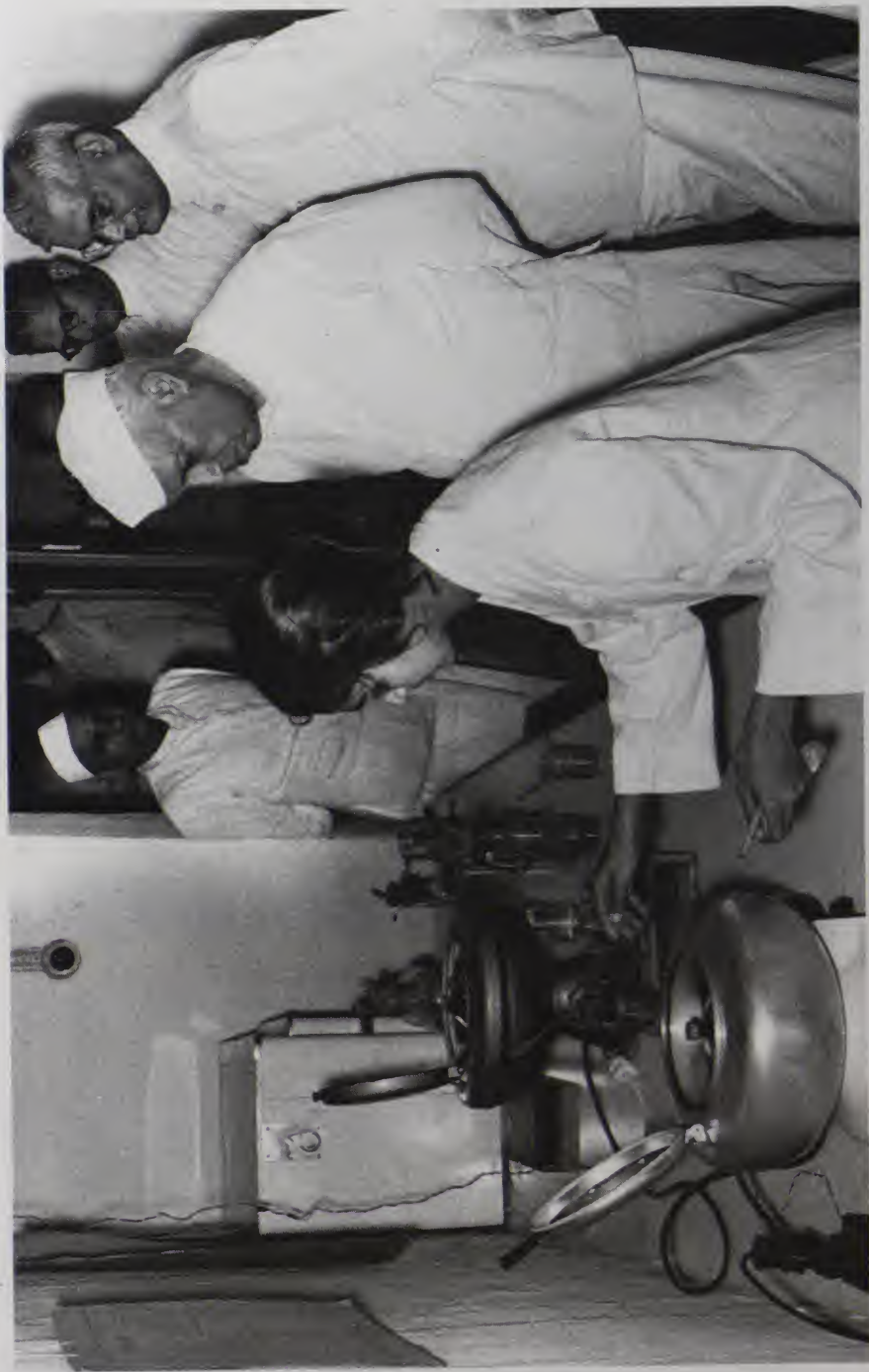


AT A MEETING OF THE CENTRAL BOARD OF BHARAT SEWAK SAMAJ, NEW DELHI, 26 JULY 1958



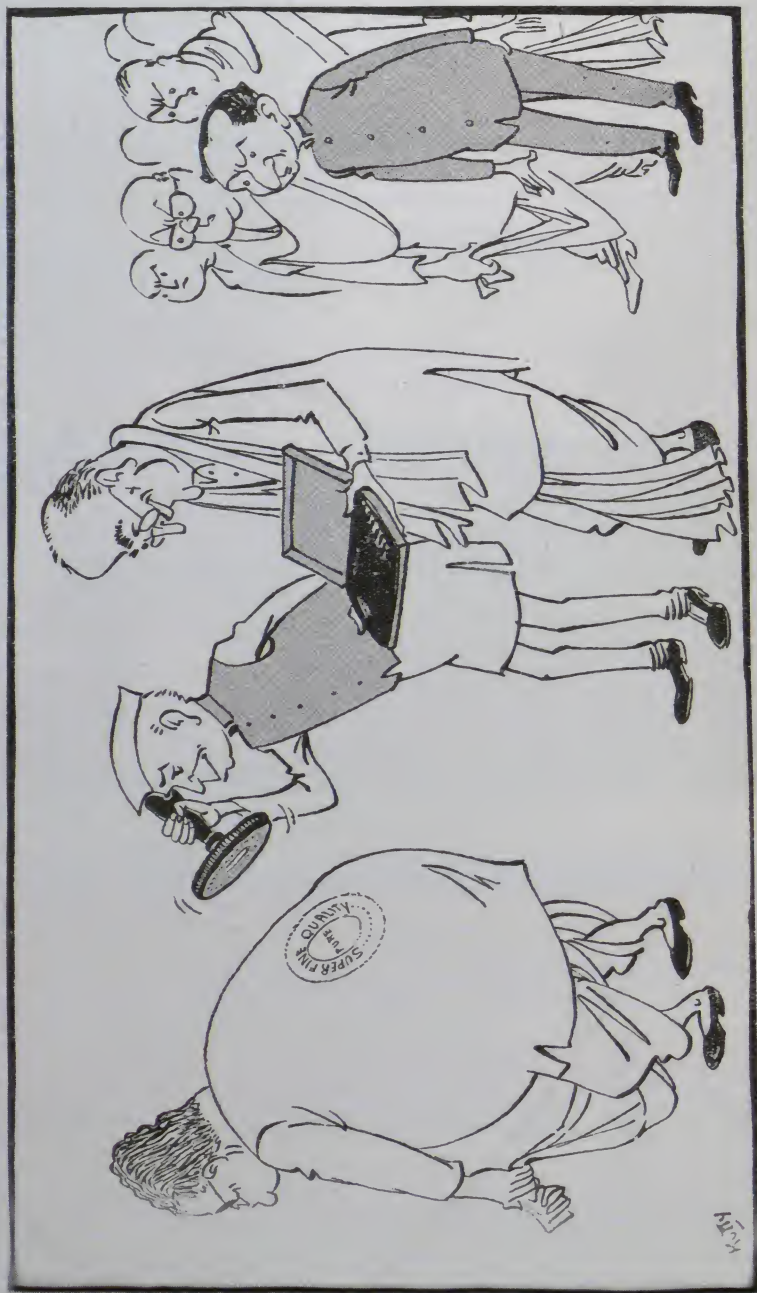


ADDRESSING A PRESS CONFERENCE AT THE RAJ BHAWAN, CALCUTTA, 27 JULY 1958



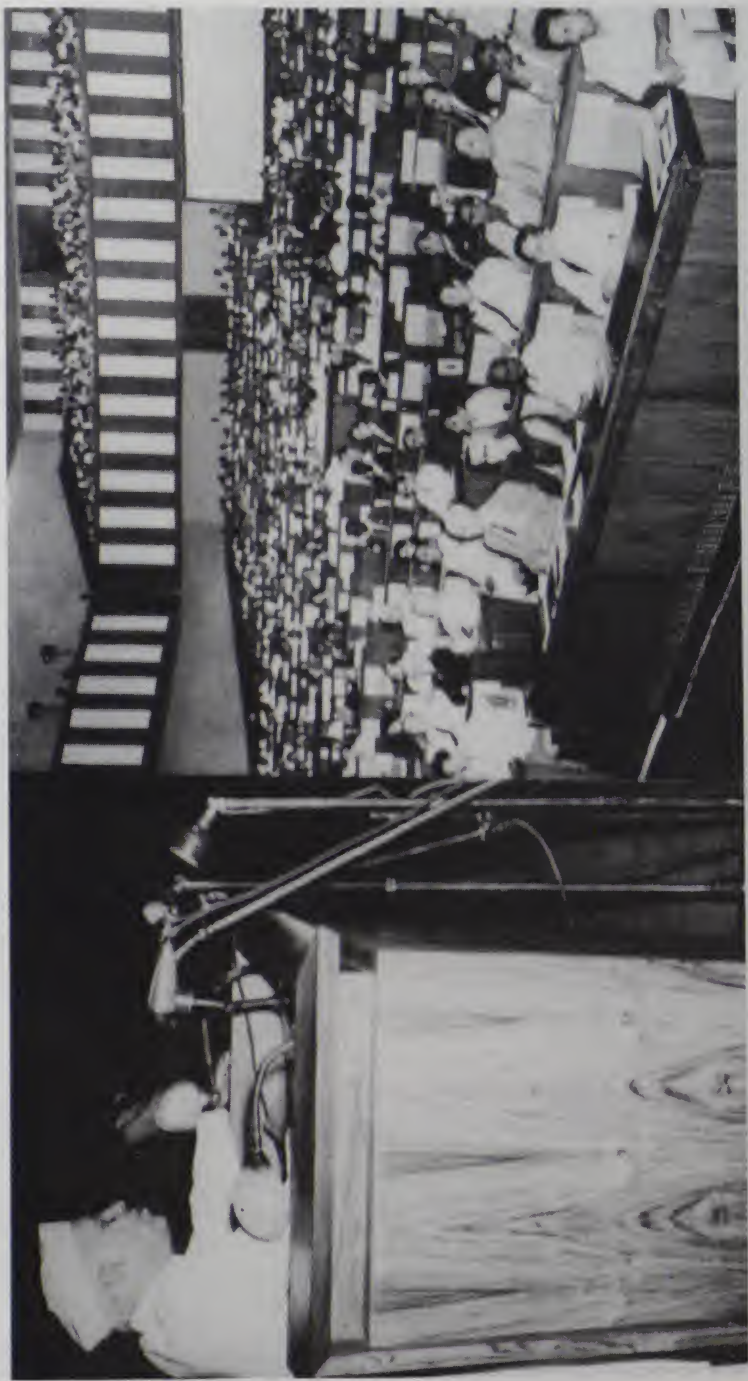
AT THE PALEONTOLOGY LABORATORY, ONGC HEADQUARTERS, DEHRA DUN, 1 AUGUST 1958





Pandit Nehru complimented Mr. Atulya Ghosh's role in the West Bengal Congress.

A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 3 AUGUST 1958



ADDRESSING THE WORLD ASSEMBLY OF YOUTH, NEW DELHI, 3 AUGUST 1958





WITH CHIEF JUSTICE S.R. DAS, VICE-PRESIDENT S. RADHAKRISHNAN AND PRESIDENT RAJENDRA PRASAD  
AT THE OPENING OF THE SUPREME COURT BUILDING, NEW DELHI, 4 AUGUST 1958

calling upon others to do something. The question, however, is not what others should do but what we ourselves should do. A resolution should be more a personal resolve than a demand from others.

Vinobaji has given a brief but vibrant message of slogan in six words, *Ham ek bane, ham nek bane*.<sup>2</sup> If we could live up to that message, many of our troubles would be over.

2. Let us be united; let us be upright.

## 19. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 13, 1958

My dear Humayun,  
Mulk Raj Anand<sup>2</sup> has sent me a letter which I enclose in original. As he wants to see me, I have fixed 12 Noon on the 17th August.

This Asian and African Writers' Conference in Tashkent has come up before me on two or three occasions in the course of the last few months.<sup>3</sup> I found it a little difficult to decide what we could do about it. I was not very keen on it and at the same time I did not wish to come in the way. Ultimately I told Mulk Raj that we would give him the normal facilities in this matter, which means visas, etc., to those who would go, but that we could not officially associate ourselves with it. I did not particularly fancy the manner of selecting delegates by a self-appointed small group. Mulk Raj asked for the Sahitya Akademi to be associated with it, in some way. I consulted Dr Radhakrishnan who was not in favour of this, nor was I. Our principal reason was that the Sahitya Akademi has not done so in regard to any foreign conference uptil now and we did not wish to create a precedent at this stage. But I said that he could consult individual members of the Sahitya Akademi.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 40 (7)/57-PMS.
2. Well-known Indian writer in English, notable for his depiction of the poorer castes in Indian society.
3. The conference of writers of Asian and African countries was scheduled to be held in Tashkent between 7 and 13 October 1958.
4. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 214-215.



## 20. Proper Singing of the National Anthem<sup>1</sup>

The singing of the National Anthem at the Red Fort today by 1,200 boys and girls was not a success. Many people criticised it. Partly I think this was due to bad microphone and loudspeaker arrangements which tend to produce a tinny sound, partly probably to lack of practice. I think that on such an occasion, this singing must be first-rate.

1. Note to H.C. Sarin, Joint Secretary, Defence Ministry, 15 August 1958. JN Collection.

## 21. Student Disturbances and the NCC<sup>1</sup>

As you know, there have been student disturbances and rioting in various parts of the country.<sup>2</sup> I am told that sometimes students, who are members of the NCC, have also participated in this rioting. I should like you to have enquiries made quietly about this. We should know whether student members of the NCC, in spite of their training and discipline, also break loose on such occasions.

1. Note to Defence Minister V.K. Krishna Menon, 15 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. For instance, students participated in large numbers in the agitations in Kerala, Gujarat and Lucknow.

## 22. On the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill<sup>1</sup>

Mr Deputy Speaker,<sup>2</sup> Sir, my colleague, the honourable Minister of Education,<sup>3</sup> has placed this measure before the House on behalf of the Government and there was hardly any necessity for me to intervene except that I felt perhaps it

1. Intervention in the debate on the Banaras Hindu University (Amendment) Bill, 1958, in Lok Sabha, 16 August 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates*, (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols.1125-1134.

The Bill, introduced in the Lok Sabha on 13 August 1958, sought to validate the Ordinance issued by the President of India on 14 June 1958 reconstituting the Court and the Executive Council of the University as recommended by the Committee of Enquiry appointed under the Chairmanship of A.L. Mudaliar to suggest measures to improve the functioning of the University.

2. Hukam Singh, Congress Member from Bhatinda, Punjab.
3. K.L. Shrimali.

might be helpful to the House if I pointed out one or two major implications of what we have suggested to the House and what those who oppose this action might lead to.

It is obvious that everyone in this House is greatly interested, concerned and anxious about the present and future of this great institution. It happens to be in Banaras, rightly so, if I may say so, because whatever the virtues and failings of Banaras might be, it is the most ancient centre of India's culture and rightly it was considered an all-India centre and an all-India University. Therefore we are all anxious and if a measure of sentiment comes in our consideration of this problem it is not surprising. It is right that we should feel a little sentimental about certain matters, though sentiment should not override reason and a logical and objective approach to such a problem.

It is a well-known fact that things have not been satisfactory in this University for a considerable time.<sup>4</sup> Some of the ablest of our citizens in this country have had intimate dealings with this University as Vice Chancellors and the like. We have the record of their opinions. Many of us also, though not possessing an intimate knowledge, have possessed some knowledge of what was happening and we were unhappy. There have been repeated demands for an enquiry. Among those who made the demands was our colleague in this House, Shri Govind Malaviya, when he was associated in a closer capacity with the University.<sup>5</sup>

Why were those demands made? Because things were not considered to be functioning properly and correctly and because it was stated repeatedly that there were pressure groups pushing the University this way and that way, coming in the way of the Vice Chancellors and coming in the way of the internal organisation of the University. I am not, nor is the Government as a whole, competent to go into these detailed matters. The Government can only function according to the rules by appointing a competent committee. There is no other way to do it and I submit that the committee that was appointed was as good a committee as could have been appointed for this purpose.

Among the other good things there is one good thing, that the Chairman of the Committee, Dr Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar, apart from being an eminent educationist and having other qualities, is a person who, to my personal

4. Shrimali had read out the notes written by former Vice Chancellors, Govind Malaviya and C.P. Ramaswami Aiyar, in which they stated that they had resigned because of the cliques and intrigues in the University. He also criticised the teachers, some of whom, he stated, instigated the students to organise strikes and such other things.
5. Govind Malaviya, Congress Member from Sultanpur, Uttar Pradesh, was the Vice Chancellor of the Banaras Hindu University from 1948 to 1951.



knowledge, is a very staunch believer in the autonomy of universities. In fact, I have the misfortune to be told by him in another connection once or twice—he objected to what Government had proposed—and he said “this is interfering with the autonomy of universities”. He made that perfectly clear to us, to the Government. And we agreed with him, and in fact we changed our thinking to some extent because of his criticism. I am mentioning this fact because more than anyone in this House, I think, he believes in the autonomy of the universities. Now, if a man like that makes a suggestion which happens to be an infringement, for the time being, of the autonomy of the universities, it has a much greater importance and value than if perhaps somebody else had made it. Speaking for myself, when I saw that Dr Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar said so, it had a tremendous effect upon me. And so also the others in the Committee. The Committee was very very far from, what might be called, a governmental committee.<sup>6</sup> It was a completely independent committee. They could decide as they liked.

That Committee having been appointed and the Committee having gone into this matter as thoroughly as they could and consulting not only those they have mentioned but, I think, others that they don't mention so much—very important persons who were not only high up in the educational field but were intimately connected with the Banaras Hindu University—they came to certain unanimous conclusions.

May I here just say one word? Stress was laid by an honourable Member that they did not go to the University.<sup>7</sup> Well, as a matter of fact, I am told they did not live in the University. They lived in Banaras for the days of the enquiry. They conducted the enquiry outside the University, but as individuals they did visit the University campus. I am not sure, I made a venture to express an opinion because I heard something to this effect that deliberately they set up their office outside the campus of the University to avoid demonstrations and the like and to work quietly and in peace. But they, as individuals, did go there.

Now, this completely independent and impartial and highly competent committee appointed by the Government comes to a certain conclusion, and the Government considered it. I would like this House to consider what would

6. Mehr Chand Mahajan, P. Subbaroyan, Sucheta Kripalani and Navroji J. Wadia were the members of the Banaras Hindu University Enquiry Committee with A. Lakshmanaswami Mudaliar as Chairman.
7. According to Govind Malaviya and Braj Narayan Brajesh, Hindu Mahasabha Member of Lok Sabha from Shivpuri, Madhya Pradesh, only one member of the Committee visited the University. This was corroborated by the Committee member P. Subbaroyan in Lok Sabha on 14 August 1958.

have happened if this Government had the temerity not to accept their recommendations. Where would we have been, this Government? And how could we be justified in saying on the ground stated here that "Oh, we don't wish the autonomy to be interfered with" or that "You did not stay long enough in the University campus to be able to express an opinion"? Is it a reason we could have given, on behalf of the Government, not to accept the report? I submit it would have been impossible for us to adopt that attitude and not to accept that report. We may have, in our acceptance, slightly varied it. In fact, we have slightly varied it. They have gone much further than this Ordinance or this Bill.

Therefore, I submit that having gone that far, first of all in view of everything that had happened, it had become inevitable for the President as Visitor to appoint a Committee of Enquiry. The Committee of Enquiry having been appointed at a high level, and a distinguished committee being appointed and that committee making some recommendations, it was exceedingly difficult for the Government even if it thought otherwise, which it didn't, to reject those recommendations. And I submit it is exceedingly difficult for this House, with all the wisdom contained in this House, to reject the recommendations, broadly speaking, of that Committee. This House may reject even something put forward by the Government. The House is wiser than the Government. The Government does not pretend to be specialists. But where we have this distinguished committee considering this problem, not from a party point of view, not from a governmental point of view, but from the point of view purely of education, purely of the Banaras Hindu University, then it becomes exceedingly difficult and a very unwise thing for that recommendation to be thrown overboard. Because, one thing is certain. Let us suppose that the recommendation in its entirety was not perfect. Nothing is perfect. And may I say in between that when I am speaking on this matter I am not, speaking for myself, accepting every word they have said in the report? I admit that certain inaccuracies have crept in in minor matters. Great stress has been laid on certain drafting inaccuracy or some list containing some names which it should not contain. It is so. Whose fault it is, I do not know; perhaps some secretary's or some clerk's or, if I may say so, some carelessness of the members of the Committee. But they are very slight and immaterial things. The major facts are not covered up by this fact that a list contains an odd name which it should not contain. I am not here to support every word and every phrase of the report. But I am here to support the main outlook, the main recommendations, of the report, as embodied in our Ordinance and now in this Bill with minor variations.

So I say if we had not done that, where would we have been, the Government facing this House and the country? And where would the Banaras Hindu



University have been after all this? After this report that has come out, that has been published, if we did nothing and said "Carry on", I really cannot conceive how the Banaras Hindu University could have carried on and how any decent person would have gone to the Banaras Hindu University as Chancellor or Vice Chancellor or in any other capacity.

Sometimes you cannot go back, you cannot unscramble an anomaly. It is done. You cannot go back upon it. Even though you might think that a slightly wrong step has been taken, you cannot go back. Because, the thing means ruin to the University—after all this publicity and all this report and all that has happened. And even this was done because of previous, continuous complaints by a succession of Vice Chancellors of the highest standing. Here is our Vice-President...<sup>8</sup>

Braj Raj Singh:<sup>9</sup> What a clear admission on the part of the honourable the Prime Minister!

Mr Deputy Speaker: That is all right. Let the Prime Minister proceed.

JN : I have not quite grasped it.

Mr Deputy Speaker: Let him not worry about it. He may go on.

JN: There was the distinguished Chairman of the University Grants Commission.<sup>10</sup> All these people who know something about their job and who were not interested in this individual or that individual, this group or that group—there are many others like that—they all come to a certain conclusion, and a firm and strong conclusion, much firmer and stronger than mine or my friend the Education Minister's. Again I put it to this House, what exactly would have happened if Government had rejected this report, on whatever ground it may be, and how they could have justified it to Parliament or the country. I submit we could not have done so. And the result would have been confusion in the educational world, not only in the Banaras Hindu University but in every university in India.

Having gone that far, having all these facts which had come out, it became inevitable for us to go further ahead and to accept it in some form, maybe in some slightly modified form, and to put things right or to endeavour to put

8. S. Radhakrishnan.

9. Socialist Party Member from Firozabad, Uttar Pradesh.

10. C.D. Deshmukh.

things right. It had to be done. And we have tried to do it in this Bill, in the Ordinance first and then in this Bill, which is a somewhat milder way of approach than the Committee had suggested. The Committee went further. They wanted the scrapping of the whole thing. We have done it mildly.

And what has been done, it should be remembered, is a temporary expedient to pass over a provisional period, so that this House may consider the matter fully and amend the old Act in such manner as it wishes, and then it may go on. So this is a temporary expedient to cover this hiatus. I do not know how long it will last. It may last a year; it may last six months; it may last eight months, that is, till the framing of the new Bill or the new Amending Bill. For the moment, certain steps have been taken for the University to carry on during this intervening period. It could not carry on, I submit to this House, in the old way without being affected by the report of the Committee, regardless of the Ordinance, regardless of this Bill. If we just left it there, after this report, it could not have carried on. I submit the whole atmosphere is vitiated, charged, counter-charged. I am not saying who is to blame and who is not to blame. That is a matter into which one can go in detail. I accept for my part the verdict of the Committee which consists of eminent men. All I know about the University is that things have not been satisfactory. I cannot say this man is guilty or that. I have not gone into that. But I think I am entitled to accept the recommendations and the report of a body of eminent men who know their work in these matters. I submit, if at this stage, first of all, the Government had not accepted it, this University could not have gone on. It may have dragged on. But after all that has happened, it could not really function adequately: nobody, teachers, professors or the Vice Chancellor. I do not know how easy it would have been to get Vice Chancellors. There has been a succession of them coming and going, some of them most eminent persons in India. Those who have survived—because two of them Acharya Narendra Deva<sup>11</sup> and Shri Amarnath Jha<sup>12</sup> have not survived, both having strong opinions about the working of the University at that time, to my knowledge—those who have survived, eminent men, have given their opinion here and now to the Committee and to us about the working of this University. Where else are we to go for advice?

So we had no alternative, I say, regardless of our opinions. I do not say that our opinions differed. I say we had no alternative but to proceed in this way. I put it to this House, if by any odd chance, this House did not approve of this and rejected the proposal made before it, where will we be about this

11. Acharya Narendra Deva, who was the Vice Chancellor from February to December, 1948, passed away in 1956.

12. Amarnath Jha, who was the Vice Chancellor from 1951 to 1954, passed away in 1955.



University? One cannot unscramble events. Things have happened in the course of years. Things have happened in the course of the past month or two, in the period when the Committee was sitting. Things have happened now. All this has happened. One cannot un-write all this. The only way is to take hold of this matter, get a firm grip and ask the best of our people to deal with it and put it right. That is the only way to do.

The temporary arrangement that has been made, as the House will no doubt appreciate, from the point of view of putting the best people we can get in the Executive Council—they are not on party lines; there is no party about it—educationists of repute in it so that they may carry on during this period and give a good beginning, again a fresh beginning to the University. Meanwhile the matter will come up before this House to consider an amendment of the Bill, the final Bill, and we hope that this great and fine University—I do not know if it is the biggest, but certainly one of the biggest in India, it is not by bigness that universities go, but by the quality of work—will be able to function well.

So far as the Central Government is concerned, it is a Central University. It is a University which costs a lot of money to the Central Government: Rs 55 lakhs a year, apart from special grants. It is a large sum of money. We give it. We do not wish to interfere with it. In fact, we do not give it. It is the University Grants Commission, another relatively independent body that deals with these matters. In this matter, again, as I mentioned indirectly, the University Grants Commission also holds strong views about the giving of this money to the University as it is. It has almost indicated that if no change is made, let somebody else look after this University, they can't. Look at this position. Are we to leave matters in mid-air or hanging, with no roots, no soil. It cannot be done. We have to go ahead about it and go ahead more or less on the lines suggested by this Committee of enquiry.

One word more. The honourable Member<sup>13</sup> who spoke last said something about the Vice Chancellor<sup>14</sup> not being in this so-called Screening Committee. He seemed to think that the Vice Chancellor's name has not been put there in the Screening Committee because of pressures being brought to bear upon us or because of some other odd reason or because we did not trust him. I really do not understand this. There has been no question of pressure or, at any rate, pressure that affected us. There is no question of our not having the fullest faith in the quality of the work that the present Vice-Chancellor is doing there. He has had to face a very difficult situation. I do not know, I do not say that he

13. H.C. Mathur, Congress Member from Pali, Rajasthan.

14. V.S. Jha.

or anybody else is a perfect individual or he may not have made mistakes here or there. But, he has faced a difficult situation with courage and integrity and we wish him well. But we did feel, and I think correctly, that in this complicated situation to put him also in that committee was not fair to him. And I think he himself agreed with this view and did not want to be there. Therefore, we agreed to what he said and removed his name from the list in the Amending Bill that is being placed before the House, because he has, as it is, a hard enough task to face. There is no question of doing anything derogatory to him. We wish him all success in this hard task.

I submit, therefore, that the Bill, as it has been introduced, is certainly the right course, the only course, there is no other way out. There is no other course that we can possibly adopt in this matter.

### 23. India's Battle Against Poverty and Squalor<sup>1</sup>

Mr Governor,<sup>2</sup> Chairman,<sup>3</sup> Principal,<sup>4</sup> teachers and students, I remember today that Dr Ambedkar had told me about this college and had also invited me to come here. But I could not come then. I am happy that I have been given the opportunity today to do so and see this famous college of yours. I call it famous though it is not very old. It was started only a few years ago.<sup>5</sup> But it has become famous, at least I have heard it spoken of in many quarters. This is the first time that I have had the opportunity to come here. But I have read reports about it. Dr Ambedkar had given me some literature about the People's Education Society<sup>6</sup> and this college. I am happy to be here and to be able to express my appreciation personally.

The college is doing very good work in many ways. For one thing, it is essential that education should spread in the country. But the idea behind this

1. Speech at the annual day function of the Milinda Mahila Vidyalaya, Aurangabad, 23 August 1958. AIR tapes. Original in Hindi.
2. Sri Prakasa.
3. Justice R.R. Bhole, Chairman of the People's Education Society.
4. Santosh Chopra.
5. In 1950.
6. The People's Education Society was founded by Ambedkar on 8 July 1945. Its objectives included providing facilities for education—secondary, collegiate, technical, physical and the like—and creating and fostering a general interest in education amongst the Scheduled Castes and in particular giving them special facilities and scholarships for higher education in India and abroad.



college is a particularly good one because it has been established to provide education to the boys and girls who normally do not get the opportunity. In fact, it is they who should be given the maximum help. It is part of the government's duty to provide opportunities of education to such boys and girls. I hope that a time will come when arrangements will be made for the education of every boy and girl in the country, at least up to primary school and even for higher education, without charging any fees from them. In fact, I will go one step further and say that I want that a time should come when not only should children get primary education free but during that period some arrangement should be made to provide them midday meals in the school. This kind of thing is being done in Madras and a few other places which is very good because education on an empty stomach does not do any good. So some arrangement should be made also to feed them.

It is my desire that there should be no child in India who does not get full opportunity of education. It is true that this opportunity is not available at present. But education is spreading rapidly and large numbers of schools have been opened during the last ten, eleven years. But you may remember that eight years ago we had incorporated into the Constitution a provision that, within the next ten years, arrangements would be made to provide education to all children between the ages of six and fourteen. This was a big thing. We incorporated it in the Constitution in our enthusiasm because we wanted this to happen. But the matter went out of our control. I do not know exactly at the moment how many children there are between the ages of six and fourteen. We want to provide facilities for at least primary education to all of them and after that those who wish to study further can do so. It is not necessary for every boy and girl to go to a university. There are other things that they can do. They can train themselves in some institute. But to provide primary education to all the children means educating a very large proportion of India's population of 37 to 38 crores. Suppose we have to provide schools for about ten crores of children; it is a gigantic task for any country, but especially India at the moment. We are waging for a war not against any other country, but against the poverty in our country and our weaknesses and social evils like untouchability and the disparity between the haves and have-nots. We have to wage a war against all these things and give an equal opportunity to everyone.

How are we to fight this battle? It cannot be fought by magic. It is found only in story books. But anything that we take up requires hard work. Nor can we progress with outside help, though any aid that we get is welcome. The more hard working the people are, the quicker will the results be. You must have heard about the five-year plans. What are they? They have been drawn up in order to fight against poverty and make the people better off, especially the

young boys and girls. The boys and girls who are in schools and colleges today will grow up and will have to bear the burden of running the country. The children and the youth of today will have to take the place of the older generation. Therefore it is even more essential that full opportunity should be provided to them to prepare themselves for the future.

I feel very sad when I see during my tours all over the countryside that our children are not being looked after well. They do not get enough food to eat, proper clothes to wear, proper health care and educational facilities. I want that there should not be a single child in the country who is not looked after well. The children belong not only to their parents but to the country as well. It is our duty to look after them well, for they are the national wealth. It is true that all children do not have the same intelligence; some are bright, some may not be so bright; some are physically strong while others are weak. Nobody can say that it is necessary for everyone to be of the same height, weight and intelligence. But everyone must get an equal opportunity and then they will progress as far they are capable of.

So, as far as I know, this college in Aurangabad is doing well and going on the right path. I have heard that many scholarships are being given here. As I said, a time should come when the system of scholarships should become unnecessary. The Government should be able to provide free education. At the moment we are not in a position to do so. But when the five-year plans are completed, we will be in a position to do so.

All of you, especially the students present here, must think what is happening in India at the moment. If you read old books about India, you will find many interesting stories. After all, India is an ancient country. There are innumerable tales of bravery, intelligence, of warriors, intellectuals and saints who lived in India. But there are other tales which are not so attractive. India fell again and again, because we were unable to defend our country against foreign invasions, and people who were stronger and more intelligent than us came and conquered us. So there are both good and bad aspects to our history.

Now, with the coming of freedom, we have been given the opportunity to write the history of India anew. The history of a country is not written with pen and ink. That comes later when historians write books. The real history of a country is written by the people of a country, by you and I and all of us, through our actions, and hard work. These things are later recorded in history books, which is a different matter. So we are busily engaged in writing the history of India at the moment. Your turn will come when you grow up and you too will make history by your hard work, your intelligence and your actions. The more the number of boys and girls who prepare themselves for the future, the more enduring will our history be.



I said that there are good as well as bad things in the ancient tales of our country. Now that we have the opportunity once again to determine our destiny, we want that everything should be good. We must get rid of all our vices and weaknesses. A country's downfall is not due to the activities of others but due to its own internal weaknesses. If we are weak, we will fall. Why did the British conquer us? It was because of our weakness and the fact that while the world went ahead, we remained backward. So it is not good to criticise others. We must first try to get rid of our own faults. We fell in the past because we fought among ourselves. The people of India did not know how to remain united. Even our brave warriors used to fight with one another and consequently the country became weak and vulnerable.

So the first lesson to be learnt is the need for unity in the country. India as you know is a very large country from the Himalayas and Kashmir in the north, Rameshwaram and Kanyakumari in the south, etc. If you were to go around, you will discover the tremendous diversities and myriad, beautiful forms of India. If there is no unity and the country is divided into small units, we will be weakened and will fall. Therefore we must be united. There are many provinces in India, as you know, like Jammu and Kashmir, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh, Assam, Bengal, Madras and several other provinces. There are different languages in the country and all of them must be cherished. All the religions in the country belong to this land. We must not allow the numerous castes in the country to divide us into compartments. We must always keep in mind the unity of India. Casteism has done enough damage in the past and it must be got rid of. Everybody must have equal opportunities and there should be equality in society. No section of the society must be allowed to suppress others. If we do all this and write the story of India with our right actions, imagine what a beautiful story it would be! We are building the edifice of a new India in which children as well as adults will have the opportunity to progress and develop and become prosperous, and there will be no distinction between the haves and have-nots. People will consider themselves as equals and respect one another and cooperate with each other.

The name of this college is Milinda Mahila Vidyalaya. I have read the story of the Greek king, Menander. He embraced Buddhism in his later life and adopted the name of Milinda.<sup>7</sup> This reminds me of another great son of India, Emperor

7. Menander (Milinda) (c. 160 BC to 130 BC); Indo-Greek King, ruler of the ancient country of Bactria lying between the Hindukush and the Amu Darya (Oxus river) in what is now part of Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Pakistan; According to Buddhist tradition, he embraced Buddhism and the Buddhist text, *Milindapanha* (Dialogues with Milinda) records his discussions with the famous Buddhist monk, Nagasena.

Asoka, about whom you must have read. You must also be aware that he has left behind his edicts and messages inscribed on pillars and rocks all over the country, which can be seen to this day. He got the messages, engraved on the stone for his subjects 2300 years ago. These messages are beautiful and relevant even now. In one of them he said that you must respect not only your own religion but those of others too; then they will have respect for your religion. What a beautiful thought this is! He also exhorted the people not to fight among themselves. He said that there will be differences of opinions but that did not mean that we should fight with one another. That was the behaviour of animals, not of civilised men and women. We should be tolerant to one another, love everyone and do our duty in cooperation with each other.

I think the motto of this institution is expressed in two words—*prajna* (wisdom) and *karuna* (compassion), which are beautiful. If everyone remembers and acts upon this motto, even the biggest problems in the world can be solved without any difficulty.

My hearty good wishes to the elders and teachers present here and my love and blessings to the children.

## 24. Expectations from the Marathwada University<sup>1</sup>

Mr Chancellor,<sup>2</sup> Vice Chancellor,<sup>3</sup> lecturers and students,  
When Shri Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay, invited me a few days ago to come here, I was a little hesitant in the beginning because I was of the opinion for some time now that it is not proper to open new universities and colleges in the country. What is the use of opening new universities and colleges when we cannot take care of the old ones? Our first task should be to take care of the existing universities, make them strong and let them progress before we open new ones. As you are aware, there is perhaps no university in India today which does not have shortcomings. For one thing, the expenditure in every university has gone up so much that there is never enough money to do important tasks. In most universities there is no proper arrangement for teaching science. You cannot teach science unless there are laboratories and proper equipment. Science cannot be taught just by getting a lecturer to give lectures to the students. As you know, apparatuses are essential for teaching science. Without

1. Speech at the inauguration of the Marathwada University, Aurangabad, 23 August 1958. AIR tapes, NMML.
2. Sri Prakasa, Governor of Bombay.
3. S.R. Dongerkery, Vice Chancellor of Marathwada University, 1958-68.



that, no matter how good the teachers are and how bright students may be, they cannot learn science. There is a great shortage of proper scientific equipment in all our universities. There is no university in India which I think has sufficient apparatus for teaching science. There are shortages of other things too.

You have said that there should be an engineering college here. You are welcome to have an engineering college whenever it is possible. But people seem to think that it is enough to have bricks and mortar buildings. The moment buildings come up, it is often seen that the essential equipment are not there. I have been to several engineering colleges in the country, and though I do not say that they are not doing good work, I think they would have done much better if they had more equipment.

So, given all these difficulties, it was my opinion that it would be better not to open any new university for some time especially in my State of Uttar Pradesh. Recently a new university has been opened in Gorakhpur.<sup>4</sup> I do not remember exactly but I think there are already seven, eight universities which are facing great difficulties. So it is an act of great daring to open a new university when the old ones are not being looked after properly.

Anyhow, these are my general views. But I had to accept Mr Chavan's invitation because education has undoubtedly been neglected in the Marathwada region. It is a beautiful region but no attention seems to have been paid to spread of education here for centuries. So, in such a situation, the question that arises is whether we should start by opening first a university or establish a number of colleges first. One thing was decided that more attention should be paid to education in the Marathwada region. But then I thought that the decision of the people and the Government of Bombay was the right one. It is true that it casts a greater burden upon the Government. But perhaps the establishment of this university will make the spread of education in other ways easier.

Anyhow, it has been decided to start a university and I am present here before you to take part in this auspicious task. I congratulate all of you on this occasion. I am sorry that our Chief Minister Chavanji is not here today. He came with me from Bombay, but he is not quite well at the moment and so he couldn't come here. Actually I came here only on his invitation.

You have chosen a beautiful place for this university. The landscape is beautiful and, like many other places, there are beautiful thoughts and legends associated with this place. Every stone in an ancient country like India has a story of its own. There are thousands of legends and streams of thoughts,

4. Gorakhpur University was opened on 1 September 1957.

accumulated over thousands of years. There are innumerable places in India which immediately conjure up the past before the mind's eye. When I go to Banaras, Kashi or what is now called Varanasi, I come across many sights and smells which are not nice. It is dirty. But behind this superficial dirt lies the history of thousands of years. As you know, Varanasi is perhaps the oldest city in India and there is no doubt about it that it is one of the oldest centres of our civilisation and culture. Perhaps it is the oldest city in the whole world and there may be only one or two other cities, like Damascus, which can be compared to it. So when I go to Banaras, all these pictures come before me.

Two thousand five hundred years ago Gautama Buddha went there and delivered his first sermon at Sarnath after attaining *nirvana*. Wherever great men go, their thoughts leave an imprint on the very air and stones. You listen to the radio. You must have often wondered at the fact that you can tune in to any corner of the world merely by pressing a button or turning a knob. You can tune in to Delhi, Bombay, London, Paris, New York or Moscow. All these sounds are in the atmosphere right now. We often press a button unthinkingly and tune in to some station and listen to news or music or whatever. But isn't it surprising that the atmosphere should be filled with the voices from all over the world? So it is only a question of keeping our ears open to hear them, particularly in places which have special associations.

In that sense Aurangabad is the right place. Besides being beautiful it is surrounded by the stones, caves and temples of Ellora. There have been kings and emperors for centuries and they built great temples and forts and what not. There have been saints and poets and all kinds of people. All of them have left their mark. Now your eyes and ears should be opened to the past as well as to the future that we are trying to build. The future of this country will be in the hands of the students who come here and study in the schools and colleges. It is not the work to be done by an individual but by the millions of people who live in this country.

It is good to learn about one's past because many lessons can be learnt from it. But it must be seen in the context of what your duties ought to be now and the kind of future you wish to build. If a nation or a race keeps looking back, it cannot progress. But we are determined that we must progress. Therefore you and I must think of the future. The moment India became free, great tasks and responsibilities devolved upon us. Freedom, political freedom, is necessary for every country, but it is not enough. It merely opens the way to our next goal. That goal before us is to lift up 37, 38 crores of people of India from the mire of poverty and make them well off. All of us must march together towards that goal. We want to establish a welfare state which is much more difficult than getting freedom, because it requires our combined effort to uplift



nearly 40 crores of people. It also requires courage and daring and not just slogan-mongering. You cannot cross a river unless you know how to swim. Nor can you build a bridge across a river by shouting slogans at the river bank. No matter how enthusiastic you are, unless you have engineers who know how to build a bridge, you cannot build it.

We want to cross a large ocean and take millions of Indians across where everybody will get an opportunity to progress and lead a good life. How are we to do this? Enthusiasm is there which is needed for all good work. But we need training and skill too, because, as I said, we cannot build a bridge without the help of engineers. We have to train ourselves in hundreds of things in the modern world. Why did India become backward? It became backward because other countries advanced in science and education and in every other field. The modern world is the product of science. All the things that you see around you everyday, like aeroplanes, trains, cars, microphones, radio, telegraph, etc., are the offshoot of science and have come into existence during the last 200 years or so. Before that, if you wished to go from Aurangabad to Bombay or Poona or Hyderabad or send a message, the quickest way to do so was on horseback. No faster mode of travel or communication was available. This was the case for thousands of years, during the time of Emperor Asoka and two thousand years later during Akbar's time and till a hundred years ago. So you can see how things remained stagnant for two or three thousand years in the world and there was also not much change in the lifestyle of the people.

Then suddenly something happened in Europe and the people's way of life began to change rapidly. It happened due to scientific advancement, which led to several inventions. For instance, instead of having to travel on horseback, we can travel by train or aeroplanes. The mode of travel has been completely revolutionised. Numerous other such changes have come about in our life. Now new questions have arisen which require new solutions, for the old solutions no longer suffice. India became backward while the countries of Europe became more and more powerful with the help of science. They learnt all kinds of new skills and acquired new powers. Ultimately, as you know, they have been able to produce even the atom bomb and the hydrogen bomb. This process is going on and on. A few days ago you must have heard about the attempt of the United States to land a satellite on the moon.<sup>5</sup> They have not succeeded yet but they are likely to in six months or a year. It is no laughing matter. It is a matter of courage. It requires courage to keep on trying to do something. You have to get up and go on even if you stumble and fall. This is how science grows. A thousand failures precede a successful attempt. Nations

5. See *ante*, p. 69.

should not be afraid of stumbling or falling but must have the strength to get up and go on.

In my own lifetime, I have seen the beginning of flying by man. When I was a child, there were no aeroplanes and I have been interested since then in the attempts that used to be made for it. When I was in school in England, I once wrote to my father that soon I would be able to fly back home. There were no aeroplanes then though newspapers used to mention the various experiments that were being made. A few years later, in 1909 or 1910, I went to see an exhibition in Germany. It was an exhibition of airplanes. They could not be flown properly and strong currents of wind would topple the planes after they had flown 100 or 200 yards. I am trying to tell you how it all began. Now it has become so common and you see hundreds of airplanes flying about. But hundreds of people have sacrificed their lives for it. Great difficulties, dangers and risks as well as hard work are involved in the pursuit of science. If you read the history of science, you will find that great scientists and doctors have given their lives in its cause. I have tried to explain how science progressed. But we remained backward, which was inevitable as we were under foreign domination. No country can progress in such circumstances.

Our first task was to get freedom. Freedom came after a great deal of hard work and tremendous sacrifice and immediately after that we were faced with the problem of development and catching up with the countries of Europe and with the United States, of removing poverty and making the country prosperous. We had to provide jobs to the unemployed. All this was possible only by learning new skills and science and technology, not merely by copying England or the United States or the Soviet Union but by doing research in the country itself. You have already seen the revolutionary changes that have taken place in my own lifetime: aeroplanes came; radar came and what not, which were unknown before.

There have been great revolutions in the world during the last 100 or 150 years. You often shout revolutionary slogans but I do not know what you consider a revolution. A great revolution has been brought about in the world by science, which has turned the world topsy turvy. Compared to it, other revolutions which bring about a change of rule in some small state is insignificant. The real revolution has been the transformation brought about by science. It is a revolution which is going on in the world. There have been great scientists in the world and the process of scientific research goes on with greater momentum day by day.

You read reports of new feats of science every other day in newspapers. Last year the Soviet Union launched the Sputnik which has been orbiting in space around the earth. This is the first time that it has happened in history.



Four months later the United States followed suit. Any country which has enough wealth and equipment and able scientists can do all this. There is nothing secret about it. Even India can do it. Who knows what inventions some of you may make, given the opportunity? All these things are part of this great revolutionary world, so you should understand the true meaning of revolution. There have been great revolutions in the world but the greatest revolution has been the scientific revolution which has changed the world fundamentally. The boys and girls of today have to live in this changing, revolutionary world. The old world has changed considerably. If you wish to live in this world and do something worthwhile, you will have to understand this new world and prepare yourselves to bring this changing world under your control and serve it and do whatever you can to help in bringing about further changes.

India cannot remain stagnant. In fact no country can afford to do so. If any country does so it will either advance rapidly or fall back and gradually die out. It cannot ever remain stagnant. Since it is not our intention to slide backwards, we will have to move forward, which necessitates our becoming stronger. We will have to realise that we have to work very hard. You must be hearing debates about communism, socialism, capitalism, Gandhism and what not. Such debates are good as they help in understanding the different viewpoints, thoughts and ideologies. But you must remember that whatever the ideology, one has to work very hard. There is not a single ideology which will enable you to sit back and achieve your ends by counting beads. What is required is hard work, mental and physical. Whether you take the example of a capitalist country like the United States or a communist country like the Soviet Union, you will find a tremendous amount of hard work being done there. Though you may be told that there is a great difference between these two countries, in fact both of them worship the same god, that is science and its offshoots, and work hard. Both do same things, like putting up big industries, producing enormous amounts of goods, building up armed forces and equipment. There is not much difference between the capitalist and communist ways of working. There are differences but both the countries follow the same path and have now become superpowers. There are many things in the Soviet Union and the United States which we must learn and there are other things which in my opinion, we should not learn. We must not copy anyone but adopt things which suit our conditions, because a country cannot afford to uproot itself from its moorings. I think of a nation as a big tree. If you uproot it, it will dry up, no matter how much you may water it. But, at the same time, the roots alone are not enough. There must be leaves and flowers too on the trees. We must strengthen the roots of our nation which are thousands of years old as they are the source of our strength. We are of this earth, this cultural soil of

thousands of years, and so we must strengthen it. We must understand our ancient past and derive strength from it. But at the same time we must sprout new shoots and flowers by imbibing new ideas prevailing in the world. We can take what suits us and discard what does not suit us because ultimately we will remain what we are and cannot become something else by copying others.

In short, we are living at a time when there is a great turmoil in the world. You should not think that there is peace or lack of fear and anxiety in the world. These are revolutionary times and there is constant tension, fear and turmoil. You will have to face them, for you cannot run away from them out of fear. Your welfare lies in being fearless and taking your place in the world.

So whether you are in school or in college, the most important task before you is to prepare yourselves mentally and physically for doing whatever you wish to do in life. You must remember this because very often people think that they can achieve things by making a noise. This tendency is growing in India. I have no objection to it if it is done occasionally, for it shows that there is spirit in the people. But I find that generally the people who indulge in such activities are without any spirit. Since they are not capable of doing something constructive, they create a ruckus. This is a testing time for India. When all the countries of the world—the Soviet Union, China, Japan and Germany—are going ahead by working day and night, some people in India seem to think that they are being brave by indulging in hooliganism. If you waste your time in such things today when you are in school, college, you will be good for nothing when you go out into the world. Just think. Who can do something worthwhile without any training? It is only after years of training that one becomes a good carpenter or a good *dhobi* or anything else. These are good professions.

If you want to do great things, how can you do them by indulging in hooliganism or by shouting slogans? That is absurd. You need training. If you wish to become an engineer, you have to study at least for five years in an engineering college. We are putting up big industries and steel plants and what not and investing enormous sums of money in them. A hundred and fifty crores of rupees for each steel plant is an enormous amount for a poor country like India. The steel plants will be ready in four or five years. But the men who will run them will have to go through 15 years of education. So it is far more difficult to train human beings than to put up big plants and industries. The entire future of India depends on how well we train our people. Ultimately the wealth of a country is not gold or silver but trained and skilled human beings. Untrained people are a burden on the nation. Strangely enough, people think that the strength of a nation lies in numbers. It is not so. The real strength of a nation lies in its trained human beings who are capable of producing wealth for the country through hard work. A farmer who works on land, or a



worker who works in a factory, big or small, produces wealth. A trader or a moneylender does not produce anything but merely transfers money from one pocket to another.

Science has increased the capacity of the people to produce wealth tremendously. A single man can do the work of 1000 men today with the help of a machine. So we must also learn these things. But for that we need trained human beings and training them takes time. Children should be trained right from the time they are in nursery classes, in the primary school, secondary school, college and university. It is only then that they can be given specialised training. We need specialists and so we must see to it that there is no child in the country, boy or girl, who does not get good basic education. Apart from basic education, there should be specialised training in various fields in universities and special institutes. Only then can the country progress.

Nowadays you hear of the shortage of foreign exchange in the country. This shortage has occurred due to our desire to advance rapidly. The more rapidly we advance, the greater the difficulties before us. But we can overcome all these difficulties. The main thing is how quickly we can educate and train the people of India. Everyone in the country must be well-educated. Grown-ups often close their minds and refuse to learn anything new. But today we need minds which are capable of grasping new things because the world is changing very rapidly. Conditions change from day to day. So we must give every child the opportunity to get education at least up to the tenth class. After that the abler student can go on to universities.

So, this is a great task before us because we have to educate millions. But in this great task all of you and the Aurangabad University can help; so congratulations to you. At the same time you must remember one thing: I talked of the need to learn science and other things. But all this must be rooted in the character of human beings. If that is not right, you will lose your moorings because moral character is essential for doing anything good. If a man possesses a knife, he can do many things with it, including cutting somebody's throat. The fault lies not in the knife but in the man's character. So if the moral character and principles followed by the people of a country are good, the country is bound to become great. You cannot acquire this in a university. But gradually high-class citizens can be trained.

So I hope that this new university which is being established will go far. It is in its infancy but it has made its start in the cradle of great ancestors. The land all around it is full of great legends and high ideals which should provide strength to this university to advance confidently towards a great future.

*Jai Hind!*

## 25. Preservation and Display of Paintings by Amrita Shergil<sup>1</sup>

Please see the attached letter from Mrs Sundaram.<sup>2</sup> You might write to her acknowledging her letter and telling her that I am glad she has drawn my attention to this matter of Amrita Shergil's paintings. I am enquiring into it. I agree with her that these paintings should be properly looked after and exhibited.

Please write to the Ministry or authority concerned about this matter. It does seem very odd that the paintings of one of our most famous artists should be treated in the way described. Why is this so? Also, is it true that the frames and titles have been changed? Please let me know what their answer is and what they propose to do.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 31 August 1958. File No. 40(160) 58-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Indira Sundaram, sister of Amrita Shergil and wife of K.V.K. Sundaram, the Law Secretary, wrote to Nehru, on 20 August 1958 that Amrita Shergil's paintings, 62 of which were gifted and 35 were bought from Amrita's husband for Rs 50,000 by the Government, were not properly displayed at the National Gallery and most of them were 'stowed away in an attic' and naturally deteriorated. She complained that frames and titles originally given by Amrita were changed. Mrs Sundaram wanted that 105 paintings of Amrita, available in the National Gallery, should be properly catalogued and exhibited in two good-sized galleries in an adequate and suitable manner.

## V. LANGUAGE ISSUE

### 1. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 7, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 4th about the language policy. As you are coming here soon, we shall certainly discuss this matter. This was going up to our Cabinet here, but we are delaying that because it would be far better for you and for some other States concerned to make your own announcements first.

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.



In making these announcements, we have to bear in mind not only the specific matters referred to in the resolution of the Working Committee,<sup>3</sup> but the fact that it is necessary to create the right impression and to remove misapprehensions. The question of publication of laws in Urdu is not a very important one and I think it can be dealt with adequately.

There is no question of Urdu being given the same position as Hindi in the UP or elsewhere. It is a fact, however, that even our declared policy has not been acted upon and there is a widespread impression that Urdu is not to be encouraged. That impression has to be removed. But it does not mean that Hindi should be affected in the slightest.

I have read the note you have sent. If I may say so, it is rather argumentative and, therefore, is likely to raise more controversies than settle them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. For the resolution on 'National Languages' adopted by the CWC on 15 May 1958, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 219.

## 2. Draft Statement on Language<sup>1</sup>

A number of representations have been received from the Anjuman-e-Taraqqi-e-Urdu Hind urging that Urdu should be officially recognised in various territories where it is prevalent among considerable sections of the population.<sup>2</sup> In particular, various proposals have been made for the encouragement of Urdu and the grant of facilities for instruction and examination in the Urdu language. As it appears from these representations, as well as from other sources, that there is considerable misunderstanding on this issue, it is desirable that this misunderstanding should be removed and the position of Urdu as laid down in

1. New Delhi, 13 July 1958. File No. 67/CF/58, Cabinet Secretariat.

The statement was drafted by Nehru in consultation with Home Minister G.B. Pant. In his note to the Cabinet Secretary on 13 July 1958, Nehru asked him to put up the draft at the Cabinet meeting on 14 July on behalf of the Home Ministry. An earlier draft of this statement dated 10 July 1958 is available in JN Collection.

2. For these representations, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 91-92 and Vol. 42, pp. 218-219.

the Constitution and in various announcements made by the Government and by the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference, be re-stated and clarified.<sup>3</sup>

2. Urdu and Hindi are very closely allied and may be considered as basically the same language. But it is true that Urdu has certain distinctive features, apart from the script in which it is usually written, and differs not only in literary style but to some extent in its vocabulary from Hindi, being influenced by various cultural currents that come to India from other countries. But it is essentially a language of our country, and its homeland is India. The Constitution has recognised this basic fact by including Urdu among the national languages mentioned in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Thus, Urdu is officially and constitutionally recognised as one of our national languages and the various provisions that apply to these languages, apply to Urdu also.

3. While Urdu is spoken by and is considered as their mother tongue by a very considerable number of persons in India, more especially in North India, it is not a language used by the majority of people in any State in India or in any large region within a State. In the State of Jammu & Kashmir, it is recognised as one of the State languages, the principal one being Kashmiri. In the Telangana area of Andhra Pradesh, it has also been recognised as an additional language for that region, although the principal language of the State is Telugu. In Northern India more especially in Delhi, Punjab, Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, the use of the Urdu language has been widespread, though it is confined to a minority chiefly living in towns. In the past, the principal cultural centres of the Urdu language have been Delhi city and Lucknow.

4. As a language of India which has literary distinction and vitality, it should be encouraged, in addition to other reasons, from the literary point of view. In regard to facilities for instruction and examination, the Provincial Education Ministers' Conference has laid down certain rules for its use, with which Government are in full agreement.

5. In areas and regions where the Urdu language is prevalent, the following facilities should be especially provided:-

- 1) Facilities should be provided for instruction and examination in the Urdu language at the primary stage to all children whose mother tongue is declared by the parent or guardian to be Urdu.
- 2) Arrangements should be made for the training of teachers and for providing suitable text-books in Urdu.

3. The First Provincial Education Ministers' Conference, held on 19 and 20 August 1949 in New Delhi, recommended use of mother tongue as the medium of instruction particularly at the primary stage.



- 3) Facilities for instruction in Urdu should also be provided in the secondary stage of education.
- 4) Documents in Urdu should be accepted by all courts and offices without the necessity of translation or transliteration in any other language or script, and petitions and representations in Urdu should also be accepted.
- 5) Important laws, rules and regulations and notifications should be issued in the Urdu language also in areas where this language is prevalent and which may be specified for this purpose.

It is not necessary that laws should be passed by the Legislatures in Urdu or that every law should be issued in Urdu. But, in order to give publicity to important laws as well as rules and regulations and notifications, these, or a substance of them, should be issued in the Urdu language in specified areas. In the same way, where any border area between two States is considered bilingual, it is necessary to give publicity to important Government announcements in both the languages.

6. Hindi has not only been given pride of place in our Constitution, but is also the State language of Uttar Pradesh and Bihar as well as some other States in India. There can be no question of any rivalry between Hindi and Urdu. Hindi necessarily occupies the dominant position in such States. But, in accordance with the provision of the Constitution and the desirability of encouraging an important language of India, spoken and used by considerable numbers of the people, it is desirable to encourage and facilitate the use of Urdu by those who have been in the habit of using it and those who consider it as their mother-tongue. This would apply especially to Uttar Pradesh and Bihar, as well as to Delhi, which has been, for hundreds of years, one of the principal centres of the Urdu language.

7. In the Punjab, the two State languages are Hindi and Punjabi and a regional formula has been accepted in regard to their use. Urdu cannot, therefore, have the same place as Hindi or Punjabi in the Punjab, but it is a fact that Urdu is widely known and used in the Punjab. It is therefore necessary and desirable to give it the facilities mentioned in para 5 above in the Punjab also.

8. While the policy of Government in regard to various languages, and in particular Urdu, has been repeatedly stated and is clear, there appears to be some justification for the complaint that it has not always been fully implemented. It is necessary, therefore, for full publicity to be given to this policy and for every effort to be made to implement it. Government regrets that the question of language has sometimes been considered from a communal point of view or looked upon as one of rivalry between languages. All the principal languages of

India are the rich heritage of our country and each of them has drawn abundantly from the others. The growth of any one of them helps others to grow also. The question, therefore, should be considered from the point of view of developing all our national languages and bringing about as large a measure of understanding and cooperation between them as possible.<sup>4</sup>

4. In a meeting on 14 July 1958, the Cabinet approved the draft of the statement on language policy. A suggestion was made that the attention of the Chief Ministers concerned might be drawn to the desirability of encouraging and facilitating the use of Urdu in places like Bombay, Calcutta, Bhopal, etc., as these cities had a considerable Urdu-speaking population. The Cabinet also desired that the draft statement might be issued by the Ministry of Home Affairs as a Government communiqué and that the special attention of the State Governments should be drawn to it. The communiqué was issued on the same date. Nehru wrote (not printed) to Sampurnanand on the same day: "I hope that your Government will issue some kind of a statement on this subject expressing your appreciation of this statement and stating that your State will adhere to this policy fully. Adequate publicity should be given to this matter and full instructions sent to your District and other authorities."

### 3. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

14th July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

I am enclosing a statement on language policy which has been approved of by our Cabinet.<sup>2</sup> This should be published as a Government communiqué soon.

2. This statement is really a reaffirmation of what we have said previously on this subject. But in view of certain misunderstandings that had arisen, it was considered desirable to clarify the position, in particular, in regard to the Urdu language, though to some extent it applies to other languages too. The main principles governing this approach are, firstly, that primary education should always be given in the mother tongue of the child provided, of course, there are a sufficient number of pupils. Secondly, that in regard to public announcements, applications, representations, etc., we should broadly treat all

1. JN Collection. This letter was addressed to Chief Ministers of all the States and the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.
2. See the preceding item.



the fourteen languages as our national languages and accept applications, etc., in them and not reject any simply because it is not the language of the State. We should not demand translations of them in the language of the State. This does not mean that we should keep a band of translators in each office for various languages. That is obviously not feasible and, inevitably, delays might occur in dealing with some languages for which we have made no provision in our offices. But the point is that we should give a feeling to the people that we treat all these languages as national languages in so far as we can make provision for them in regard to applications, letters, petitions, etc.

3. This is the general approach. The statement I enclose deals particularly with the Urdu language and therefore with certain States where Urdu is prevalent in certain areas. Especially, these States are Delhi, UP, Bihar and Punjab. Of course, there are other areas too where there is a sufficient Urdu population which should be provided for in this way. Thus in the great cities of Calcutta and Bombay especially and in Bhopal. In Hyderabad and Telangana some provision has already been made for Urdu.

4. The whole approach is one of giving a feeling to all language groups that they will not be ignored and their needs will be looked after to the extent possible in such matters. Also to develop a friendly feeling between the various national languages of India. This is important. We have seen the passions that are aroused over the language issue not only in India but elsewhere, such as in Ceylon.<sup>3</sup> Fortunately, we have adopted a policy which is completely different from that of Ceylon and is not only tolerant but also encourages the other languages. The Sahitya Akademi deals with all our languages and, indeed, includes English in this list, and tries to encourage all of them. It has organised publications in all languages and translations from one to the other.

5. I should like you therefore to give publicity to our policy and to see to it that your State officials adopt that policy and practise in so far as it is feasible.

6. I might add that this statement on language policy has been drawn up in consultation with the Chief Ministers of UP, Bihar and Punjab. Some other Chief Ministers have also been consulted on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Ceylon witnessed frequent riots during 1958 due to the policy of recognising only Sinhala as the official language, which was opposed by the Tamils of Ceylon.

#### 4. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 21, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,<sup>2</sup>

I see from a letter of your Governor to the President that, in order to encourage the use of Hindi as an official language, your Government has issued an order that, in all examinations to be conducted by the Public Service Commission, there will be a compulsory paper in Hindi. The Public Service Commission can, however, recommend the appointment of a candidate even if he fails in this paper, but he will have to pass a similar test within one year of his appointment before he is confirmed.<sup>3</sup>

This decision of yours appears to me contrary to the rule laid down by the Working Committee of the Congress some three years ago, which was confirmed by the full Congress session.<sup>4</sup> It was pointed out then that while we wished to encourage Hindi, to make Hindi a compulsory subject in the initial examination is to debar people whose mother tongue may not be Hindi. It was proposed, therefore, that the compulsory Hindi paper should come after the initial examination, that is, after a person has been taken into service, he should be called upon to pass a test in Hindi within a certain period. Of course, it will be open to anyone to take Hindi in the initial examination also.

This seems to me a better procedure and will be fair to those whose mother tongue is not Hindi. Probably there will not be many such persons in Rajasthan. To some extent you have provided for this, but that hardly appears to me to be adequate.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.
3. The Governor of Rajasthan Gurmukh Nihal Singh wrote to President Rajendra Prasad on 15 July 1958 informing him of the policy of Rajasthan Government.
4. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, p. 261, footnotes 3 and 4, and Vol. 28, pp. 464-468.



## 5. To Sri Krishna Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

12th August, 1958

My dear Sri Babu,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Dr B.C. Roy.<sup>3</sup> While it appears to me right that Hindi should be a compulsory subject in the universities of Bihar, it is obvious that this will hit hard people who do not know Hindi and who cannot obviously learn it quickly. It would be desirable to give time to these people to adjust themselves.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 52(12)/57-63-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Bihar.
3. In his letter of 9 August 1958, B.C. Roy, the Chief Minister of West Bengal, had written about the predicament of a Bengali resident of Bhagalpur, Bihar, following a notification by the Bihar Government which stipulated that "in Bihar universities everybody has to appear in the examination in Hindi". He requested Nehru to intervene "and give the Bengalis a little more time to adjust themselves to the new proposals".

## 6. To Prabhu Prakash<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 13, 1958

Dear Shri Prabhu Prakash,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 11th August.

I can well appreciate the desire of Sindhis to nourish their language. Under our Constitution, even languages which are not mentioned in the Appendix may be recognised for various purposes and facilities given to them. Thus, it is our rule that primary education should be provided in the mother tongue. Sindhi would qualify for this whenever there are an adequate number of people wanting such education. So also possibly in some other matters.

I think that to raise the question of including Sindhi in the list of languages in the Appendix of the Constitution will probably not be wise. Once this question

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary, Sindhi Central Panchayat, Indore.

is opened, there are some people who will bring in other languages also, and we will get tied up with these disputes and controversies. But, as I have said, I should like Sindhi to be given normal facilities.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. On 20 August 1958, Nehru instructed his Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram to write to the Director of Public Instruction, Madhya Pradesh that "primary education should be given in the mother tongue. Where there are a sufficient number of pupils, arrangements should be made in any language desired. Thus, in Bombay, primary education is given in more than a dozen languages. It is true that Sindhi is not included in the appendix to the Constitution, but, as a matter of fact, we are giving primary education even in tribal language in North-East frontier although these are not included in the Constitution." Sindhi language was included in the Eight Schedule of the Indian Constitution in 1967 through 21st Constitutional amendment.

## 7. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 14, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

I have received a letter from Halimuddin Rahat Moulaey, MLA of UP.<sup>3</sup> He is apparently the Deputy Leader of the Independent Progressive Legislature Party of UP. I do not know anything about him.

He complains that in spite of repeated announcements, important government circulars, etc., are not published in Urdu. He is unable to understand the papers he gets or to follow what is happening in the Assembly. When he wrote on this subject to the Speaker<sup>4</sup> in Urdu, he was asked to write in Hindi. Not being able to write in Hindi, he does not quite know what to do in the

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.
3. Halimuddin Rahat Moulaey (b. 1912); Member of the UP Legislative Assembly from Moradabad; joined Congress in 1940 and resigned in 1948; joined the Socialist Party in 1953; deputy leader of the Independent Progressive Legislature Party in the UP Assembly, 1957-62; joined Republican Party in 1960.
4. Atmaram Govind Kher.



matter. It is hardly worthwhile his being in the Assembly, if he cannot take part in the proceedings, and he might as well resign.

It seems to me that his complaint is justified. The rules that have been issued on this subject entitle him to write in Urdu and to receive important government circulars, etc., in Urdu.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## VI. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

### 1. Suitable Place for Public Health Engineering Research Institute<sup>1</sup>

I agree that Nagpur is a suitable place for the location of this Institute.<sup>2</sup> I am entirely opposed to further institutes or other central organisations or plants being located in overcrowded places like Calcutta or Bombay.

2. I should like to know, however, what the financial implications are of establishing this Institute. We are at present going through a critical period and are trying to reduce our expenditure both in India and abroad. So far as foreign exchange is concerned, we would like to avoid every expenditure insofar as this is possible. But even domestic expenditure has to be scrutinised with the greatest care.

3. It is true that the Governing Body of the CSIR decided nine months ago to establish a Public Health Engineering Research Institute.<sup>3</sup> But what provision has been made for it in our budget, and has it been accepted by Finance?

1. Note to M.S. Thacker, the Director General, Council of Scientific and Industrial Research, 5 July 1958. File No. 17(3)/56-61-PMS.
2. Thacker had written to Nehru on 5 July 1958 seeking his permission to go ahead with the plan of constructing a building for locating the Central Public Health Engineering Research Institute at Nagpur. The Institute had been opened at Nagpur on 8 April 1958 with the objective of promoting research in all aspects of the public health engineering and coordinating the work being done by other agencies in this field.
3. This decision was taken by the Governing Body of the CSIR in September 1957.

4. As for a suitable building in Nagpur, I think that we should proceed with some caution. What I mean is that we should not announce our decision about Nagpur before we find out what facilities the Bombay State Government or the Nagpur city are prepared to offer us there. It is possible that we may get good existing buildings at a moderate cost. If, however, we proceed in the normal government way, then we shall be made to pay much more. Therefore, the initial enquiry should be made to the Bombay Government and not to the Minister, WH and S<sup>4</sup>, though WH and S might also be contacted.

4. K.C. Reddy.

## 2. To Homi J. Bhabha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1958

My dear Homi,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 29th and your note on the contribution of atomic energy to a power programme in India.<sup>3</sup> I have read the marked passages in the note. You have made out a very good case for the development of a power programme from the use of atomic energy and, for my part, I believe that this is desirable. But however desirable in the long run, the short run cannot be ignored. We are, as you know, in a terrible fix about our foreign exchange and to some extent even our internal resources. We are trying to raise very large sums of money as loans in countries abroad. This is difficult enough, and I do not know if we shall get them. Even if we get them, we have to pay a heavy interest on them for many years. Thus, we shall have to carry a great burden for the next seven to ten years.

We do not want our Third Five Year Plan to be cut down, as that would be most unfortunate. But we are hard put to it to find out where we will get the resources for it. Only today, we were discussing at some length the absolute necessity of spreading primary and compulsory education to all our children.

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Department of Atomic Energy.

3. On the same day, Nehru forwarded to V.T. Krishnamachari, the Deputy Chairman of the Planning Commission, Bhabha's letter and note. Nehru wanted the Members of the Planning Commission to read the note.



We cannot fulfil the directions given in our Constitution which are that by 1961, every boy and girl up to the age of 14 should have free and compulsory education. This is utterly beyond our reach during this period. So, we are thinking of increasing the period by five years, to 1966, and reducing the age limit to eleven. Even after doing this, we require a minimum additional sum of Rs 350 crores.

This is just one item I have mentioned to you. It has been a frustrating experience to go and ask for money from other countries. They enquire: are you going to be equally ambitious in your Third Five Year Plan and then come again for loans in the big way? It is clear that we cannot repeat this performance of asking for big loans.<sup>4</sup>

I am mentioning this to you to point out the very real difficulties we have to face.

You say that you will be coming to Delhi in a few days' time, but do not mention the date. I shall certainly attend the meeting of the Planning Commission when this matter is discussed,<sup>5</sup> provided I am in Delhi. As the proposed summit conference is not likely to materialise,<sup>6</sup> I expect to be here. I am going out of Delhi, however, on the 1st and 2nd August.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, pp. 163-164.

5. A note prepared by the Atomic Energy Commission and Homi Bhabha's paper entitled "A study of the contribution of atomic energy to a power programme in India" was discussed at a meeting of the Planning Commission on 8 August 1958. Bhabha explained during the meeting that any programme for atomic power generation in the country should be based on thorium and that in order to utilise this material suitable fissile materials would have to be produced by adopting the two-stage conversion process starting from uranium. Summarising the discussion, Nehru said that, while the economic and other reasons given for proceeding with the atomic power programme in the paper submitted by the Atomic Energy Commission were good, even if no such reason existed, the country would have to go ahead with such an atomic power programme, since atomic energy was the thing of the future, and India could not afford to fall behind in this new development.

6. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 752-53 and Vol. 42, pp. 727-28.

7. Nehru went to Dehra Dun and Hardwar on 1 and 2 August 1958.

### 3. Creation of a Pool of Technical Manpower<sup>1</sup>

The Committee considered the Ministry of Home Affairs (Directorate of Manpower)'s note dated June 19, 1958, regarding the creation of a pool for temporary placement of Indians returning from abroad with high technical qualifications. In this connection, the Prime Minister referred to the proposal of the Ministry contained in para 5 (d) of its note regarding the procedure to be followed in making selections for appointment to the Pool and stressed that the normal procedure adopted by the UPSC for making regular appointments under the Government, such as issue of advertisements, etc., need not be followed. The Prime Minister also said that selection for the Pool need not be confined to those who had finished their academic career abroad but should also be extended to Indian students in foreign universities who were obviously good and outstanding in any of the principal subjects required by us.

2. As regards senior men with high academic qualifications who were at present employed abroad, the Prime Minister felt that it would be a good thing if a special list of such men was prepared and kept separately, even though there might be no immediate prospect of their being offered employment in India. As soon as a suitable post was available, they could be considered for appointment on terms to be settled keeping in view their qualifications.<sup>2</sup>

1. Record of the meeting of the Manpower Committee of the Cabinet, 8 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nehru also said, in reply to a question in the Lok Sabha on 13 August 1958, that well qualified Indians in foreign countries, who could not get employment for some time after coming back, should be put on some kind of a roll. This would give them some kind of assurance of employment till they got posts.



#### 4. Need to Amend the Patent Law<sup>1</sup>

I should like you to find out how matters stand about the proposal to amend our patent law. This has been long pending. There was, I remember, a draft prepared some years ago, but something happened which prevented our proceeding with it. The present law is defective and comes in our way.<sup>2</sup> In some countries patents in regard to scientific discoveries and technical improvements are not acknowledged. There is no reason why we should be bound up by out-of-date laws. The question of atomic energy also comes up in this connection.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 11 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. The Government of India appointed Justice N. Rajagopala Ayyangar in 1957 to examine and review the Patent Law in India. He recommended the retention of Patent system despite its shortcomings in his report in September 1959.

## 5. Promotion of a Scientific Officer<sup>1</sup>

I spoke to you about the case of Dr Harsh Vardhan,<sup>2</sup> a Scientific Officer in the Defence Science Organisation. Dr D.S. Kothari<sup>3</sup> under whom he is serving thinks highly of him and wanted for some time past to give him some promotion. But he is told that the rules do not allow this.<sup>4</sup>

2. If the rules come in the way, then obviously the rules have to be changed. The particular purpose of our Scientific Policy Resolution which was approved of by Parliament was to encourage scientific workers.<sup>5</sup> Apparently the present rules come into conflict with this. Will you, therefore, take early steps to have these rules changed to bring them in line with the Scientific Policy Resolution? The matter might be put up before the Cabinet if this is necessary.

3. I enclose a letter from Dr D.S. Kothari.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 16 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Dr Harsh Vardhan (b. 1923); joined the Defence Science Organisation in 1950; Director, Central Scientific Instruments Organisation (CSIO); Member, Institution of Electronics and Telecommunication Engineer, Haryana; Haryana State Industrial Development Corporation (HSIDC).
3. Scientific Adviser to the Ministry of Defence.
4. Also see *post*, p. 370.
5. For the Scientific Policy Resolution moved by Nehru in the Lok Sabha on 13 March 1958, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 321-322.



## 6. To Naushir Bharucha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 21, 1958

Dear Shri Bharucha,<sup>2</sup>

I have received the letter dated 18th August sent by you and some other MPs in which you suggest that there should be a Consultative Committee on nuclear energy. I have no objection to this. I feel however that if such a committee is to profit by a discussion we should have Dr Homi Bhabha here to attend it. Dr Bhabha has to go away to Geneva for the Atomic Energy Conference<sup>3</sup> soon. I hope to invite him to Delhi on his return to talk generally to Members of Parliament and especially to a group that is interested in this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from East Khandesh, Bombay State.
3. The Second UN Conference on the peaceful uses of Atomic Energy was held in Geneva from 1 September to 14 September 1958 under the presidency of Professor Francis-Perrin, Chairman of the French Atomic Energy Commission. It was attended by some 2,000 experts from 69 countries and nine UN specialised agencies, plus an estimated 3,000 observers from various organisations, commercial firms and academic institutions.

## ISSUES OF GOVERNANCE





## I. CENTRAL ADMINISTRATION

### 1. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2nd July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

As you know, we are encouraging tourism in India. More and more tourists come here and sometimes travel by road. I have had complaints from them to the effect that the road signs and mileage are often written in a manner they cannot read and, therefore, they find it difficult to find that right road. That is to say, in some cases and in some States, the road names and indications and mileage are given in the language of the State and not in English.

This applies not only to the foreign tourists but to Indian tourists also or those of our countrymen who travel from one part of India to another by car. If they enter a State whose language they do not know, they get into difficulties about the road signs. The odd thing is that in some places or States previous road signs have been removed and, in an excess of enthusiasm, only signs in the State language are given. It is right that the State language should be used in this way. But let us not forget that each State is only a part of India and we have to cater for the whole of India.

There are any areas which might be called bilingual. These lie on the border of two States on either side. There these names and indications should always be given in both the languages in use there. Sometimes there are regions where a particular language or script maybe largely in use. In those regions an attempt should be made to give the information in both the ways. The object of having road names and indications is to facilitate the passage of a traveller and not to educate him in a particular language.

I would, therefore, suggest to you that in so far as the principal highways are concerned all over India, the names of roads and other indications at crossings, etc., should always be given in English or rather in Roman characters, apart from giving them in the State language. Also the miles should be given in what is called the international numerals. This indeed is laid down by our Constitution.<sup>2</sup>

1. File No.2(285)/58-64-PMS. Also available in JN Collection and G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers, 1947-1964*, Vol. 5, pp. 74-75.

2. See Article 343 (i) of the Indian Constitution.



I am troubling you about this matter because though it appears rather petty, it is a cause of much irritation and indeed of confusion also. I trust, therefore, that you will be good enough to issue instructions to your Public Works Department and such other Departments as deal with these matters to take the steps which I have suggested in order to facilitate not only international but inter-State travel by road.

This, of course, applies to railway stations, jetties, etc., also.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. In addition to this, Nehru wrote another letter to the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, K.N. Katju, on the same day that "in areas within a State where a minority language is prevalent, it is desirable to give indications in that language or script in that area." He mentioned that indications in areas in and around Bhopal had been changed from Urdu to Hindi, and wrote that the Municipalities and District Boards should not permit such changes. Nehru also wrote to the Chief Minister of Bihar, Sri Krishna Sinha, that replacing the signs in English with Hindi characters and numerals was creating problems for foreigners and non-Hindi-speaking persons.

## 2. To Diwan Chaman Lall<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 2, 1958

My dear Chaman Lall,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd July and the summary you have sent of the recommendations made by the Hotel Committee. I have read through these recommendations and, broadly speaking, I think they are on right lines.

I have no doubt that there is vast scope in India for the development of tourism. But for you to compare India with Austria is perhaps hardly fair. Austria, Switzerland, Italy, France, Germany, are countries where vast numbers of people go, after travelling only short distances. Also, they offer all kinds of other attractions which we in India do not offer. The music and operas of Austria are famous. The real difficulty, of course, is India's distance from most of the countries from which tourists come, and the cost involved in coming here. The European countries get vast numbers of lower middle class folk as tourists.

1. Diwan Chaman Lall Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Punjab.

Most of these people can hardly afford to come to India. However, the fact remains that there is great scope or the encouragement of tourism in India. I wrote on this subject only a few days ago to S.K. Patil.<sup>3</sup>

I do not quite understand how a new Ministry necessarily helps. I am alarmed at the growth of Ministries and Departments. And if there was a Social Welfare Ministry, it is not clear to me how tourism comes within its scope. Social welfare will be for the people of India, not for tourists.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Union Minister of Transport and Communications.

### 3. To Raja Mahendra Pratap<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 2, 1958

Dear Raja Mahendra Pratap,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 30th June.<sup>3</sup> I have also seen the letter you received from the Regional Passport Office, Delhi. The officer who wrote to you carried out the instructions laid down. These rules are very definite and clear. If you write and fix your stamps on the passport, it loses validity. This is not merely a question of our rule but international rules. I hope, therefore, that you will accept the advice of the Passport Officer in this matter.

I am returning to you the letter of the Passport Officer that you sent.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Mathura, Uttar Pradesh.
3. Raja Mahendra Pratap had requested Nehru to ask the Regional Passport Office, Delhi, not to cancel his passport because under his name he had put his stamp to make his name clear. Mahendra Pratap referred to an incident of 1925 when he was bringing seven Indian volunteers from San Francisco, the Customs Officer, on his appeal that "we were fighting the British as General Washington once did, relaxed the rule and charged much less income tax clearing charges." Mahendra Pratap complained that he was being treated harshly in his own country and his passport was cancelled by an office which was directly under Nehru. He also wrote: "I honestly believe if you sincerely support me, I can settle best Pakistan and Kashmir problems."



#### 4. To M.S. Thacker<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

4th July, 1958

My dear Thacker,<sup>2</sup>

Basheer Yar Jung<sup>3</sup> came to see me today and said that he had very little work to do here. I understood from him that he was Secretary of some committee dealing with aeronautical research under the CSIR. He said that it gave him very little work and for the rest he was unemployed. He further said that he had mentioned this matter to you and you had told him that when the National Aeronautical Research Laboratory was built, he would be sent there. But presumably this Research Laboratory will not be built or start functioning for many years.

It seems rather a pity that a young man should be employed by us and not given adequate work to do. That is bad for him and bad for others. Basheer Yar Jung said that perhaps he could be associated with a number of other research committees also in addition to his present one. This would keep him more fully occupied.

But surely we ought to be able to employ a person to better advantage. I mentioned this matter to the Defence Minister and he said that if Basheer has not found enough work, it might be possible for him to send him to Kanpur for the aircraft section there.<sup>4</sup> I understand that some kind of research work has been sent by you to the Defence Ministry and this is likely to be undertaken in Kanpur.

Anyhow, we should try to employ this young man fully and make him feel that he is doing some worthwhile work.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Director General, CSIR.

3. Basheer Yar Jung (b. 1923); belonged to the Paigah family of Hyderabad; an aeronautical engineer employed with CSIR.

4. The reference probably is to the Aircraft Manufacturing Depot, Kanpur.

5. Nehru wrote to K.C. Reddy, Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, on the same day (not printed) that Basheer Yar Jung had been staying with some Hyderabad MP but would have to move out soon. Reddy had told Jung that his salary at Rs 400 was too low and not in a category for which accommodation was provided. Nehru observed that every young officer in the beginning of service started more or less at that salary, and he asked Reddy whether Basheer, who was a trained technician in aeronautics, could not be given something like the MPs' flats.

## 5. Employment of Retired Defence Personnel<sup>1</sup>

Many of our officers retire from the Defence Services after completing their period of service, at a relatively early age. They may be in the middle forties at the time or even younger. They are completely fit and capable of discharging work in positions of responsibility. Many of them are technicians and all of them, of course, have a sense of discipline which, unfortunately, we as a people often lack.

Over a year ago I made an appeal on their behalf. Our Defence Headquarters were also anxious to help and appointed a Liaison Officer to assist in placing such retired officers in Government or private employment. The public sector did well in this respect and employed a considerable number of such retired officers the private sector did not do very well.

In March last, speaking at the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce & Industry, I drew attention to this matter and reminded the industrialists and others present there that they could not have better material than these retired officers for undertaking responsible work. I should like to repeat that and I hope that both our public sector and private sector will take advantage of these fine men.

I should like to repeat that and I hope that both our public sector and private sector will take advantage of these men.

1. Note to Major T.T. Raghavan, DDAG (Liaison), Ministry of Defence, 4 July 1958. File No. 35(11)/56-70-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

## 6. The Case of Syed Shamsul Hasan<sup>1</sup>

The explanation given to you on the telephone by the UP Chief Secretary<sup>2</sup> is not at all satisfactory. It does not meet any of the points raised in the letter of Mr Mazhar Ali Azhar.<sup>3</sup> The note sent to you by our Lahore Office also throws no real light on the situation. What Mazhar Ali Azhar is or what his politics are do

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, 4 July 1958. JN Collection
2. A.N. Jha.
3. A lawyer and politician from Punjab who migrated to Pakistan after Partition and practiced at the Lahore High Court. For Mazhar Ali's request regarding Syed Shamsul Hasan's resident status, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 323-324.



not affect the situation. Mazhar Ali Azhar is obviously a bit of an opportunist. Ever since the strong action taken by the Pakistan Government against the Ahrars, some of these Ahrars have tried to get some kind of a covering for their other activities and they join odd organisations in order to do so.<sup>4</sup>

2. The fact that Shamsul Hasan could not produce any papers in Pakistan is not surprising as, according to him, the District Magistrate of Bijnor bundled him out and did not give him a chance to get his passport.

3. Much seems to depend on his coming to India on some kind of a Pakistan permit in 1948. I do not think this means much, because he had been in Muscat and returning could find no other way of coming back here. Altogether, no satisfactory explanation has been given thus far of the action taken against him, which seems to me to have been highly improper even though his nationality was in question.

4. My PPS<sup>5</sup> wrote to the District Magistrate of Bijnor on this subject, but, apparently, there is no answer from him. We shall have to consider this matter further when you receive the UP Government's detailed report.

4. An Orthodox Sunni organisation, Majlis-e-Ahrar was founded by Syed Ataullah Shah Bukhari in 1930 in Punjab. The Ahrars were opposed to M.A. Jinnah's demand for Pakistan. After the Partition they were one of the organisers of the anti-Ahmadiya riots in Pakistan in 1953.
5. Kesho Ram.

## 7. To K.D. Malaviya<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

5th July, 1958

My dear Keshava,<sup>2</sup>

Some two, three days ago, there was an article in *The Statesman* about the money we were going to save in foreign exchange through oil.<sup>3</sup> I think 10 crores were mentioned.

You will remember that we had asked for a note on this subject to be put up before the Cabinet and we were told that this note was under preparation. Now,

1. K.D. Malaviya Papers, NMML. Also available in File No. 17 (204)/56-66-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Mines and Oil.
3. On 3 July 1958, *The Statesman* reported that the import of crude oil and petroleum products was reduced from Rs 93 crores in 1956 to Rs 88 crores in 1957 and it was proposed to reduce it further to Rs 78 crores.

before the Cabinet has seen it, something about it appears in *The Statesman* and in some detail. It would appear that someone in your Ministry has been talking rather irresponsibly on this subject. I think great care should be taken in this matter. I should like you to enquire into this as to how this leakage took place.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To N.N. Das Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 6, 1958

Dear Dr Das Gupta,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of June 30th, with which you have sent me some pamphlets and brochures. I am naturally interested in the work you are doing in the Institute of Nuclear Physics<sup>3</sup> and I am glad to learn of the good work that is being done in this Institute and how it has steadily grown.

I remember the talk you had with me about the proposed Institute of Medical Physics. All these are attractive propositions, but we are in such great difficulties in the financial sphere that we have to be very cautious at present, more particularly of course in regard to foreign exchange. The next two or three years are particularly difficult for us and we are trying to do our utmost to get through them without any basic shake-up which of course would affect all our work. As you know, I am very anxious for developmental and scientific work in India, but circumstances compel me now to lay stress on this financial aspect which has become, for the present, the governing consideration.

You have been good enough to ask me to become a patron of your Institute.<sup>4</sup> I appreciate your request and certainly your Institute has all my goodwill and

1. File No. 40(144)/58-61-PMS.

2. Professor and Head of Biophysics Division, Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics, Calcutta, 1953-69.

3. The Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics was founded at Calcutta in 1951 as an autonomous research institute under the administrative control of the Department of Atomic Energy, Government of India.

4. On 2 July 1958, Nehru had written to M.S. Thacker (not printed) seeking his advice regarding Das Gupta's request to Nehru to become a patron of the Saha Institute of Nuclear Physics. He also inquired about the nature and duration of the grant being given to the Institute.



sympathy. But, as I pointed out to you previously, I have a difficulty in this matter as I am being constantly pressed by various institutes and organisations to be associated as patron or otherwise. It becomes very difficult for me to discriminate and accept this in some cases and not in others. Therefore I have decided for some time past to avoid such association with individual institutes. My general sympathy and association with all of them continues. I hope you will understand my position and excuse me.

But I repeat that you have all my good wishes for the Institute and I shall follow its progress with interest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 7, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,<sup>2</sup>

I am returning to you the report of the Kerala and Madras Food Poisoning Enquiry Commission.<sup>3</sup> I have read it. I think that it should be released to the press as early as possible. There is no advantage in delaying it.

We have developed a bad habit of holding back reports of Commissions for considerable periods. Sometimes this is due to our desire to announce Government's conclusions on the report before it is published; sometimes it is due just too bad habit. I do not think such reports should wait for Government's conclusions before publication.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Health.
3. The Kerala and Madras Food Poisoning Cases Enquiry Commission, headed by J.C. Shah, was appointed by the Union Ministry of Health on 23 May following reports of a large number of cases of food poisoning that resulted in many deaths in Kerala and Madras States between the second week of April and the middle of May 1958. The Commission submitted its report on 5 July. The food poisoning occurred on account of a consignment of the organo-phosphorous insecticide Parathion (folidol) getting mixed up with a cargo of cereals, sugar and gram in the cargoship *S.S. Jai Hind* while on a voyage from Bombay to Cochin. The enquiry report suggested that statutory controls should be imposed on the manufacture, storage, transport, distribution and use of highly toxic insecticides.

This, of course, is not a political matter. It is a straightforward issue. On the one hand we have to decide about the disposal of the foodstuff attached after this tragedy, and secondly we have to decide as to what steps to take against the individuals held responsible. So far as the question of foodstuff is concerned, we should naturally accept the advice of the Enquiry Commission.

As for the steps to be taken against the individuals, the Law Ministry should be consulted. We should ask for their advice as quickly as possible. Delay in such matters is bad.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru again wrote (not printed) to Karmarkar on 25 July 1958 that the 15 general recommendations of the Commission should be "divided into two parts—those in regard to which decisions can be taken within a relatively short time, say, two weeks, and the others which will take a longer time to decide." See also *post*, pp. 264-265.

## 10. Seniority Alone should not Guarantee Promotions<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you, just for your information, a note I have sent to my senior officers in the External Affairs Ministry.<sup>2</sup> I am really alarmed at the way our offices tend to grow and all kinds of vested interests are created which it is difficult to get rid of later. In particular, I find that there is an idea growing that automatic promotions to higher offices should take place by virtue of seniority. People seem to expect to become Deputy Secretaries or even Joint Secretaries and sometimes Secretaries because they are senior. I think this is a completely wrong approach. So far as I remember, in the British times, there were very few of the old ICS people who reached these higher Secretarial ranks. Quite a large number finished their careers as District Magistrates, a few became Commissioners, but now everyone expects to reach the pinnacle whatever his ability or competence might be.

In the Army there is a far more efficient system of selection. I do not see why we should not apply some such rule in the Civil Services too.

1. Note to Union Home Minister Govind Ballabh Pant, 7 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *post*, pp. 566-568.



## 11. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 7, 1958

My dear Morarji,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 7th July about the manner of printing of numerals in the Hindi translation of the budget documents. I am afraid we have got rather tied up now and it is not particularly easy to have the international form at this stage without raising a controversy. Therefore, we might continue the Hindi form.

Even though there need be no constitutional impropriety in this matter, I think it would have been better if we had used the so-called international form. This prints much better and more legibly and it can be read even by people who do not know the Hindi form.

I would suggest, however, that apart from the principal budget statements and the figures in it, the appendices, etc., might be given in the international form. They are much more easy to understand that way. Even some ardent advocates of Hindi have told me that this form is clearer. You will do as you think best.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

## 12. Concessions to the Employees of CSIR<sup>1</sup>

I have read through all these papers with some surprise. It seems to me that this is a good example of how things should not be done.

2. This matter has apparently been under discussion since 1954 when it was first suggested that the Third Division Clerks of the Council and its laboratories should profit by some concessions announced in October 1954 by the Government of India for the Third Division Clerks in the Central Secretariat and attached offices.<sup>2</sup> The Financial Adviser<sup>3</sup> did not agree. His ground for objecting was that the concession was limited to the Central Secretariat. The Financial Adviser was fully entitled to raise his objections and to make his submission on this subject to the Council of Scientific and Industrial Research.

3. After that this matter was considered repeatedly by a special committee which was appointed to deal with the report of the Egerton Committee<sup>4</sup> and by the Governing Body of the CSIR. The President of the Governing Body (who happens to be Prime Minister also) expressed his opinion in regard to this matter at a meeting of the Governing Body in September 1955.

4. In spite of all this, no progress could be made and apparently the matter was hung up for nearly two years. The Financial Adviser went on repeating his objections and in one of his notes he even presumed to say what he thought the Prime Minister's intention must have been.

5. Thereafter the Sub-Committee of the CSIR considered it and the Governing Body again considered it. It was decided by them that the concessions given by the Government of India to the Third Division Clerks should be extended to the Third Division Clerks of the CSIR.

6. This was on the 22nd March 1958. In spite of all this the Financial Adviser has adhered to his previous objections and added some more.

1. Note to the Vice President, CSIR, Humayun Kabir, 7 July 1958. File No. 17(3)/56-61-PMS.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 114-115.
3. B.D. Gupta.
4. The Committee, with Alfred Egerton as Chairman, was appointed by the Prime Minister to report on the CSIR's activities during the past five years. In its report of 3 April 1954, the Committee pointed out the absence of better coordination among various wings of the research organisation, which did not encourage industries to take appropriate advantage of such research. It recommended the appointment of competent liaison officers and strengthening of the National Research Development Corporation to facilitate a coordinated, all-round growth in industrial output. The report was placed on the Table of the Lok Sabha on 6 April 1954.



7. This raises a variety of questions: What exactly is the position of the Financial Adviser in this set-up of the CSIR or indeed in the Government of India? Is he supposed to overrule even the Prime Minister or an autonomous body like the CSIR? I think he presumes too much and this should be made perfectly clear to him and to the Finance Ministry. It is the business of the Financial Adviser to make his submission. If that is not agreed to by the Minister in charge of that Ministry concerned, then the Financial Adviser drops out of the picture and the matter has to be dealt with at the ministerial level. That is to say, the Minister of the administrative ministry and the Finance Minister should deal with it. If it is still found necessary, it may be referred to the Cabinet.

8. For the Financial Adviser to continue expressing his opinion after the Prime Minister has expressed his views and after the Governing Body of the CSIR has done so appears to me to be highly improper.<sup>5</sup> At that stage the matter went beyond the reach of the Financial Adviser and could only be dealt with at ministerial level.

9. What I have said above applies to past practice. Now that it has been decided that there should be greater devolution of financial powers to the administrative ministries concerned within the limits of the sums allotted to them, the Financial Adviser's functions have somewhat changed. While this applies to the normal administrative ministries, the case of the CSIR is even more different because it is presumed to be an autonomous body. It is controlled by its Governing Body which consists of some of our most eminent scientists and industrialists and has some of our Ministers also as its members and the Prime Minister as the President. The Governing Body deals with large sums of money for its laboratories and research work. It has a highly qualified Finance Sub-Committee. Normally its decision should not be interfered with unless it raises some high question of principle. Even if it raises a question of principle, all that the Financial Adviser can do is to make his submission and, as I have said, if necessity arises, the matter can be taken up at a higher level. The Financial Adviser has completely misunderstood his functions in regard to this matter.

10. I am not very much concerned about the exact interpretation of the concessions given by the Government of India to the Third Division Clerks in

5. On 4 August 1958, Finance Minister Morarji Desai wrote to Nehru informing him that "where Financial Advisers are represented on bodies which have been given a measure of autonomy by Government, instead of pressing their objections they may keep me [Desai] informed of any points of substantial importance on which their views are over-ruled." Desai also acknowledged that it was wrong on the part of the Financial Adviser to keep raising objections once the Governing Body of CSIR had taken a decision despite his submission.

the Secretariat in 1954. There may be two interpretations and it may be that the Financial Adviser's interpretation had some justification. But nobody can say that to extend those concessions to the Third Division Clerks of the CSIR raises some great question of principle. And, if those who are responsible for running the CSIR felt and feel that those concessions should be extended to their clerks, that is quite enough for me.

11. This matter has been pending now for nearly four years and this internal controversy is no doubt known to outsiders as well as to those concerned. It does not do much credit to anybody and certainly not to the Government of India and its procedures. Whatever the rights and wrongs may have been about a certain interpretation, the mere delay in dealing with this has made it wholly undesirable to come to a negative decision now. I am, therefore, of opinion that the decision of the Governing Body should stand.

### 13. Entertainment Allowance<sup>1</sup>

The Minister of Health<sup>2</sup> mentioned to me that quite a considerable number of people come from foreign countries and he has to do a good deal of entertaining. This was a bit of a special burden for him. He asked me if it was possible for him to get some kind of an entertainment allowance. I said that I would think about it.

I think that we might fix an entertainment allowance of Rs 200 a month for him. This may begin from the 1st of August.

You might take this matter up with the Finance Ministry.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 7 July 1958. File No. 14/49/58- MHA.
2. Union Minister of State for Health D.P. Karmarkar.



## 14. To Jagjivan Ram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 9, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,<sup>2</sup>

I have often received complaints in the past, especially from UP, about refreshment contractors at railway stations being pushed out of business. More particularly, these have come from Muslims. I suppose it has been the policy of the Railways to have departmental catering. If that is so, there is nothing more to be said about it. I would like to know how this experiment is succeeding. Do Railways make money or lose money by departmental catering? Is the quality good? I ask because complaints have come about the quality of food being poor.

A new type of difficulty appears to have arisen. In most of these refreshment rooms, the type of meat given is what is called *jhatka*.<sup>3</sup> Many displaced persons also are employed there. Because of this most Muslims refrain from having food there as they do not want to take *jhatka* meat. This general idea has spread that the food given in Government refreshment rooms and restaurant cars contains *jhatka* meat.

Two petty but rather pitiful cases have been brought to my notice. One is the case of an old Muslim, nearly 80 years old, who used to have some kind of a refreshment place in Gonda in UP. Now the poor man has been thrown out.

Another case is also of a man of over 80, Khwaja Mohammed Abbas, who used to sell *pan* at the Lucknow station and has now been pushed out.

These two cases are those of small individuals but there is a human element about them, and so I should like you to enquire about them.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister for Railways.

3. Meat of an animal slaughtered with a single knife-stroke. Islam prohibits consumption of such meat.

## 15. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 10, 1958

My dear S.K.,

I enclose a report of your speech which has surprised me.<sup>2</sup> In this report you have criticised not only our general policy in regard to the film industry but the recent restrictions on imports of raw materials. Whether the policy we have followed is a wise one or not may be a matter for argument. But it is not a matter for argument for one Minister to criticise the policies of other Ministers and indeed of the whole Government. Of course, the import policy is definitely the policy of the whole Government in view of our present difficulties. It is not right for this kind of condemnation to be made by one Minister of his colleagues. The whole principle of joint responsibility goes by the board. It may also lead to public controversies between Ministers.

If you felt strongly about these matters you can raise them in the Cabinet formally or informally. I do not remember any mention by you of any of these matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also available in S.K. Patil Papers, NMML.
2. While inaugurating Filmalaya, a film producing concern, on 22 June 1958 in Bombay, S.K. Patil said that the Government should have first installed a raw film manufacturing plant in the country and then imposed restrictions on the import of raw films. This, he said, had caused unemployment on a wide scale and had affected millions of people who were directly or indirectly dependent on the film industry.

## 16. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 11, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have received from Dr B.C. Roy.

I think the Home Ministry might have consulted us before issuing any directions about the India-China Friendship Association. This has put us and the

1. JN Collection.



Home Ministry in an embarrassing position. Quite a number of people have joined the India-China Friendship Association after consulting us. We did not particularly fancy but, in the balance, we decided to follow this policy. And now, this odd contradiction occurs to which Dr Roy has drawn attention.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 17. Do Away with the System of 'Chaprasis'<sup>1</sup>

I do not understand why there should be any relaxation of this ban on the recruitment of *chaprasis* in any office in Delhi. It was different for an office in Bombay or outside Delhi. The whole object of this ban was gradually to replace this system of *chaprasis* with some other system. We have far too many *chaprasis* already in the Secretariat, etc. If some *chaprasis* are needed for a new office or a branch of an office, steps should be taken to get some existing *chaprasis* for them. I believe there are already about 25,000 to 30,000 *chaprasis* in Government offices in Delhi. This is a fantastic number.

2. I would indeed suggest to all new Departments to do away with the system of *chaprasis* completely and try to function in some other way. It must be remembered that this system of *chaprasis* is rather peculiar to India. It is no reason why we should perpetuate it. We have no desire to retrench any person in service, but to go on adding to them on the plea of some extension of work or the opening of a new office is completely wrong. Existing *chaprasis* should be provided for them, where needed.

3. An attempt should be made to have a list of surplus *chaprasis* in the existing Ministries. They will be kept on in service there, but in case of need elsewhere, some of them can be transferred.

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 14 July 1958. JN Collection.

## 18. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 14, 1958

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 14th about the India-China Friendship Association.<sup>3</sup>

As you know, we have taken a rather special interest in this Association because of certain special reasons. To some extent, these reasons would apply to other such associations formed in regard to communist countries. Unfortunately, many of these are started under entirely wrong auspices, and there is no reason why we should accept any group of persons who call themselves an association. At the same time, a difficulty arises in placing such associations on a proscribed list.

I think that we should avoid putting any of these so-called Friendship Associations with communist countries on a proscribed list. But, at the same time, we should inform Governors as well as Ministers, both at the Centre and in the States that our advice to them is not to send any messages to any such association unless they have previously cleared this with the Ministry of External Affairs. There is no particular reason why such messages should be sent. So far as Governors are concerned, they should keep clear of them anyhow.

Meanwhile, External Affairs, in consultation with Home, might make their own list of these associations, with comments on them, for our guidance in future.

The main point is that our Ministers should be advised not to get entangled in any messages to foreign organisations or organisations of the friendship type dealing with foreign countries.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister for Home Affairs.
3. Pant had written that in consultation with the MEA, he had already passed orders for the deletion of India-China Association from the list of communist-sponsored organisations. Pant stated that the Foreign Secretary had suggested that Governors should not attend meetings of such organisations or send messages to them as the position of the Governors was different from that of the Ministers. Pant also suggested that there would not be any harm in continuing the Indo-Polish and Indo-Czech Cultural Societies or Friendship Associations.



## 19. Abandoned Phaphamau Airport<sup>1</sup>

During my recent visit to Allahabad,<sup>2</sup> I had occasion to pass through the Phaphamau airfield which is situated a few miles from Allahabad. This airfield was built by the Americans in the course of the last War.<sup>3</sup> A vast area was enclosed and many structures put up. I understand that it has now been abandoned. Some of the intervening land has been leased out to cultivators. I do not quite know whether the Defence Ministry still owns the land. If they have really abandoned it and do not require it, then perhaps it would be better to hand it over to the local government or the district authorities.

I am writing to you especially about the dilapidated buildings there and a number of huge steel structures, apparently like hangers, though many of them are without any proper covering. No one looks after these and gradually they are going to pieces, or people take away bits of them. It would be far better to tell, say, the District Magistrate of Allahabad to make the best use of the bricks of these broken down buildings. He could have proper houses made round about. There are some public institutions nearby.

But, more especially, it was the steel and iron structures that interested me. Why waste so much steel and iron? If it is not wanted there, as apparently it is not, this could be taken away or sold to somebody. The local authorities will probably be glad to have it.

1. Note to Defence Minister Krishna Menon, 18 July 1958. File No. 27(1)/56-60-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nehru accompanied by Lal Bahadur Shastri paid a two-day visit on 15 and 16 July to his constituency in Allahabad to see the drought-affected and food scarcity areas.
3. Phaphamau airfield, located about three miles north of Allahabad, had one concrete runway in the midst of wet paddy land, canals and lush mango trees.

## 20. The Case of Antonin Obrsal<sup>1</sup>

I have gone through the papers in this file fairly thoroughly. I have also spoken to the Home Minister on the subject.<sup>2</sup>

2. It is admitted that no adverse comment has been made on the record of Mr and Mrs Obrsal for many years.<sup>3</sup> He has been in India now for ten years or so. In the early years some reports were received about him which were adverse. On examination of these reports I am not satisfied that importance need be attached to them. During that period the Czech Ambassador was not trusted by his Government and he did not trust his own Government. Ultimately he left India rather secretly. Before he left, he was in a state of nervous collapse and, as far as I remember, was constantly complaining of a conspiracy against him and wanted our police protection. He suspected everybody in his Embassy. I am not surprised that Obrsal was also in a highly nervous state and suspected others. We cannot draw any conclusion from his strange and erratic behaviour

1. Note to Home Minister G.B. Pant, 22 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. Antonin Obrsal, General Manager of Mohanwi Corporation Private (Ltd), New Delhi, and his wife Jana Obrsalova, stateless persons of Czechoslovak origin, had applied for naturalisation as Indian citizens under Section 6(1) of the Citizenship Act, 1955. Their application had been rejected. But several prominent persons such as Dr Syed Mahmud, General Thimayya and H.V.R. Iengar had at various times pleaded for Mr and Mrs Obrsal's continued stay in India. Union Home Minister Govind Ballabh Pant, therefore, noted on 14 June 1958 on their file: "Obrsals' past record is murky and they do not seem to have come to adverse notice in recent years. In the circumstances, their residential permits may be extended from time to time, but it is not necessary to admit them as Indian citizens."

3. Antonin Obrsal (b. 1913) was an engineer and second lieutenant in the Czech Army. He worked in a Bren gun factory in Czechoslovakia from 1930 to 1940 and escaped to Yugoslavia when the Germans occupied Czechoslovakia. He was sent to set up a Bren gun factory in Hyderabad in 1941 with Anglo-American help and stayed there till 1944. He went back to the UK in 1944 and to Czechoslovakia, 1946. He came to India with his wife as a delegate of the Czech Technical Mission on a three-month visa in 1948 but his stay was extended on various grounds. From 4 February 1952, their residential permits had been renewed annually.



at that time. In fact it is clear that for a while Obrsal lost his reason and had to be examined from that point of view.<sup>4</sup>

3. The long interrogation that Shri Handoo had with him is a clear document so far as he is concerned.<sup>5</sup>

4. I thus feel that there is nothing against him which can be called at all relevant or important. A subsequent record has been, as this file shows, in no way blameworthy and this has lasted for many years. No one can accuse him of being a communist agent. He may be said to be a nervous type of individual and afraid of what might happen to him.

5. There is no doubt that he is a competent person, technically speaking. He has done good work and is at present in service in India.

6. His position at present, I suppose, is that of a Stateless person. We have in effect decided to allow him to stay on here indefinitely, though we have

4. According to a report in 1950, Obrsal was linked closely with Hlavicek, another Czech national based in Karachi and reportedly selling arms to China, and so the security risk involved in Obrsal's close association with the Defence Ministry in the matter of manufacture and supply of arms was obvious. Hence it was decided not to extend Obrsal's permits further. However, in October 1950, Mr and Mrs Obrsal applied for extension of stay beyond 5 November 1950 on the plea that he was *persona non grata* with the Czech Government and would be prosecuted on his return to that country. Pending further enquiry from the Indian Embassy at Prague regarding this, his permit was extended till 4 February 1951. In the meantime, Obrsal joined UP Commercial Corporation at Patna with a recommendation from General Thimayya and also met H.V.R. Iengar. Subsequently, as a result of discussions between the Czech Ambassador, the then Home Secretary H.V.R. Iengar and Home Minister C. Rajagopalachari, and recommendations received from Dr Syed Mahmud, Minister of Development and Transport into Bihar Government, the case was reconsidered and it was held that Obrsal was under severe nervous strain and genuinely felt that he would be liquidated on return to Czechoslovakia. This raised humanitarian considerations. Further, his position as a communist agent had been so badly compromised that it was difficult for him to function as such. All this led to the decision to allow the Obrsals to stay till 4 February 1952.

5. In a note on 20 January 1951, the then Home Minister C. Rajagopalachari mentioned the Deputy Director of the Intelligence Bureau G.K. Handoo's observations about Obrsal. Handoo, in his note of 11 August 1950, referred to Obrsal's connections with the fellow Czech arms dealer, Hlavicek in Karachi. It was also mentioned that former Czech Ambassador Jaroslav Sejnoha in India (1948-49) described Obrsal as a dangerous communist. Obrsal had been enjoying the use of diplomatic bag for his communications. Obrsal and his wife were sent to India to carry on communist activities. Obrsal went to Burma in 1949 and was associated with persons dealing in arms. Rajagopalachari wrote that Obrsal might have developed "secret contacts with men in our Defence Department." His fear of going back might be a ruse only to continue in India for carrying on such activities.

hesitated to agree to his becoming an Indian national. Presumably we hesitate to do so because as an Indian national we shall not be able to take some steps against him if he misbehaves which otherwise we might take. But it is not an easy matter to take steps against a person without nationality. He cannot be sent to any country and he cannot simply be pushed out of India. The result is that, as a matter of fact, we shall have to put up with him or punish him in some way in India, if necessity arises.

7. Thus there appears to be no particular point in our allowing him to stay on here and yet not giving him our nationality. All this is not an adequate reason to make him an Indian national if we had anything definite against him. So far as I can see, we have not. Also it appears that some persons have spoken or written in his favour. These include Shri H.V. R. Iengar, who as Home Secretary dealt with his case and who says that he knows him fairly well. Also General Thimayya. I think we should attach importance to their recommendation.

8. I would, therefore, suggest that we should not wholly reject his application for nationality. As he has already been informed of this rejection, he might be told that we are prepared to consider this matter afresh some time later, say, next year. Meanwhile we should ask Shri H.V. R. Iengar and General Thimayya to send us in writing their views about this man and his wife for our record. Some time fairly early next year, when Mr and Mrs Ohrsall apply afresh or write about their previous application, we can revise our present decision.

9. I spoke on these lines to the Home Minister and he agreed with what I said. I should like him, however, to see this note.

## 21. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 24, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>2</sup>

Ch. Ranbir Singh of the Punjab<sup>3</sup> has just been to see me. He tells me that he has already seen you and Pantji and talked to you about some Scheduled Castes people being affected by some orders issued by the Custodian-General for auctions. He further told me that you had these auctions postponed to enable you to examine this matter further.

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Rehabilitation.

3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Rohtak, Punjab.



I am glad you have taken this step. I cannot express any firm opinion about the law on the subject. But having gone through the papers, which I enclose, it seems to me that it would not be proper to auction these sites. But law apart, it would be, socially speaking, a disgrace on our Government to take any step which leads to Harijans being dispossessed of their houses in this way. That would be entirely opposed to our basic policies and a reactionary step from every point of view. I hope, therefore, that no step will be taken which might lead to the Harijans being ejected or dispossessed or made to vacate their houses. If you feel that you are under the compulsion of the law in this matter and cannot take any other course, then we can even consider the issue of an amendment to the law or the issue of an ordinance. Personally, I do not think there is any such compulsion.

As you know, I am much concerned at what I consider the anti-social consequences of our evacuee property laws and their working. I am not much concerned about individuals. Step by step we have been driven into these anti-social courses. Cases have come to me previously of Harijans being dispossessed. They were rather individual cases and I did not know quite what to do about them. But I think we should cry a halt to this business now and in the cases under consideration we should make this quite clear.

I enclose a note which Ranbir Singh gave me. Also a memorandum sent by some Harijans of Rohtak town. I gather that you have already seen these papers.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 22. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 25, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,

Your letter of the 25th July about the representation from Rohtak Harijans. Ch. Ranbir Singh came to see me because the interview had been fixed earlier.<sup>2</sup>

As you have postponed these auctions and are going to enquire further into the matter, nothing need be said at the present stage.

I am not quite clear if I understand the position. Harijans occupying the land are presumably some kind of tenants of the Muslim evacuees who went over to Pakistan. I was told by Ranbir Singh that, in effect, most of these

1. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

Harijans paid no rent at all or some very nominal rent. However that may be, the point is that if the Muslim landlord had been here, I would have objected to his ejecting the Harijans from his land. How then can we agree to the Government, as custodian, doing something which we would not have liked the landlord to do?

Thus, if you auction the land, this should not affect the rights of the Harijan tenants. I suppose that with this qualification, few people would buy the land.

I know that there have been ejectments in the Punjab by landlords, but we have been consistently opposed to that, and have wanted stringent legislation to prevent it. If that is our general policy, we cannot go against it in regard to tenants of evacuee land.

That should be our general approach. Obviously, when the Evacuee Property Law was passed by Parliament, these questions did not come up before it.<sup>3</sup> I see no difficulty in placing this matter before Parliament if necessity arises. But I doubt if such a necessity will arise. Once we have all the facts about these Harijan tenants, it will not be difficult to decide. I am told that the sums involved are trivial.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. The Administration of Evacuee Property Act, 1950 came into force on 17 April 1950.

## 23. To Jagjivan Ram<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 25, 1958

My dear Jagjivan Ram,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 25th about catering in railways. I did not want you to take so much trouble and to write to me such a long letter.

Personally I am entirely in favour of departmental catering. But such catering has to be watched carefully so that it might maintain a good standard. You say that this has been praised by Members of Parliament. I am glad to hear it. I remember however one occasion, when Lal Bahadur was Railway Minister,<sup>3</sup> when there was much criticism of the quality of food.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Railways.
3. Lal Bahadur Shastri was the Railway Minister from 1952 to 1956.



I have also heard criticism of the food of the Indian Airlines. It is greasy and messy. I must say I have no experience of it myself as I travel by special aircraft. On the other hand, the food of the Air India International is usually very good.

It is inevitable that in changing over from one system to another, there should be distress caused to some people. We cannot help that. But I am anxious not to offend, as far as possible, religious susceptibilities. The Shias, as you perhaps know, have very rigid ideas on this subject. They are almost as bad as orthodox Hindus. Hence I drew your attention to Lucknow especially.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. See *ante*, p. 248.

## 24. To Vivian Bose<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1958

My dear Justice Bose,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 27th July.<sup>3</sup>

*Blitz* is one of the periodicals which have developed a habit of making irresponsible statements and false allegations. It is clear, as you say that you cannot take action for contempt against it. And yet, something should be done

1. JN Collection.
2. Vivian Bose, a Judge of the Supreme Court, headed the Board of Inquiry set up to probe the charges levelled against three officers—H.M. Patel, G.R. Kamat and L.S. Vaidyanathan—of being responsible for certain investments made by the Life Insurance Corporation in a firm owned by Haridas Mundhra. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 119-122 and 415-416.
3. Bose referred to a report in the weekly tabloid *Blitz* dated 26 July 1958 that the file containing incriminating evidence against T.T. Krishnamachari to the effect that he overruled the top official opinion and ordered the deal on his own authority, had been found and handed over to the Commission. It was also reported that Krishnamachari sought the help of Madras Chief Minister Kamaraj who in turn had instructed the Madras nominee, Sathianathan, to play down Krishnamachari's role. Bose enquired from Sathianathan about this and was told that this inquiry was never discussed between him and Kamaraj. Bose also pointed out that the Board was not a court and had no power to punish for contempt.

to deny what the *Blitz* has said.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, it will not be on the whole desirable for some kind of an official press communiqué to be issued on this subject. That would give what *Blitz* wrote even greater publicity. I would suggest that the Secretary of your Board of Inquiry might write to the Editor of the *Blitz*<sup>5</sup> saying that the statement made in it was entirely false, etc., and asking him to make this clear in its next issue and apologise for it.

The next issue is, I believe, to come out on Friday or Saturday. It would be better, of course, if this denial and apology came out in the next issue rather than in a later one.

I shall, of course, inform my colleagues in the Cabinet about this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru wrote (not printed) to Home Minister Pant on 28 July 1958: "Surely, we ought to be able to do something in this matter, even if the Board of Inquiry has no power to punish for contempt. Can you suggest any course? The least that can be done is for the Board of Inquiry to issue a statement on this subject on the lines of their letter to me."
5. R.K. Karanjia.

## 25. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I enclose a copy of a letter I have sent to Namboodiripad.

Have you taken any step about the allegation that bogus voters' names were enrolled at Deviculam? The same complaint has been made in Calcutta. In a letter which Ramakrishna Rao<sup>2</sup> has written to the President (dated July 22nd), he says that a Minister of the Kerala Government has admitted in the Legislature that about 18,000 new voters had enrolled themselves in the register shortly before the bye-election.<sup>3</sup>

1. JN Collection.

2. B. Ramakrishna Rao was the Governor of Kerala.

3. The reference is to the Deviculam bye-election, held on 16 May 1958.



Surely you must do something in such matters. Apart from devising some more foolproof system, one can have checks on the existing rolls in some places. It may be found that many people who are mentioned in the rolls do not exist at all. I suggested this to Dr Roy<sup>4</sup> in regard to Calcutta constituencies. I think this kind of check should be done by Election Commission itself. If they find, as a result of the check, that there are many bogus names, then it is up to them to find a remedy for this.<sup>5</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.
5. Pant replied on 8 August 1958 that he had written to Election Commissioner K.V.K. Sundaram about the allegation that fictitious names were being enrolled in the voters' register. Pant had also suggested to Sundaram to get a proportion of rolls checked up. This, Pant said, would be even more necessary in respect of the voters who enlisted themselves just before an election.

## 26. To C. Subramaniam<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
2nd August, 1958

My dear Subramaniam,<sup>2</sup>

Our Foreign Secretary<sup>3</sup> has received a letter from your Government in which it is stated that V.V. Giri, who is President of the Indian Conference of Social Work,<sup>4</sup> has invited you to attend the International Conference of Social Work in Tokyo in November next.<sup>5</sup> We are asked if there is any objection from the diplomatic point of view. There is no such objection. But I am rather doubtful if it is worthwhile for you to go there for this Conference. The Conference is, no doubt, important from its own point of view and I gather that many people are going from India to attend it. In fact, I am now surprised at the number of people that intend to go. After some consultation we agreed to 25 going. Now

1. JN Collection.
2. Minister of Finance in the Madras Government.
3. Subimal Dutt.
4. And also the Governor of Uttar Pradesh.
5. Ninth International Conference of Social Work was held in Tokyo from 30 November to 6 December 1958.

Jivraj Mehta wants another ten or more to go. Normally, of course, there is no objection on our part to any person or any number going. Nowadays, however, because of the foreign exchange situation we have to be much more careful. I have therefore sent a message to Jivraj Mehta that we do not propose to recommend any more than 25 to go. But, if our Finance Minister<sup>6</sup> is agreeable from the point of view of foreign exchange, a few more can go.

So far as you are concerned, as I have said above, I do not particularly fancy your going at a time when your Government, no doubt, has important work and problems to face.<sup>7</sup> But this is finally a matter for you to decide in consultation with your Chief Minister.<sup>8</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Morarji Desai.

7. Nehru also wrote the following note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt on 30 July 1958: "I see no reason why such a large number of persons should go to this Conference. We have no objection, of course, to anybody going, but our concern is foreign exchange. Merely because a number of people wish to go there is no reason why they should all be encouraged to do so. Further, I do not understand how a Governor of a State [Shri V.V. Giri] can leave his work here and go off to a conference. So far as we are concerned, therefore, we cannot go beyond our last figure, that is, twentyfive. If the Finance Minister wants to be generous in this matter that is for him to decide."

8. K. Kamaraj.

## 27. Devolution of Financial Powers<sup>1</sup>

I do not understand why it should have taken such a long time for the necessary rules to be framed in regard to devolution of power and authority. The Cabinet decision was taken about three months ago.<sup>2</sup> I should have thought that the broad rules governing it could be framed within a few days, the detailed rules might take a little longer. And, in any event, even without any special rules being framed, general directions could be issued to the Financial Advisers to act in future in accordance with the Cabinet decision.

1. Note to the Special Secretary, Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance, M.V. Rangachari, 3 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. In fact, the decision was taken in December 1957. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, p. 345.



2. I had a talk with the Cabinet Secretary<sup>3</sup> about this matter, and he said that he hoped the new rules, etc., would be finalised within ten or twelve days.

3. Devolution of power must not only be from the Finance Ministry to the administrative ministry, but also within the administrative ministry itself.

3. Vishnu Sahay.

## 28. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 3, 1958

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 2 about Dr Kitchlew.<sup>3</sup> I really do not know what to advise you. Dr Kitchlew is completely irresponsible in these matters. I think you might write to him first telling him that you are gravely embarrassed by his non-payment of dues<sup>4</sup> and questions are put to you about it which you are unable to answer. It is no longer possible for you to allow this matter to continue in this way. Can he at least make arrangements for some partial payment? Otherwise you will have to send him a formal notice.<sup>5</sup>

Having sent him your letter in which you will of course mention the amount due, wait a little for his reply. If no reply comes, then send him the notice you have suggested. If after that also nothing happens, let us consider the matter afresh.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 2 (84)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.
3. Saifuddin Kitchlew was the President of the Punjab PCC at the time of Independence, and Member of the Presidium of the World Peace Council at this time.
4. According to Kitchlew's son and biographer Taufiq, Saifuddin Kitchlew had to leave Amritsar, during the pre-Partition riots, for Delhi where Nehru arranged for his stay at the Constitution Club. Since he could not pay the rent for the place, Dr Kitchlew had to move out and stay with his friend Nanak Chand Malik.
5. Reddy wrote that the amount due from Saifuddin Kitchlew for his Government accommodation worked out to be Rs 4270.68 for the period ending July 1958. Reddy suggested asking the Estate Officer to serve him a notice for clearing the arrears within a month and surrendering the accommodation within two months as it would be embarrassing to let him retain the government accommodation.

## 29. To Asoke K. Sen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 3, 1958

My dear Asoke,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 1.<sup>3</sup>

I do not quite understand how every village can be asked to create a cadre of officers drawn from a number of organisations and authorities. I quite agree with you about coordinating activities and giving them a push. But every village has not got state or semi-state employees. Some of the employees who may be in the village, like a village constable, are not much good for this purpose.

As a matter of fact, the only organisation that can work effectively is the community development organisation. This should work in close coordination with the revenue and irrigation authorities. Many of the things you have suggested are the special functions of the community development blocks and they are supposed to be doing them.

What you have suggested is a complete duplication of this organisation from below up. Surely that is not desirable. What we should do is to utilise the tremendous organisation that has already been built up, that is, the community development Organisation and make it more effective.

1. File No. 31(30)/56-61-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Law.

3. Asoke Sen referred to Nehru's letter to Chief Ministers dated 30 July 1958 (see *ante*, pp. 123-126) as most instructive and suggested that the letter should be given widest possible publicity in every village as it dealt with a matter of vital public interest, i.e., increase in food production. He suggested that every village should be made to create a cadre of officers drawn from the Agriculture Department, Civil Administration, Community Development Organisation, Irrigation Department, Police Authorities and Revenue and other local authorities for coordinated work. According to Sen's scheme, the group would work under the Circle Officer or the Community Development Officer and survey the needs of that village and provide for them with the cooperative effort and assistance from the State. There should be central organisation in each sub-division and district. Prizes should be instituted as production incentive and villages should be flooded with constant and widespread publicity.



I shall be glad to have your note about chemical manures.<sup>4</sup> In this matter the Bombay refineries were not cooperative at all.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Sen proposed to send a note to Nehru regarding the non-utilisation of gas from two refineries in Bombay to produce ammonia and other bye-products without much effort or cost. "The valuable gas which can be immediately synthesised into ammonia and other bye-products", according to him, "is going to waste everyday, which, if utilised, would not only have given us manures but would have also reduced the cost of refined oil."

### 30. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 4, 1958, about the Kerala Food Poisoning Enquiry Committee's Report.<sup>3</sup> I think it would be better to place this matter before the Cabinet.<sup>4</sup> But I also think that a number of recommendations made are such that action can be taken immediately on them and there is no point in waiting for a Cabinet decision.

Thus, (Para 4 of Summary for Cabinet) the Law Minister's<sup>5</sup> opinion may be communicated both to the Bombay and Kerala Governments.

The Kerala Government has already been informed of the Commission's recommendations about the release of food-stuffs only after certain tests. They have replied that the matter is under their consideration. It is not necessary for us to issue a directive on this matter, but the Kerala Government's attention can again be drawn to this.

Para 5 of Summary. These general recommendations suggested by the Committee will have to be considered by the Cabinet. But, even so, I think it will

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Health.

3. The Committee had blamed the "faulty storage" in the S.S. *Jai Hind* as the cause of food poisoning. In order to prevent such occurrences in future, it made 15 general recommendations and one specific recommendation that foodstuffs be released only after putting them to certain tests. This recommendation was endorsed by Technical Advisers of the Union Health Ministry.

4. See also *ante*, pp. 242-243.

5. Asoke Sen.

be desirable to draw the attention of the State Governments immediately and without waiting for a Cabinet decision on these recommendations. In fact, a copy of the report of the Kerala Food Poisoning Enquiry Committee should be sent, if it has not already been sent, to all the State Governments. Together with that, the recommendations of this Committee might be sent. The State Governments should be informed that you are sending these at an early stage to them so that they may be prepared for the action to be taken and there should be no delay for such action after final decision has been made. Probably this will not take much time.

From the summary it appears that the Ministry of Food and Agriculture, Ministry of Labour, Ministry of Transport, the Ministry of Railways and the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and also the Community Development Ministry have to take some steps to implement these recommendations. As mentioned in the summary these Ministries have concurred in the proposals made. It would be desirable for all these Ministries to take preliminary steps even now on the lines of these recommendations.

I do not want all this to remain pending till a Cabinet decision. Many of these really do not require a Cabinet decision. But apart from that, the State Governments and our Ministries should be quite ready for the action necessary so that as soon as the Cabinet decision is taken, the State Governments and our Ministries can go ahead.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 31. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your two letters of August 1.

I had promised long ago to go to Mysore to inaugurate the International Conference of Agricultural Economists.<sup>3</sup> This is taking place on the 24th of this month. Because I was going that far, I agreed to visit Aurangabad, but the visit

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Bombay.
3. See *ante*, pp. 82-91.



inevitably will be a brief one.<sup>4</sup> I shall be happy to meet you there, though I do not want you to take special trouble over the matter.

About the relative expenditure involved in Indian and European ways of living, I think this depends more on the style. There can be no doubt that it is far cheaper to live in the Indian way provided this is what I would call the lower middle class standard in India. But to live in a more ceremonial way, it is no cheaper to have the Indian style. We have got into bad habits in Raj Bhavans and elsewhere which do not really represent the normal European way of living even when this is of a high standard. We keep too many servants about. Elsewhere there are very very few. All the arrangements here are expensive. I have no doubt that the expenditure in Rashtrapati Bhavan, for instance, can be reduced greatly if we followed strictly European standards. But we follow European standards with an Indian setting of a huge staff, and that makes it much more expensive.

I do not think there is much chance of my going to Europe.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For Nehru's address at a public meeting at Aurangabad on 23 August 1958, see *ante*, pp. 60-81. He also inaugurated the Marathwada University on the same day. See *ante*, pp. 209-216.

32. To S.K. Patil<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 4, 1958

My dear S.K.,<sup>2</sup>

I have been considering the list of the proposed invitees for the inaugural flight to Moscow<sup>3</sup> and have consulted some colleagues. I have drawn up another list, a copy of which I attach. If everyone included in this list accepts, then probably the number will go up beyond 60, which is too much, and will have to be reduced.

There are certain principles I have followed—

- (1) No senior official should go except someone who is actually connected with the Ministry of Communications or the Air India.
- (2) Only such foreign Ambassadors as might be directly concerned with these flights should go. This would include USSR, Afghanistan, Poland and perhaps Czechoslovakia. The others mentioned in your list should be dropped.
- (3) Representatives of the press should, of course, be provided for. I have added two newspapers in English, namely, *National Herald* and *Tribune*. In addition, I think you should include some representatives of the Indian language press.
- (4) Representatives of travel agencies should, of course, be included.

In the previous list there are a number of names for which I can find no justification whatever. These include the Commissioner of Police, Bombay, representatives of the Home Ministry, another of the Central Board of Revenue, the Governor of the Reserve Bank, and some businessmen from Djakarta or Madras.

I think that, on the whole, it would be undesirable for us to take the Presidents of the European Chambers of Commerce. In the Soviet Union it is often said that European economic interests dominate the scene in India. We should not encourage this idea.

A.D. Shroff<sup>4</sup> might have gone, but if you take Naval Tata,<sup>5</sup> it would not be desirable to have two Tata Directors. On the whole, it would be better to have

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Transport and Communication.
3. Direct air service between Delhi and Moscow was inaugurated on 14 August 1958.
4. A.D. Shroff, Director, Tata Sons.
5. Naval Hormushji Tata, Director, Tata Sons.



Naval Tata who, apart from being an industrialist, is a very important person in our sports field. In fact, the latter qualification is really more important in this connection.

I have not included in this list Mrs N.R. Pillai's name, but I think it would be a good thing for one or two women to be added. At present there are only two women, namely Rajkumari Amrit Kaur and Mrs K.P.S. Menon. The latter will stay there. It would be desirable, therefore, I think, to add Mrs Pillai's name to this list. But, first of all, you can see how this list goes and then, if possible, add Mrs Pillai's name.

You will see that I have not only accepted the idea of MPs going, but suggested a bigger number than Satya Narayan Sinha<sup>6</sup> asked for. I consulted Pantji too about this and I came to the conclusion that it would be a good thing to have MPs. I think 12 is a good number and I should not like it reduced. If you reduce it, the next figure will have to be nine which can be divided up as six and three between Lok Sabha and the Rajya Sabha.

The people invited to go from External Affairs or Commerce and Industry will, of course, be selected by the Ministries concerned.

I should like to know what Indian language newspapers you may choose for inclusion in this list. That will be a ticklish matter and will give rise to a good deal of heart burning.

No newspaperman should be invited by name, but only as representative of his paper.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

### 33. To Mira Ray<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 5, 1958

My dear Mira,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 2nd August. I remember you well and will be glad to see you again if by any chance you come my way.

1. A.P. Jain Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Daughter of Sarat Chandra Bose.

I have read your letter. As you yourself say, the decisions of the Union Public Service Commission cannot be upset by us or questioned by the Government. The Public Service Commission has been made a body independent of Government so as to ensure that no Government influence or partiality is shown in the selection of people. If the Public Service Commission itself errs, that is our misfortune. In rare cases, when the Government has not agreed to some recommendation of the Public Service Commission, the matter has been reported to Parliament.

I cannot, therefore, challenge the decision of the Public Service Commission. But, for my own satisfaction, I am enquiring further into this matter.<sup>3</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru enquired from Ajit Prasad Jain, the Union Minister of Food and Agriculture, on the same day as to why Mira Ray's husband Dr S.N. Ray, an outstanding man in veterinary research, had been passed over by the UPSC, and if Jain could find out what the position was and why it happened. S.N. Ray was working with the Indian Veterinary Research Institute, Izatnagar, Bareilly, UP, at this time.

### 34. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 6, 1958

My dear Pantji,

I have been thinking that it is not necessary for Ministers (including the Prime Minister of course) to have the National Flag over their houses, except on special and ceremonial occasions. This is not normally done in other countries and I do not see why we should make this display.

There is sometimes some point in the Flag on a car because that helps finding a way through traffic. Personally I do not use that Flag in the car, but then I have the advantage of an outrider.

If you agree, we can decide this at our next informal meeting of Cabinet members. Having done this here, you could inform the States' Ministers of it.

1. File No. 52(8)/57-68-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.



National Flag should be displayed only, I think, on residences of the President or the Heads of the States and some official buildings, like the Parliament House, Secretariat here, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Pant replied on 9 August 1958 that he had no objection personally if the Ministers did not have the National Flag over their houses, and added that he did not have the National Flag on his car. He further wrote that the President and Heads of the States did not have the National Flag over their permanent residences but had their special standards. The President's standard was flown wherever he stayed. The Vice-President and the Prime Minister had the National Flag over their houses wherever they stayed. The Governors, on official visits to other States flew the National Flag and not their personal standards.

### 35. To Mool Chand Jain<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8th August, 1958

Dear Mool Chandji,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of the 4th August.

I am not aware of any assurance given by the Rehabilitation Ministry for the payment of third-party claims out of evacuee property. This matter has never been brought before the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet. Indeed, for the first time I have read about it in your letter. I do not, therefore, know how it can be said that Government gave some such assurance.

Apart from this question of assurance, I see many difficulties in the way of accepting such a plea. The party against whom such a claim was made was no longer there to defend it or to disprove it. All kinds of claims can thus be made and there will be no way of even checking. A considerable administrative apparatus will have to be built up to deal with these matters, and if any claims are brought they will have to go out of the evacuee pool which is distributed among the displaced persons.

1. JN Collection.
2. Mool Chand Jain (b. 1915); lawyer and Congressman; arrested during Quit India Movement, 1942; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952-57; Minister of PWD (Buildings and Roads), Excise and Taxation in Punjab Government, 1956-57; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha, 1957-62.

Thus, I do not see from what point of view this claim can be justified or taken up now. This is a very complicated matter and I do not pretend that I have studied it in great detail. But I have given to you my immediate reactions.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 36. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 8, 1958

My dear Prakasa,

Your letter of August 6 in which it is suggested that Rajaji<sup>2</sup> might be invited to become Vice-Chancellor of the Banaras University. My first reaction was not unfavourable. I thought that the suggestion was worthy of consideration, though obviously it had difficulties. The more I thought of it however, the more I realised that it could not very well come off. Later I showed your letter to Pantji and Morarji. Both of them were entirely opposed to it.

Rajaji, with all his ability and intelligence, has gone off the rails completely in every matter almost.<sup>3</sup> I am amazed at his irresponsibility and his pettiness. His governing passion seems to be dislike of people. I have struggled against this growing impression of mine, but I have not been able to get rid of it.

Apart from this, it is quite clear that he will never get on in Banaras. The students will not have him. His appointment, if it ever came off, would also create a furore in many other circles. It would become a highly controversial matter. It is not a good thing in such an appointment.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. C. Rajagopalachari, first Indian Governor General of India, 1948-50; Congress Chief Minister of Madras State, 1952-54.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 295-296 and 346.



### 37. To Panjabrao S. Deshmukh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 11, 1958

My dear Panjabrao,<sup>2</sup>  
Your letter of August 11.

As your committee is so eager to have a small portion of the garden of the Prime Minister's house to be treated according to Japanese methods, and Mr Mori<sup>3</sup> himself is very keen on doing this, I shall withdraw my objection. Mr Mori therefore can deal with it as he likes. The understanding of course is that not more than the sum mentioned, that is Rs 2500, should be spent on this.

I hope however that the major project of having a Japanese garden in the Delhi Zoo will be taken up first.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Cooperation.
3. Kannosuke Mori (1894-1960); Professor in Horticulture College, University of Chiba, Japan.
4. Earlier on 9 July 1958 Nehru wrote (not printed) to Panjabrao Deshmukh that he was reluctant to spend any additional money on the garden at the Prime Minister's house and that Mori should concentrate on the garden in the Delhi Zoo.

### 38. To D.P. Karmarkar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 13, 1958

My dear Karmarkar,  
Thank you for a copy of *Health in Independent India*.<sup>2</sup> At last, it has come out. Looking at the foreword, I see that it bears the date of 3rd May, 1957.<sup>3</sup> That is a long time ago, and the book is thus somewhat out of date already.

1. File No. 28 (40)/57-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. *Health in Independent India: A Decade of Progress*, written by G. Borker, was published by the Union Ministry of Health.
3. For Nehru's foreword, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 38, pp. 186-189.

I am rather concerned about the Ministry of Health. I have had many complaints of the slowness of its working, and the way papers and files are held up, and answers are not sent for weeks and sometimes even months. I should like to see some of your principal officers—Pillai,<sup>4</sup> Lakshmanan,<sup>5</sup> Jaswant Singh,<sup>6</sup> also Benjamin<sup>7</sup> for whom I have considerable regard. I am interested in the progress of T.B. work.<sup>8</sup>

You might mention to these people to get in touch with my Private Secretary sometime next week. I shall fix up times to see them separately.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. V.K.B. Pillai (b. 1901); joined ICS, 1924; served in various capacities in Bihar; Regional Commissioner for Rajputana and Adviser, Rajasthan Union under the Ministry of States, Government of India, 1948-50; Chief Commissioner, Vindhya Pradesh, 1950-52; Counsellor, Pepsu, 1952-53; Secretary, Union Ministry of Health, 1953-60.
5. Lt. Col. C.K. Lakshmanan was the Director General of Health Services.
6. Lt. Col. Jaswant Singh was the Director of Malaria Institute of India, New Delhi.
7. Dr P.V. Benjamin was the Advisor on Tuberculosis.
8. During 1958 the programme of public training in awareness and prevention of tuberculosis ran with the assistance of UNICEF and WHO wherein 160 technical teams, each consisting of a doctor and six technicians, were engaged in field work. By the end of October 1958, 11.62 crore persons were tested and about 4.07 crores of them vaccinated. Six demonstration and training centres had been established at Hyderabad, Nagpur, Madras, New Delhi, Patna and Trivandrum. The programme included the setting up of National Training Centre and Aftercare Centre where ex-patients were rehabilitated after they were cured

### 39. Replace the System of 'Chaprasis'<sup>1</sup>

I agree with you that the real approach to this problem of *chaprasis* is to have a new system to replace the present one. I hope the Ministry of Home Affairs is considering this.

I said in my previous minute dated 14th July, 1958, that the position of an office outside Delhi might be different.<sup>2</sup> This was because it would not be

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 14 August 1958. JN Collection.  
2. See *ante*, p. 250.



profitable to transfer *chaprasis* from Delhi. Where, however, there are a number of Government of India offices these transfers can be made between them. I would inform the Ship Repairs Committee, Madras,<sup>3</sup> that the whole system of *chaprasis* is not favoured by us. It is a special feature of India where men were supposed to be cheap and in abundance. In other countries they have a small number of messengers. The committee in Madras should try to look up this question from that point of view and introduce a new system. There should be no *chaprasis* attached personally to officers, but a few messengers should be attached to the office.

If however they cannot do this for various reasons, then they can engage *chaprasis* there provided they cannot get them from some Government of India Office in Madras where there might be surplus. Anyhow the point should be remembered that the old rules about *chaprasis* should not be made to apply now and a new approach should be made.

3. The Ship Repairs Committee was set up on 22 January 1958 under the chairmanship of O.V. Alagesan, former Deputy Minister for Transport and Railways.

#### 40. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 14, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 9th in which you refer to Dr J.C. Paymaster.<sup>3</sup> His name has been noted for the next list of awards. I entirely agree with you that he is a fine man and deserves encouragement.

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Bombay.
3. Jal C. Paymaster (1908-1997); joined Tata Memorial Hospital, 1942; worked as Chief Surgeon and Medical Superintendent, 1957-67; Fellow, American College of Surgeons, 1963; Director, Tata Memorial Centre from 1967. Fellow of many international associations of Surgeons and Cancer Societies, Honorary Medical Adviser on Cancer to Governments of Maharashtra and Gujarat; awarded Padma Bhushan, 1959.

I have looked into Chavan's<sup>4</sup> old recommendations. The first one on the list is Dr Rustam Jal Vakil,<sup>5</sup> who as you know has been awarded Padma Bhushan. It is true that Chavan's recommendation was for Padma Vibhushan for Dr Vakil. This award (Padma Vibhushan) has thus far been given to very few persons indeed, possibly three or four, and we have been very strict about it. The other names in Chavan's list were:

Bhogilal Dhirajlal Lala,<sup>6</sup>  
Chairman of the Bombay Legislative Council.  
Ramrao Madhavrao Deshmukh, MP.<sup>7</sup>

Dattaprasanna Sadashiv Bakhle,<sup>8</sup> a retired ICS man and Deputy Chairman, Millowners' Association, Bombay.

It is rather difficult to select people for these awards. Generally speaking, certain broad rules are followed by us though there may be exceptions. We seldom give them to ICS or Indian Administrative Service men. The one exception I can remember is K.P.S. Menon,<sup>9</sup> who is the senior-most man in service and who has functioned very well in Moscow.

4. Y.B. Chavan, the Chief Minister of Bombay State.
5. Rustam Jal Vakil (1911-1974); physician and cardiologist; Hon. Consulting Physician in charge of Cardiological Department, King Edward Memorial Hospital, Bombay, 1941-58; Lecturer in Medicine, G.S. Medical College, Bombay, 1941-58; received Padma Bhushan, 1958; Dr B.C. Roy National Award, 1969, and Shanti Swarup Bhatnagar Memorial Award, 1965; Fellow, Royal College of Physicians of London and Glasgow, Indian National Science Academy, Indian Academy of Medical Sciences, American College of Cardiology, American College of Chest Physicians; publications include *Diagnosis and Management of Medical Emergencies*, *Romance of Healing and other Essays*, *The Heart in Health and Disease*.
6. Bhogilal Dhirajram Lala (b. 1877); began practice as pleader, 1900; Professor, Law College, Ahmedabad, 1927-32; Secretary, Gujarat Pradesh Congress Committee, 1931-34; elected to Bombay Legislative Assembly, 1937 and 1946; Chairman, Bombay Legislative Council, 1956-60.
7. Congress Member of the Rajya Sabha from Bombay State.
8. Dattaprasanna Sadashiv Bakhle (b.1907); Under Secretary, Home Department, Government of India, 1935-38; Commissioner, National Labour Service Labour Tribunal, 1939-41; Secretary, Department of Civil Supplies, 1946-48; Chief Secretary, Government of Saurashtra, 1948-49; Chief Civil Administrator, Hyderabad and later, Minister of Home, Law and Information, Hyderabad, 1949; Secretary, Government of Bombay, 1950-54; Special Secretary, Government of Bombay, 1954-56.
9. Indian Ambassador in Moscow concurrently accredited to Hungary as Minister and to Poland as Ambassador.



We give awards usually to engineers on their completing some major work, if they have done well; or to some eminent scientists or to somebody who has invented or discovered something and deserves encouragement; or to a distinguished writer or actor. That is to say, servicemen usually are not considered.

So also businessmen. The only two that have been given high awards are J.R.D. Tata<sup>10</sup> and G.D. Birla.<sup>11</sup>

The names that Chavan suggested, apart from Dr Vakil's, did not easily fall into any category from which names are chosen. Ramrao Deshmukh had no special qualification in our opinion. There are quite a number of people in the Rajya Sabha and the Lok Sabha who have at least as much justification.

I am sorry if Chavan feels that his recommendations have been ignored. The question is of categories of people from which we choose. Politicians are hardly ever chosen.

I might mention that no one was awarded Padma Vibhushan in 1958.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

10. Chairman, Tata Sons.

11. A leading industrialist, head of the Birla group of industries, and a close associate of Mahatma Gandhi.

## 41. To Central Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
15 August, 1958

My dear Minister,

Some time ago I had suggested that we might not be so particular in using the National Flag on our cars. The idea was that there should be as little display as possible of such symbols. It has been pointed out to me that a Flag on a car is very helpful sometimes in traffic, more especially in touring. Of course, the Flag should be used on the car whenever it is considered necessary for this purpose.

1. File No. 52(8)/57-68-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

I feel, however, that display of Flags on our houses is of no particular use and might well be discontinued. But on ceremonial occasions, such as Independence Day, Republic Day and possibly some other days, the Flag should be displayed on the residences of Ministers.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. On the same day, Nehru sent a copy of this letter to the Chief Ministers of all States and suggested that this procedure might be followed in the States also.

## 42. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 15, 1958

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I understand that the Estate Office is asking Krishna Kripalani (Secretary of the Sahitya Akademi) to pay house-rent at the full rate, that is to say, he is not given the facilities in this respect which a Government employee has. Previously, he was also Secretary of Maulana Azad, and hence he was given this concession.

I do not think it is fair to treat the staff of the three Akademies as if they had nothing to do with Government. These Akademies are wholly supported by Government, though they are given autonomy in their inner working. Their position is like that of the CSIR. It would be a very unfair burden to cast upon them to make them pay the enormous rents that houses fetch in Delhi. Indeed, they could not do it. So we would have to pay them a much greater salary. The work that these Akademies do is of importance; in no way can it be called private work.

For the moment, however, I am writing to you about Krishna Kripalani because his case has come up to me and, what is more, I gather that the Estate Office propose to ask him to pay all kinds of arrears. Will you please look into this matter? I do not want this to be treated on the personal plane, but on the broad question of the Sahitya Akademi staff being for this purpose treated like Government employees. Apparently arrears of his pay have been held up by the

1. File No. 45(2)/56-58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.



Treasury because the Estate Office has to certify that there are no arrears of rent. Therefore, an early decision is desirable.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 43. Allowances for Rajeshwar Dayal<sup>1</sup>

In the note for supplementaries of question No. 265 in the Lok Sabha, it is stated that Shri Rajeshwar Dayal<sup>2</sup> is getting a pay of Rs 2,500 per month plus the usual allowances. Shri H.S. Palta gets Rs 300 per month plus the usual allowances. Further, a sum of £100 has been sanctioned as contingent expenditure to Shri Dayal.

2. It is later stated that the United Nations is paying \$50 per day as honorarium and \$20 per day as subsistence allowance to Shri Rajeshwar Dayal. Also, that subsistence allowances are being paid to Shri Palta and the Military Observers.

3. Does this mean that Shri Rajeshwar Dayal gets various allowances from the Government of India plus various allowances from the United Nations? This seems rather odd. He is apparently getting from the United Nations, as honorarium and subsistence allowance, a sum of Rs 10,500 per month. Is this not supposed to be adequate, and is it still necessary for him to get special allowances and a sum for contingent expenditure from the Government of India?

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 16 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Member of the UN Observation Group in Lebanon, earlier Indian Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece from 1954 to 1958.

### 44. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 18, 1958

My dear Prakasa,

Thank you for your letter of August 16th.

I am afraid I do not understand or appreciate Chavan's approach to the question of awards. As I wrote to you, they are not meant for officials as such

1. JN Collection.

unless there are some very strong reasons.<sup>2</sup> If we started giving them to officials, I can name some of our first-rate men. Take N.R. Pillai<sup>3</sup> for instance, or Dutt.<sup>4</sup> When we do not give these awards to our first-rate officials, it becomes a little difficult to give them to the second and third-rate ones.

Chavan's objection to Nargis<sup>5</sup> in this connection also shows how different our approaches are. We want to indicate to the public that awards are given not to those holding official ranks but to persons noted for their eminence in various fields of public activity—a scientist, an educationist, an eminent physician, an engineer, an actor, a writer, a poet, a film star. If public opinion counts, Nargis is obviously a very popular figure in India. If you go to the Soviet Union, you will find that the three best known persons there are myself, Nargis and Raj Kapoor.<sup>6</sup> It is astonishing how popular Nargis and Raj Kapoor are all over the Soviet Union.

Our people in this country imagine that status comes from politics or government service. This is not so in most countries of the world. If I had to name a dozen or even 20 persons in India fairly well known in the outside world, these 20 would include some of our scientists, some of our film actors, some of our writers. I doubt if they would include any of our Ministers. They would of course include Dr Radhakrishnan, but that is because he is well known for other reasons and not because he is Vice-President.

If anyone wants to take the trouble to look at the list of our awards, he will see a large number of engineers, singers, physicians, etc., and very very few government servants.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, pp. 274-276.

3. Secretary General, MEA.

4. S. Dutt, Foreign Secretary.

5. Nargis Dutt (1929-1981); famous film actress; married Sunil Dutt in 1958; acted in more than 50 films, including *Taqdeer*, *Aag*, *Awara*, *Shri 420*, and *Mother India*; awarded Padma Shri in 1959 and Special Soviet Land Nehru Award in 1974; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1980-81.

6. (1924-1988); son of Prithviraj Kapoor; film actor, director and producer; his best known films include *Awara*, *Shri 420*, *Jis Desh Mein Ganga Bahti Hai*, *Sangam* and *Mera Naam Joker*; awarded Padma Bhushan in 1971 and Dada Saheb Phalke Award in 1987.



#### 45. Seeking Travel-Fellowship by Ministers Undesirable<sup>1</sup>

I entirely agree with the above two notes,<sup>2</sup> and I think that the action taken by the Health Ministry is most unfortunate. Even if some foreign organisation had, on their own initiative, offered some kind of a travel-fellowship to a Minister of the Central or a State Government, it should have been politely declined. It seems to me utterly wrong that our Ministers should go about on such fellowships. The present case, however, is worse. The State Minister actually asked for a fellowship and the Health Ministry took some steps to enquire about it. Another surprising aspect of this is that the Chief Minister of West Bengal knew nothing about it. This really is very extraordinary.

2. The Health Ministry should be informed that we are entirely opposed to this kind of thing. A copy of this note might be sent to them.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary S. Dutt, 18 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. In a note on 14 August 1958, the Director, AMS, MEA, Leilamani Naidu, wrote that on a request from the Health Minister of West Bengal Dr A.B. Roy for a travel fellowship to the UK and the USA, the Union Health Ministry explored the possibility and found that the Rockefeller Foundation was "favourably inclined" towards this. Union Health Ministry then sought the External Affairs Ministry's approval for the same. Leilamani Naidu wrote that the Health Ministry did not consult the External Affairs Ministry before approaching the Rockefeller Foundation and had placed the Government of India in a humiliating position. She expressed the view that such solicitation of financial assistance for a Minister was "definitely repugnant". She also noted that the Chief Minister of West Bengal B.C. Roy did not know about it. On 18 August 1958, Foreign Secretary S. Dutt commented that the West Bengal Government should be told that accepting a travel fellowship by the State Minister from the Rockefeller Foundation was not right and the Health Ministry should inform the Rockefeller Foundation that they did not wish to pursue their earlier proposal.

## 46. To Asoke K. Sen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 18, 1958

My dear Asoke,<sup>2</sup>

Yesterday the Chief Justice<sup>3</sup> spoke to me on the telephone about the International Commission of Jurists. I was a little surprised to learn from him that the next conference of this body was going to be held in India from 5th to 9th January 1959.<sup>4</sup> I did not know of this previously. The Chief Justice also told me that one of the Judges of the Supreme Court, S.K. Das,<sup>5</sup> intended going to Oxford for some Executive Committee meeting in connection with this Conference which would involve about ten days' casual leave. Later, he thought that he might ask me if there were any political implications.

I remember that last year the question arose about Justices Vivian Bose<sup>6</sup> and Bhagwati<sup>7</sup> attending a meeting of this Commission somewhere in Europe. I did not particularly fancy this, even though many eminent Judges were connected with this organisation. It seemed to me that this organisation was a political counterpart, to some extent, of the Communist-sponsored Democratic Lawyers' Conference. However, Vivian Bose and Bhagwati had already accepted the invitation and so they went.

Now this new question has been raised. If Vivian Bose has already invited this Commission to hold their next meeting in India next January, there is nothing more to be said about it and it can be so held. I think, however, that Government as such should not be connected with it.

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of Law.
3. S.R. Das.
4. The Congress of the International Commission of Jurists was inaugurated by Nehru on 5 January 1959.
5. Sudhansu Kumar Das (b. 1898); joined the Indian Civil Service, 1921; served in Bihar and Orissa in various posts; appointed officiating Judge, Patna High Court, 1944, Additional Judge, 1945-48, Permanent Judge, 1948-55; Chief Justice, Patna High Court, 1955-56; Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1956-63; Acting Chief Justice of India, August 1963.
6. Judge of the Supreme Court of India.
7. N.H. Bhagwati (1894-1969); Advocate, High Court, Bombay; Professor, Government Law College, Bombay for sometime; Vice Chancellor, University of Bombay, 1949-51; Judge, Bombay High Court, 1944-52; Judge, Supreme Court of India, 1952-59; Vice Chancellor, Banaras Hindu University, 1960-1966.



The other question arises as to whether Justice S.K. Das should go to attend an Executive meeting all the way to Oxford to consider the agenda of this conference. It seems to me rather undignified for a Judge of the Supreme Court to rush off to Oxford just to attend an Executive Committee meeting. For other reasons also I do not particularly like this. I am seeing Justice S.K. Das tomorrow evening to find out from him what exactly the position is.

I see from the papers in a file that D. Basu,<sup>8</sup> Joint Secretary, apparently working with the Law Commission now, has written to your Secretary, Bhandarkar,<sup>9</sup> saying that he had been asked to become a member of the International Commission of Jurists. He has asked your Ministry if it is permissible for him to accept this invitation. I think that it would not be desirable for him to do so.

Would you please see me tomorrow in Parliament House so that we might have a talk about this matter?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

8. Durgadas Basu (b. 1909); joined Bengal Judicial Service, 1935; Deputy Secretary to the Government of India, Ministry of Law, 1953-55; Joint Secretary, 1955-61; Member, Law Commission of India, 1961-63; Judge, Calcutta High Court, 1963-71; author of *The Commentary on the Constitution of India*, *Cases on the Constitution of India*, and *Principles of the Law of Torts*.
9. K.Y. Bhandarkar.

## 47. Delay in Preparation of Delhi Master Plan<sup>1</sup>

In the note attached it is stated that final recommendations of the organisation would be submitted to Government by the end of July 1958. We are now approaching the end of August. I should like to know when this note of the Town Planning Organisation was received by the Ministry of Health. Presumably it must have reached them early in July, otherwise this mention of the final recommendations coming by the end of July would be pointless. Why then was this brief and simple note held up by the Health Ministry for such a long time? And when are we going to get these final recommendations? Have they

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 21 August 1958. JN Collection.

already been received by the Health Ministry and if so, when were they received? I do not understand why there should be such big gaps.

In paragraph 2 of the note, it is stated "When these standards are approved by Government and adopted by the Local bodies, the new layouts will be governed by these considerations". It is further stated that a detailed note on space standards has been submitted. When was this submitted? And where is it now? Why should any delay have occurred in the consideration of this note by Government?

#### 48. Withdrawal of Prosecution against Dr Gaitonde<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I was not here when this question was raised.<sup>2</sup> So I do not know what happened. But as the House is interested, I should like to say what came to my knowledge because I was somewhat intimately connected with this matter. As soon as this matter came to my knowledge, we appointed a Committee informally of eminent doctors and others to go into all these facts and to report to us what they thought about it. We consulted others too, and the unanimous report of all those people was that it was not fair to bring any charge against Dr Gaitonde.<sup>3</sup> The police automatically had taken some steps without any inquiry. They started some kind of proceedings. They ought to have really consulted others. As soon as they were consulted, the Home Ministry took steps to consult these doctors and they went thoroughly into this and said that they saw no ground for proceeding in this matter. It was on that basis that it was withdrawn.

1. Interventions in the Lok Sabha during the question hour, 28 August 1958, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XIX, cols. 3464-3466.
2. This related to the case of a girl named Vidyavati, who was admitted to Irwin Hospital, Delhi on 21 December 1957 as an acute case of T.B. of the abdomen and was operated upon by Dr Gaitonde on 30 December 1957. She died on 1 January 1958 and was cremated by her parents but when they went to collect her ashes on 2 January, they found a pair of artery forceps in the ashes. They reported the matter to the police and a case under Section 304-A IPC was registered and investigations began. However, the Delhi Administration, on the instructions of the Union Home Ministry, decided to withdraw the case against Dr Gaitonde.
3. P.D. Gaitonde, a freedom fighter from Goa and a surgeon, was honorary senior surgeon at the Irwin Hospital, presently known as Lok Nayak Jaiprakash Narayan Hospital, New Delhi.



Mahavir Tyagi:<sup>4</sup> Obviously what the Prime Minister has said is not sufficient ground for withdrawal of the case. If the Committee had said that there was no ground, they must also have mentioned on what ground the case was weak, whether the forceps were implanted in the body and so on. Was it due to lack of proof or was it on some other ground that they recommended withdrawal of the case?

JN: They said that there was nothing to connect Dr Gaitonde with this. We are now concerned with this gentleman. If I may say so, I looked up numerous cases like this, in fact, books on the subject because I was interested in it. As my honourable friend, Shri Goray,<sup>5</sup> said, Dr Gaitonde is a man of the highest ability and integrity. Now, when an operation is conducted, there are large numbers of people in the operation theatre—surgeons, junior surgeons, nurses and others, and undoubtedly the operator—the big surgeon. So all kinds of people are there. Nobody can ever be absolutely sure as to whose lapse or error it was that something was left in the body. It may be of the nurses; it may be of somebody else's.

It is very unfortunate. But nobody can ever be sure as to whose lapse it was. Even if the matter is taken up, it is impossible to prove out of a group of persons whose momentary error it was. That was one thing. Other facts too were mentioned. So far as Dr Gaitonde was concerned, it was quite clear, looking at it from the strictest point of view, that nothing in the nature of any proof could be brought against him. All his reputation was in his favour, of being an extraordinarily careful man. Apart from being an able surgeon, he is a very careful man.

So we felt that it was not right to take this matter to a court of law when both in his entire record, which was very fine, and in this particular instance, there was nothing against him as far as we could gather, except vague charges. At the most, nothing could be done because no proof could be found and there was no point in proceeding with it, except, no doubt, if people wanted to injure his reputation—a very fine and patriotic man. That was the only thing left.

Mr Speaker:<sup>6</sup> They wanted to know whether at an earlier stage there was any proof to show that these forceps which were found in the cremation ground were really in the dead body or not.

4. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Dehra Dun, Uttar Pradesh.

5. Narayan Ganesh Goray, Praja Socialist Party Member from Poona.

6. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

JN: As I ventured to say, it is very very difficult to prove. In fact, it is not even provable that these forceps belonged to the Hospital. Nobody can say; nothing can be proved about this matter.<sup>7</sup>

7. Nehru was anxious to help Gaitonde in this case. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 306-307.

#### 49. To B.D. Jatti<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1958

My dear Jatti,<sup>2</sup>

This is in continuation of my letter to you of August 26th about the All India Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition at Mysore at the time of the *Dasara*.

I have consulted my colleagues here. I am told that on previous occasions, we have not encouraged invitations being sent to foreign countries to participate in such exhibitions. On one or two occasions when foreign embassies were approached for such participation, very few of them took any interest. Sometimes, only the USSR and the USA put up some stalls, and they were chiefly for propaganda purposes.

I have also consulted the Commerce and Industry Ministry, and they are not interested in foreign participation in these exhibitions. Also, I might add that it is not desirable for State Governments to approach foreign missions directly.

As a matter of fact, we are having a big exhibition in Delhi in October next.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Mysore.



## 50. Training of Foreign Service Probationers<sup>1</sup>

I had a talk today with the Foreign Service probationers who are soon leaving after their preliminary training. I asked them about their course of training. It seemed to me, and to them, that this training was much too scrappy. They are being sent to some districts where they are supposed generally to look around and see the community development work. It might perhaps give them some little idea of this work, but it did not go far. Then, some of them were sent to places where the language was not known to them, with the result that they could not easily mix with the people in the rural areas. It appeared that it was left to the District Magistrate to arrange for them as he thought best.

2. The training for some weeks in our Ministry also appeared to be rather vague and without much profit.

3. I wonder if it is at all worthwhile now to send these probationers to Oxford and Cambridge. The utility of these universities for our probationers appears to me not too great now.

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, N.R. Pillai, Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt and Special Secretary B.N. Chakravarty, 29 August 1958. JN Collection.

## 51. Civic Problems of Delhi<sup>1</sup>

I met the Secretary of the Health Ministry, Shri V.K.B. Pillai, today and discussed various matters connected with his Ministry with him. He gave me two notes, copies of which I enclose.

2. One of these deals with the Delhi Development Authority, and the other gives a list of the various authorities concerned with the question of floods, water supply, drainage, irrigation, etc.

3. I should like you to look into these matters and discuss them with the Ministries concerned. Thus, if it is true, as stated in Shri Pillai's note, that for all practical purposes, the DDA has very little work to do and maintains a big organisation for doing nothing, then obviously some steps should be taken to put an end to this state of affairs.

4. Then again it is stated in these notes that certain proposals for declaring parts of Delhi as "development areas" were sent to the Corporation in June 1958. No reply has yet been received. As a result, no areas have been declared

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 30 August 1958. File No. 28(7)/56-65-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

as “development areas”. This manner of working is hardly to be commended. Here is a special authority created to do special work rather urgently, and months and almost years pass before even the initial steps are taken about declaring areas. If the Act says that the Corporation should be consulted, it should certainly be consulted, but this does not mean waiting indefinitely for its reply. They should be told that if the reply does not come within a certain period, it will be presumed that they agree. The Health Ministry quietly waiting for something to happen does not thereby exhibit that eagerness for undertaking work which one would expect of it.

5. As for the second note, it does seem to me desirable that some steps should be taken to make this subject of water supply, floods, drainage and irrigation more amenable to control, and a small committee should be created. Whether the committee should be as suggested by Shri Pillai or somewhat different from that is another matter but it should be a small committee. I suggest that you confer with the various Departments, etc., concerned and make recommendations afterwards to me which may be put up before the Cabinet.<sup>2</sup>

6. I am sending copies of these two notes to the Home Minister also.

2. See also *post*, pp. 315-317.

## 52. Rupee and the Paise: Dot Can be Confusing<sup>1</sup>

I find that when any amount is given in figures, the *naiye* paise are separated from the main figure by a dot. This is perfectly correct. But sometimes the division between the two is not clear enough and it is confusing. Could not a somewhat better system be evolved? For instance they could be separated by two brief lines (=), thus; 10,125=73. You might consult others as to the best way to write these figures and then circulate to all the Ministries and Departments.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to Cabinet Secretary Vishnu Sahay, 30 August 1958. File No.37 (17)/56-59-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Vishnu Sahay replied on 9 October 1958 that after discussions with the Comptroller and Auditor General, the Reserve Bank and the Indian and Exchange Banks Associations, the Ministry of Finance had suggested that a slanting stroke might be read as one (1) and the symbol (=) meant “equal to”. Sahay wrote that it was decided to continue the existing practice of using the dot with the Government and the RBI. The public might experiment with the other options. He added that the divergent practices had not caused any difficulty in the USA and European countries.



### 53. Complexities of Secretariat Procedures<sup>1</sup>

I have been functioning as Prime Minister for more than 11 years, an unusually long time, and yet I am still only partially acquainted with the complexities of the Secretariat procedures. From time to time these procedures have come up for examination by the Cabinet or Special Committees with a view to improving and modernising them. Something has been done but, in actual practice, the results have been very limited. We have got an Organisation and Methods Division which, no doubt, does some good work and, to some extent, has helped in speeding up procedures. Nevertheless, I do not have a sensation of a marked change having taken place.

2. It is true that the work done by the Government of India has grown enormously since Independence. All kinds of new avenues of work have opened up, new Ministries and new Departments, and the old Ministries and Departments have had to deal with a large quantity of new work. That has happened in most countries of the world, but it is understandable that in a country changing over from a subordinate status to independence, this expansion should be even more marked. The work done by our External Affairs Ministry and our foreign Missions is almost entirely new. Previously there was a Political Department dealing with some frontier problems and there were Missions in London and Washington. Now a vast apparatus of foreign Missions has grown up and entirely new types of problems have to be dealt with at headquarters. The world moves from crisis to crisis, and these international crises have to be dealt with by the External Affairs Ministry and by our Missions abroad.

3. There are other entirely new Ministries: Rehabilitation, Irrigation and Power, Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, Steel, Mines and Fuel, Community Development, Atomic Energy Department, etc. Some of the old Ministries have extended their scope enormously, like Finance, Commerce and Industry, Defence, Food and Agriculture, Home Affairs, Transport and Communications, Railways, etc. Indeed, many of these Ministries probably do more work than the whole of the Government of India did previously; each one controls an empire, if I may say so. Then there is the Planning Commission which has also shown a marked capacity for expansion. This growth is natural because of our planning, industrial development, agricultural and river valley schemes, educational advance, social services and so much else that we are undertaking. Defence previously was just an offshoot of the United Kingdom's organisation of Defence. Now it functions as a major unit with an ever-growing

1. Note, 31 August 1958. File No.1(1)-F.S.P(N)/58, MEA. Also available in JN Collection and File No. 5/20/9/60-Plan (Annexure), Planning Commission.

productive apparatus and with responsibility for vital decisions, which were previously taken in Whitehall.

4. It is, therefore, understandable, that our Secretariat staff grows. Nevertheless, I am alarmed at this growth, even though this is not peculiar to our country. The other day I was reading an article in an American periodical by a well-known ex-Ambassador of the United States,<sup>2</sup> in which he criticised the tremendous growth of the State Department there. It appears that during the last half century, it has grown 50 or 60 times, that is 5,000 or 6,000 per cent, and has become a huge amorphous mass with little coherence or sense of direction. Size after a certain stage comes in the way of all efficiency, initiative or proper coordination, apart from the expenses involved. I think that we are suffering from all these consequences of size in the Government of India. Allowing for the necessities of growth, there seems to be a tendency for our governmental apparatus to go on stretching itself in all directions and thus exemplifying the validity of what has come to be known as Parkinson's Law.<sup>3</sup>

5. How are we to deal with this matter? Repeatedly some thought is given to this but, as I have said above, the results have been strictly limited. Probably this is so because we accept the basic structure and only tamper a little with its fringes. This basic structure was built up during a long period of British rule and it may have been suitable at that time. How far it is suitable now is quite another matter. I think it is time that we looked at this problem from this basic point of view.

6. Recently decisions have been taken to decentralise to some extent, and to delegate, financial and administrative authority. This is obviously a move in the right direction and indeed it should have been taken long ago. Even now the advance made is limited. It should go further. Too much centralisation in a big apparatus means delay and inefficiency. The delegation of powers by the Finance Ministry to the administrative ministry has to be adequate to prevent this centralisation and delay as well as numerous rather unnecessary references. Finance obviously has to play a vital role in checking a certain tendency of administrative ministries to spend. But it must be remembered that if this healthy check goes too far, then it not only produces delay and inefficiency but leads actually to loss. It must never be forgotten that nothing is more expensive than delay.

2. The reference probably is to Chester Bowles, the US Ambassador to India, 1951-53 and 1963-69.
3. In an essay first published in *The Economist* in 1955 and later in the book *Parkinson's Law: The Pursuit of Progress* in 1958, C. Northcote Parkinson stated: "Work expands so as to fill the time available for its completion." This was based on his extensive experience in the British Civil Service.



7. It should also be remembered that financial supervision cannot be extended to technical supervision or supervision over expert matters which can only be dealt with by the administrative ministry which is responsible. Also, the sense of responsibility of the administrative ministry should not be lessened in any way. Financial experts are not supposed to be experts in scientific, technical or like matters. I mention this because there is a tendency for Financial Advisers to pit their knowledge against expert knowledge on such issues. A Financial Adviser has to look at the financial side and to consider the financial consequences of any decision.

8. Even though decisions about this delegation of financial authority to administrative ministries were taken many months ago by the Cabinet, it took several months to frame rules and regulations to give effect to them. This itself shows how difficult it is to get out of the rut. But apart from rules and regulations, there is the broad principle which should be applied immediately it is laid down. Indeed, it is the spirit of the thing that counts. It is clear that if we had an emergency to face, such as a war or an internal national emergency, we would be defeated and collapse if we moved in this slow and leisurely fashion. We have not got a war fortunately, but we have enough of internal problems requiring quick decisions and speed in implementation. Therefore, a balance has to be struck between absolutely necessary financial checks and the time and expense involved in unnecessary references. This is laid down in the Cabinet decision and the spirit of this must be followed. Apart from the detailed working out of it, everyone should realise that we must move rapidly, subject always to the inevitable checks, which should be reduced to the minimum.

9. The devolution of financial authority to the administrative ministries involves some kind of delegation of both financial and administrative authority at other executive levels even within the administrative ministries. This is an essential part of this devolution or delegation. Otherwise, the same delays and wastage will occur. This again involves a review of the organisation of Ministries and Departments.

10. In British time, the Secretariat consisted of the directing staff, which was largely impermanent, and a permanent subordinate establishment, known as the "office". This arrangement more or less continues now, and the "office" consists of clerks in two divisions, Assistants and Section Officers. These clerks in both divisions perform purely routine duties of collecting previous papers, maintaining books and registers and issuing letters, etc. An Upper Division Clerk is expected, in addition, to note on simple cases and assist in their disposal. An Assistant is required to collect precedents, examine relevant rules and orders, and make suggestions for disposal. A Section Officer supervises Assistants and clerks, but hardly ever makes any further contribution to the notes. In

actual practice, decisions begin only at the Under Secretary level. The redesignation of Superintendents and Assistant Superintendents as Section Officers has not brought about any marked change.

11. Thus, under existing circumstances, a case, however simple, has to pass through several levels in the hierarchy before a decision can be taken on its disposal. Step by step, it goes up to the Under Secretary, Deputy Secretary, Joint Secretary and Secretary, and then may be submitted to the Minister. This leads to considerable overlapping, duplication of notes and a good deal of waste of time at various levels. Previously when the State was more or less static, without any marked social and economic objectives, the main preoccupation of the Government was with problems of law and order. These required a variety of rules and regulations, and precedents had to be consulted. Now, the State functions in a different way, and new problems arise for which precedents are of little value. The "office" can seldom make any useful contribution in the consideration of foreign, economic, industrial and financial policies. Yet, references have to go through the whole series of officers. Again, where a policy has already been settled by the Cabinet, and it is merely a question of applying that policy, a detailed examination by the "office" is unnecessary and it results in delay and superfluous noting.

12. Various changes in designations have been made from time to time to meet the new requirements, but they have not made much difference.

13. The External Affairs Ministry is now trying to introduce, what is called, the Whitehall system in order to avoid a part of this duplication and wastage. This will require a better type of reference clerks, who may have to be given special training. Avenues of promotion should be open to them on merit. This may well lead to the elimination of one or more grades in the office.

14. This reorganisation of the office will affect the directing staff also. At present, this directing staff consists of a Secretary (sometimes, more than one Secretary), an Additional Secretary in some Ministries, Joint Secretary, Deputy Secretary and Under Secretary. Previously, I understand there was the Secretary at the head, a layer of Deputy Secretaries and a base of Assistant Secretaries. The conception of a Joint Secretary took shape somewhat later, as Departments had to be enlarged and could no longer be effectively supervised by a single Secretary. Even so, the appointment of a Joint Secretary was rather an exception to the general rule. Till 1947, the number of Joint Secretaries in the Government of India was smaller than the number of Secretaries. Now, I believe, the number of Joint Secretaries has reached the very large figure of 100. Much of their work now corresponds to what a Deputy Secretary used to do previously. Important decisions are made by the Secretary.

15. Whenever this matter of organisation has been considered, it has always



been accepted that "the principle of collective ministerial responsibility has for its counterpart the individual responsibility of one departmental head to the Ministry and the Minister; no other arrangement will be conducive either to departmental efficiency or to departmental discipline." When Shri Gopaldaswami Ayyangar put forward some reorganisation proposals,<sup>4</sup> he based them on, first, that each department should constitute a clearly manageable charge for one Secretary and, secondly, that the responsibility of the Secretary as the head of the Department should be complete and undivided. The consequence of this was that Joint Secretaries should be retained only in circumstances in which they were indispensably necessary.

16. Owing to rapid expansion and promotion, the result has been that comparatively inexperienced officers are placed in positions the responsibilities of which cannot be fulfilled by them adequately. The result is that cases are submitted to higher levels for decisions.

17. I have mentioned above some of the problems that arise when we consider the reorganisation of our administrative apparatus. In the main, they are as follows:

- (1) Responsibility should be attached to an individual for the work that is entrusted to him; it should not be diffused. Thus, the head of the Ministry is responsible for the whole Ministry, and the head of each part of the Ministry is responsible for that part.
- (2) There should be adequate delegation of powers within the Ministry.
- (3) There should be delegation of financial powers to the administrative ministry from the Finance Ministry, and the administrative ministry should have a sense of responsibility, which it hardly possesses at present when frequent references have to be made even in minor matters to the Finance Ministry. The principle of this has been accepted and, to some extent, is being applied. The Financial Adviser in an administrative ministry will be a part of that Ministry. His function is to advise on the financial aspect and not on technical questions. The administrative ministry should have certain latitude in regard to limited expenditure which often becomes necessary in a dynamic organism. Thus, the Finance Ministry exercises supervision in regard to budgets, major projects and other financial decisions which have larger

4. The Minister without Portfolio, N. Gopaldaswami Ayyangar, had submitted a *Report on Reorganisation of the Machinery of Government* in 1949. The report underlined the need for organisational and procedural changes in the set-up of government machinery since there was "insufficient coordination in the framing of policies and plans and inadequate speed and efficiency in their execution."

consequences. The administrative ministry should be fully responsible for other matters.

- (4) The system of repeated notings should be changed, and the necessary papers should be put up immediately to the officer who can deal with them in a responsible way. This may well lead to the abolition of some grades.
- (5) Promotion to the higher grades must be by merit. The development of various grades of the Services into some kind of castes should be ended.

18. I have previously said on many occasions that the whole system of *chaprasis* or peons is out of date. It is based on some kind of feudal conception where man is cheap and an officer is supposed to be a person who cannot move about. We should endeavour to introduce, on the one hand, a messenger system, and not personal *chaprasis* attached to an officer, and where references are necessary, a rapid decision can be made within a Ministry by informal conferences. Where several Ministries are concerned and a matter is being held up, the Cabinet Secretary should take the initiative in bringing representatives of those Ministries together so that a decision can be rapidly arrived at.

19. These are only some odd suggestions. The matter has to be considered much more fully and thoroughly.



## II. STATES AND UNION TERRITORIES

### (i) Andhra Pradesh

#### 1. To N. Sanjiva Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1958

My dear Sanjiva Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

I wrote to you on the 25th June 1958 about the criticism of the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal<sup>3</sup> and you were good enough to send me a reply on the 6th July. I hope you will keep me informed of this matter, more especially as to the steps you have taken. Prima facie, there were serious mistakes committed which were costly to the State. I do not think we should overlook these matters, more especially as much work was done without sanction.

You may remember that this matter was first brought to my notice by Shri V.V. Ramana, MP.<sup>4</sup> He goes on writing to me and asks me to send him a copy of the report of our engineer who was sent to enquire into this matter. I do not know what to do about this. I am not sending him that report for the present but perhaps you could send him some kind of a reply and summary of the report.<sup>5</sup>

Apart from other criticisms, what I am most interested in is the non-construction of distributaries and sub-channels as well as the non-repair of the existing ones. This means that we spend large sums of money and do not derive any profit from them and yet we go on spending more.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 17(294)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Andhra Pradesh.
3. Allegations of corruption and defective work in the construction of Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal had been made. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 371.
4. Rajya Sabha Member of Swatantra Party from Andhra Pradesh.
5. In his reply to Ramana's letter of 10 July 1958, Nehru wrote (not printed) on 14 July that engineers sent by Union Ministry of Irrigation and Power had examined the work in the Cuddapah-Kurnool Canal and presented a fairly long report. He added that in this report, there was no charge of corruption and it was stated that a number of mistakes were made which had caused loss.

## 2. To Bhimsen Sachar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1958

My dear Sachar,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 27th August. I think it will be a good thing if local bodies like the Municipal Councils and panchayats celebrate Gandhiji's birthday. But I feel a little reluctant in issuing any directions to this effect to various States. That would mean some kind of a directive from the Centre and the grace of the celebration would be somewhat limited. I should prefer the State or Municipal Councils to do this on their own initiative.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Andhra Pradesh.

## (ii) Assam

### 1. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 7, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 4, 1958. The letter I sent you about Governors' privileges was, as indicated in it, a kind of circular issued to all Governors in India.<sup>3</sup> It was thus addressed not to you specially or to Assam. Indeed, I know that the criticisms I have made in my letter have no application to Assam. But I had seen this kind of thing in some other States, and I thought the best way would be to issue a general letter to all Governors.

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Assam.
3. For Nehru's circular letter dated 28 June 1958, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 344-345.



As a matter of fact, the Governor of Assam is something far more than a ceremonial and constitutional Head of the State. He has to deal with the NEFA and the Naga Hills and Tuensang area. These are heavy responsibilities as I know well.

I think that Governors should have ADCs and should be accompanied by them as a rule. What I have not liked in some States is the rather ridiculous way ADCs behave even on very informal occasions. Also the way traffic is held up and streets lined with police. I myself have been fighting against this for a long time.

Therefore, please do not attach any great importance to my other letter to you. I see that Pataskar<sup>4</sup> has sent a long note on the functions of Governors to all Governors.<sup>5</sup> I have no doubt that Governors perform very important functions even though they are not supposed to deal directly with executive matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

5. See *post*, pp. 392-394.

## 2. To Saiyid Fazl Ali<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1958

My dear Fazl Ali,

Thank you for your letter of July 26, 1958. I have read the various enclosures which you have sent.

The two Appendices A and B do not take us very far and we cannot agree to them, but there is a good deal even in Appendix A to which I have no objection, provided this fits in in the larger framework. Thus, while we cannot agree to Nagaland being a separate country, we do not wish to come in the way of maintaining some kind of individuality as a group. They can certainly develop their own culture and keep their own land. In fact, broadly speaking, they should manage their own internal affairs.

1. JN Collection.

I agree with you that we should think more precisely about our own approach to the future of these Naga areas. We need not come to any decisions, but it would be helpful for something to be put down in writing which can be examined in every aspect.

I am sending you a cheque for Rs 10,000 as requested by you.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. Message for the 'Eastern Sentinel'<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that my friend and colleague, Shri Mahendra Mohan Choudhury,<sup>2</sup> has decided to bring out a weekly newspaper—the *Eastern Sentinel*, which will deal with the problems of our eastern frontier State. All our States have their special problems. But Assam perhaps has a peculiar set of problems which are very special to itself. It is right that people in other parts of India should know something about this beautiful and potentially rich State and its problems.

Assam is now also one of our important frontier States touching on three foreign countries—Pakistan, China and Burma. A frontier State has not only its special responsibility but has to share this with the rest of India. It is necessary therefore that the rest of India should know of these problems of Assam.

I wish the *Eastern Sentinel* success.

1. New Delhi, 26 August 1958. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of Assam Legislative Assembly from Hajo, Assam.



#### 4. Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Bill<sup>1</sup>

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A great deal of heat has been engendered in this particular matter.<sup>2</sup> I have no doubt my colleague<sup>3</sup> will deal with a number of points that have been raised. But what is all this about? Here we have been dealing in the last two years or more with a situation in the North-East which, if it had occurred anywhere else, would, I am sure, have been dealt with in a very different way. Throughout this period our objective has been not to rely so much on the force of the State, on the coercive apparatus of the State, on the armed forces, etc., but always to realise that the people whom we are dealing with were misled and had taken to wrong activities under a misapprehension or whatever you might call it. It has a long history of the past.

I have spoken repeatedly on this subject expressing not only my admiration of the people of the North-East, even those who were opposed to us and who were hostile to us, always working for winning them over, to make them integrated in mind and spirit to India and to what we stand for. I doubt and I am not aware of any instance anywhere in any country where a Government has treated with such friendliness, with such approach to winning over an insurrectionary group, as the Government of India did in regard to these elements in some of the North-Eastern parts of our country. And I can say with some confidence now that the policy we pursued has met with a very large measure of success, and it has met with success not because merely of the firmness we showed in dealing with violence and insurrection—which any Government must show because, if a Government does not, it means a spread of that violence and enormous misery to the people who suffer from it—but the other aspect of our policy was always to win over fellow-citizens, to make them feel that they were fellow-citizens, to make them feel that they were co-sharers in the freedom of

1. Interventions during the debate on the Bill in the Rajya Sabha, 28 August 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXII, cols. 1471-1474.
2. The Armed Forces (Assam and Manipur) Special Powers Ordinance, 1958, empowering the Governor of Assam and Chief Commissioner of Manipur to declare the whole or any part of Assam or the Union territory of Manipur, as the case may be, to be a disturbed area was promulgated by the President on the 22 May 1958. The Armed Forces (Special Powers) Bill, introduced in the Lok Sabha by Home Minister Pant on 18 August 1958, received the President's assent on 11 September 1958.
3. The reference is to B. N. Datar, Union Minister of State for Home Affairs, who introduced the Bill in the Rajya Sabha.

India and all that. Some people there talk of independence. When I met them some time ago I said: I quite agree with you. You are independent; you ought to be independent and you are as independent as I am, as anyone else, but independence does not mean indulging in insurrection and violence and all kinds of other misdeeds against the law.<sup>4</sup>

Any Government, whatever it is, has to deal with that situation. Now, normally the violence of, let us say the petty violence of, the dacoit or somebody is dealt with by the normal processes of the law. Where it increases and goes beyond the normal anti-social elements and assumes some kind of an organised form, it is sometimes called an insurrectionary movement. Whether it is big or small, it is another matter. Normally, when that happens it is dealt with very sternly by any State. Surely, no honourable Member here can fail to appreciate that if we had taken the hard line which normally States take in such matters, if we had taken measures which normally States take, hard measures, stern measures, we would have succeeded from the point of view of just suppressing the insurrection much more quickly but because we did not want to do that, we functioned, firmly certainly, but always with a certain gentleness, always with the idea of winning them over. That is why it took a little longer but although it took longer, that is the course, we think, which brings ultimately good results. And what is more, we have, as I said, in a large measure succeeded because the situation in those Naga Hills and the surrounding country has improved very greatly. And when I say improved, I am not talking only strictly in the law and order sense but in the sense that the people of those areas are now cooperating in restoring a sense of normality there in a hundred ways. But although they are cooperating, there are groups, small groups, misled who, not being able to function in this way in those particular areas, break out into other areas roundabout—whether it is Manipur or whether it is roundabout—and it is not an easy matter when even small groups of dacoits as in Madhya Pradesh or somewhere else behave in that way. It is not an easy matter to deal with them and one has to adopt some special measures.

Therefore, this particular measure that is placed before the House for its consideration is to deal with these outbreaks on the fringes of that particular situation, or inside it. It is a repetition of something that we have been doing; it is nothing very new. Only power is taken to deal with those people in a particular way and I do submit, far from being an extraordinary thing, it is rather less than the normal measures which a State takes on such occasions and I am quite sure that this House therefore will approve of this and realise that the policy of the

4. The reference probably is to Nehru's meeting with a delegation of Naga leaders in Delhi on 25 September 1957. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 220-224.



Government in regard to the north-eastern areas has been firm certainly as it has to be. No infirm Government can function anywhere. Where there is violence it has to be dealt with by Government, whatever the reason for it may be, because otherwise you drift, the country drifts into—if I may use the word, Fascist methods—all groups, private groups and others, indulging in violence and trying to coerce the governmental authority by organised violence. That is normally called Fascism; at any rate, it is a method adopted by Fascism and there is far too much of that kind of thing happening, although it may be said to be happening for the noblest of motives. But in fact it has the most harmful consequences. Therefore, it is necessary, where this occurs, to deal with it firmly but never, I hope, in India from the point of view of dealing with an enemy. As fellow-citizens we have to win them over but in winning them over we cannot afford to allow large numbers of people to be terrorised over by small armed bands. And that is the whole purpose of this and I do not understand why honourable Members opposite should speak in such strong terms as if something very unusual, something extraordinary, was taking place.<sup>5</sup> Thank you, Sir.

5. While various points were raised by different people regarding the Bill, the issue was thus summarised by Bhupesh Gupta, Member of Rajya Sabha from West Bengal and a leader of the Communist Party of India: "I am horrified by the cavalier manner in which the Minister of State in the Ministry of Home Affairs is trying to get this measure passed. All suggestions and all amendments from this side of the House have been given the go-by, those given even by liberal people like Pandit Kunzru could not be found acceptable to them.... I therefore strongly protest against the attitude of the Government in sponsoring this Bill in this manner without reflecting on what they are doing and, moreover, without listening to any of our suggestions."

## (iii) Bombay

1. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

5th July, 1958

My dear Chavan,<sup>2</sup>

Some days ago I sent you a copy of a letter from Indulal Yajnik<sup>3</sup> that I had received. I wanted your reactions to some of his statements as these were of help to me to reply to him. I have not yet replied, but I think I should do so in the course of the next week or so.

Apart from the major issue,<sup>4</sup> Indulal has referred to two matters. One is his charge that the economic interests of Gujarat have been neglected and the other is a reference to police firing in three places in Gujarat. He has made much of these three firings and of the fact that there was no inquiry into them. Naturally, I do not wish to deal with these matters in any detail in my reply, but some reference will have to be made to them.

As for the major issue, my own impression is that the temper of Maharashtra has not changed much, but there has been a marked change in Gujarat and also, to some extent, in Bombay city. In Vidarbha and Nagpur there appears to be still a feeling that their interests have been neglected somewhat and that if the present arrangement is disturbed they would like to have their separate State.

I would particularly appreciate your advice as to how I should reply to Indulal Yajnik.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Bombay.

3. President, Mahagujarat Janata Parishad and Member of the Lok Sabha from Ahmedabad, Bombay State.

4. The Mahagujarat Janata Parishad had been agitating for the creation of a separate state of Gujarat.



## 2. To Indulal K. Yajnik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 13, 1958

Dear Shri Indulal Yajnik,

I received your letter of the 24th June, 1958, soon after my return to Delhi from Manali.<sup>2</sup> Two or three days ago, I received your telegram also.<sup>3</sup>

I am sorry I could not reply to you earlier. I was heavily occupied on my return to Delhi after some days' absence. Another reason was your reference to some police firings. I knew nothing about these and wanted to find out the facts.

So far as any police firing is concerned, I need not tell you that it is our firm policy that such firings should be avoided. Only in circumstances which leave no choice, can they be permitted. Further, that the normal procedure should be to have a proper enquiry where such a firing takes place. You have referred to four cases of police firing. In all of these, magisterial enquiries were held. These enquiries appeared to be quite adequate for the purpose and no further judicial enquiry was considered necessary. I do not myself understand why stress is laid on judicial enquiries. The object, I take it, is to have fair enquiries. With that, I entirely agree. If the matter is serious and it is thought that a magisterial enquiry is not enough, a judicial enquiry may take place. I have received fairly long accounts of the steps taken to enquire into the four cases you have mentioned. Three of these related to incidents connected with arrests of some persons. They had no political significance, and the enquiries that were held appear to have brought out the facts adequately. It surely is not necessary to have all the paraphernalia of a judicial enquiry when the facts are clear after a proper enquiry. Cases occur sometimes of dacoits being shot down in a conflict with the police. I have not heard it suggested that there should be judicial enquiry in such cases.

The fourth case you mention is presumably about some labour conflict at Amgaon. I have had a long report of this, and this report appears to me to be carefully drawn up and to represent a fair enquiry.

Apart from this, in some of these cases, offences have been registered against the police and courts of law will, therefore, have occasion to pronounce judicially on the point whether the firing was justified or not. In one case, it

1. JN Collection.

2. Nehru was in Manali from 10 to 23 June 1958.

3. Indulal Yajnik requested for Nehru's permission to publish this correspondence.

appears that the Sessions Court has made some remarks to the effect that the police firing was not justified. This matter is being considered.

You say in your letter that the economic interests of Gujarat are not being properly attended to by the present State Government. I have been distressed at the insinuation that partiality is being shown in this matter by the Government.<sup>4</sup> I hope you will agree with me that it is not right for anyone of us to raise questions which lead to rivalries between different areas. Every State and region in India naturally desires development. The most careful attention is paid to this by the Planning Commission itself, apart from the State Governments. It is obvious that, our resources being limited, we cannot undertake every possible scheme in India. The result sometimes is that every State has her grievance. You know that there are some parts of India and some parts of every State which are far less developed than other parts. We want to help these very backward regions especially, keeping in view all the factors. It may be that opinions differ sometimes. I have heard of complaints being made by the Maharashtra part of the Bombay State that the Gujarat area has been favoured at its expense. It will be most unfortunate if we encouraged people to think in these terms.

As for your desire to have a separate State of Mahagujarat, I can appreciate your feelings in the matter. But I do not understand where democracy comes into this question and how we are supposed to have erred from the democratic point of view. The decisions taken were by Parliament and had a very big majority behind them.<sup>5</sup> I do not know of any other democratic process. In particular, where decisions affect not only a particular area, but various parts of India, or India as a whole, it is only Parliament that can decide. That decision may not be liked by some people. But, surely, it is a democratic decision, properly taken. As Prime Minister, I am bound by the decisions of Parliament. It is open to Parliament to revise any decision. You have referred to a speech delivered by

4. Yajnik replied on 18 July 1958 that in his previous letter he had mentioned the bare facts about the grievous delay in the execution of the development projects sanctioned by the Central and State Governments. He wrote that he deeply regretted the shortfall in carrying out the welfare projects affecting Cutch, Saurashtra and the tribal tracts of Gujarat.
5. For States Reorganisation Commission and Nehru's view on this subject, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 31, pp. 153-219.



the Home Minister in Parliament.<sup>6</sup> The Home Minister spoke on behalf of the Government and represented the viewpoint of Government in what he said.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. On 15 April 1958, Home Minister Pant said that "if all the Members of the Bombay Legislature, for example, tomorrow want to divide Bombay into two, I wonder if anybody can come in their way."

### 3. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 19, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 17th. This is about Baburao Kochare.<sup>3</sup>

I had a talk with Chavan on this subject, and he repeated to me what he had told you. I said to him that this was a matter entirely for him to decide, and I would not like to bring any pressure to bear upon him. Because I was personally connected with this, I did not want this man to continue in prison. I left the matter to him. This is your own advice also.

I might make it clear that I have had no letter from Lohia or indeed from anyone else on this subject. I have not seen Lohia or had any letter from him since before Independence. I think he considers it beneath his dignity to write to me. I read in an intelligence report about what Lohia had said on the subject. You might perhaps correct the impression that Chavan has about Lohia writing to me. Otherwise, leave the matter to him.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Bombay.
3. Sri Prakasa had written that Chavan was against the premature release of Baburao Kochare, who had been undergoing a six-year imprisonment in the Yeravada Prison for his attempted assault on Nehru at Nagpur in 1955. He added that the Inspector General of Prisons too had reported against Kochare, and that Rammanohar Lohia's interference in the matter had put Chavan in a tight spot. In the circumstances, Sri Prakasa suggested that the issue be allowed to lie quietly for the moment and be taken up after three months so that it could be judged on its own merit without having anything to do with the "Lohia complex". See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 28, pp. 14-15 and Vol. 42, p. 377.

#### 4. To Indulal K. Yajnik<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1958

Dear Shri Indulal Yajnik,

I received your letter of the 18th July some little time ago.<sup>2</sup> As you will appreciate, I have been heavily occupied.

In my previous letter to you, I dealt with some points you had raised. Naturally, I was particularly distressed at your suggestion that the development of the Gujarat or Saurashtra areas had been neglected at the cost of other parts of Bombay State. That seemed to me not only factually incorrect, but also a very wrong and narrow approach to these problems. I have now received some further information on this subject from the Chief Minister of Bombay. I am enclosing a copy of his letter to me dated the 25th July, in which he deals with these matters in some detail.<sup>3</sup>

In regard to some of the subjects mentioned by you, the responsibility for the projects lies entirely with the Government of India and the Planning Commission here. Thus, you have referred to oil refinery proposed to be set up at Bhavnagar. This is intimately connected with the whole intricate subject of development of our oil resources and cannot be separated from them. There would be no point in planning if we decided upon separate projects without reference to the larger plan. We are giving a good deal of consideration to this entire question of development of oil resources in India.<sup>4</sup>

Apart from this, surely you are aware of our various financial difficulties, both in regard to foreign exchange and internal finances. Every State has put forward a large number of schemes which unhappily we are not in a position to accept at present. The responsibility lies chiefly with the Planning Commission and the Government of India.

1. JN Collection.
2. Yajnik thanked Nehru for his sympathetic and detailed reply of 13 July 1958 but also wrote, among other things, that he was 'sorely disappointed' to see Nehru 'ascribing regional partiality' to him when he mentioned delay in carrying out development and welfare projects in Gujarat.
3. The Chief Minister of Bombay, Y. B. Chavan, had explained the position of various development schemes and projects and listed the difficulties faced by the State Government.
4. Chavan explained in his letter that there was a proposal for establishing an oil refinery at Bhavnagar in the former State of Saurashtra. He stated: "The party has not been granted licence under the Industries (Development and Regulation) Act, 1951. The correspondence in this respect is going on with the party and the Government of India."



In your letter, you have criticised my reference to dacoits in the context of police firings.<sup>5</sup> I did not say that any such persons had been involved in the police firings in Gujarat. What I pointed out was that it is not possible to lay down a general principle in such matters, more especially where there is a criminal case. Each case has to be examined separately. Where a case has gone to a court of law, the court of law will no doubt do it. The only general principle one can lay down is that police firing should not take place unless this becomes absolutely unavoidable in order to prevent a larger disaster.

In my last letter, I told you what the Home Minister had said in the Lok Sabha in the course of his speech was on behalf of the Government, and we naturally stood by it. But you appear to have drawn all kinds of inferences from what he said, which are hardly justified.<sup>6</sup> You will not expect me to enter at this stage into an argument as to what took place when the final decisions were taken about the State of Bombay. That matter has been repeatedly discussed, and the provisions of the Constitution were fully acted upon. So far as Parliament is concerned, the actual proposal for a bilingual State of Bombay came from a prominent member of the Praja Socialist Party.<sup>7</sup> It was supported by practically every group in Parliament except the Communist Party, and it was passed by a

5. Yajnik had written that he did not intend to elaborate any arguments or set out any facts with regard to police firings in Gujarat. He continued: "I am, however, pained to see your reference to dacoits in the context of police firings in Gujarat as not our worst enemies have ascribed any motives of dacoity to any of our victims, not to mention the fact even dacoits are generally shot below the knee with a view to catch them alive if possible, while bullets have been aimed at persons here above their knees."
6. Referring to Pant's speech in the Lok Sabha on 15 April 1958 (see *ante*, p. 304 fn. 6) on bilingual Bombay, Yajnik wrote that a "free and unfettered decision by the Bombay Legislative Assembly would not only form the firm basis of a truly democratic solution of our problem but would be in full accord with the provision of our Constitution." He reminded Nehru that the Constitution provided for previous approval of all proposals regarding the boundaries of States by their Legislative Assemblies concerned. He argued: "Unfortunately, the eleventh hour scheme of the bigger bilingual State was never approved of by any of the State Assemblies concerned. Still we were prevented from contesting the legality of the States Reorganisation Act as affecting us, as the Constitution fails to provide any remedy for the constitutional wrong done to us. I therefore, heartily welcome the clear decision of your Government to abide by and carry out any recommendation that may be made by the Bombay Legislative Assembly regarding the division of the State."
7. Asoka Mehta of the Praja Socialist Party proposed in the Lok Sabha on 2 August 1956 that a bilingual Bombay State be formed. He claimed to have the support of the PSP leader, J.B. Kripalani, S.K. Patil of the Congress, and the Independent Member Tulsidas Kilachand. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, p. 144.

very large majority. The idea that repeated references should be made to the States when any amendment is brought in Parliament, is neither practical nor required by the Constitution.

I have written to you, and I believe that is what the Home Minister said, that we have to stand by the decisions of Parliament till those decisions are reversed by Parliament itself. Naturally, the views of the representatives of the people in the State Assemblies are important, and the Home Minister advised you to try to convert people instead of constantly speaking in terms of pressure tactics. Obviously, if you succeed in the process of conversion, Parliament will have to take cognisance of the fact.

But, then, you put forward a rather remarkable proposition. You say that no extraneous considerations, national or local, would induce us or the Congress leadership to issue any mandate to the State legislators in the matter. Surely, you do not mean that anyone, least of all a national Government, should ignore national issues. That is no doubt a very extraordinary position to take up. I should have thought that, above all, national issues and national considerations count, and they are not extraneous at all. If we accept your argument, it would mean that there is no nation left at all, and each separate area goes its own way.

It has been our misfortune in this controversy that some of our friends have lost sight of the larger issues before the nation and approached these issues from a narrow parochial point of view. I do not mean to imply that there is necessarily a conflict between a national approach and a narrower one. But, if there is a conflict, our advice to the country would always be to attach greater importance to the national approach. If the nation goes, all parts of it also go.<sup>8</sup>

8. Yajnik had written that "I trust and hope that your Government or the Congress High Command would not issue any mandate implicit or explicit to the Members of the Bombay Legislative Assembly bidding them not to be converted to the view that we place before them. I submit that the Legislators should be left entirely free to obey the voice of their conscience if and when a resolution for the division of the Bombay State was placed before them. I would request you, if possible to give us a clear assurance that no extraneous considerations, national or local, would induce you or the Congress leadership to issue any mandate to the State Legislators in the matter." Yajnik requested Nehru to reply before the end of July as Mahagujarat Janata Parishad was scheduled to meet from 1 to 3 August to discuss their further course of action for the achievement of Mahagujarat.



Whether it is the Government or a party, it has to perform its duty as it thinks right. In performing that duty, it has to give earnest consideration to every aspect. It cannot, however, abdicate its functions, as you suggest. It is obvious that any kind of major redistribution of States involves not only a national issue, but also varied and sometimes separate pulls by the different areas even in a State or its neighbour States. One cannot consider the issue, therefore, in isolation from these many aspects. And I cannot possibly give you an assurance that we shall ignore these other aspects.

What we have said and what we hold by is this, that an Act of Parliament can only be changed by Parliament itself. In considering such a matter, Parliament would undoubtedly pay the fullest attention to all aspects and more especially the feelings of the people concerned.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Y.B. Chavan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 15, 1958

My dear Chavan,

Thank you for your letter of the 14th August. We have all been following with deep distress the events in Ahmedabad and in some other places of Gujarat. Even from the accounts appearing in the press, it seems clear that the police showed great restraint in handling a very difficult situation.

Our President Rajendra Babu has written to me in great distress about these happenings and asked us to examine how we could root out this trouble, apart from dealing with it as it arises.

It seems to me that it will be wise for you to have a thorough enquiry into these disturbances. Usually there is an outcry for enquiry when firing takes place. I am not much affected by it, although sometimes such an enquiry becomes very necessary. But in the present case I think that an enquiry is necessary to show the extent of the disturbances and who were behind them. People's memory is short. They forget easily the disturbances and remember only the firing.

From a number of points of view, I think such an enquiry of these present disturbances in some towns of Gujarat is desirable. Gujarat is suffering from a

1. JN Collection.

grave internal disorder. We shall have to give thought as to how best to deal with it. But in any event such an enquiry would be a step in the right direction.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. Do Not Tolerate Arson and Destruction<sup>1</sup>

Please reply as follows to this letter:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister has received your letter of the 18th August. He is unable to express an opinion about the unfortunate incidents that have taken place in Ahmedabad. But he is surprised to find that in your letter no reference is made to the widespread arson and destruction caused in Ahmedabad, presumably at the instigation of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad. It is not clear to him what your idea about the functioning of any Government is and whether, according to you, no Government should interfere however much arson and destruction should take place in a great city. That is not the Prime Minister's opinion.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 21 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. This was in reply to a letter from Harihar Khambolja, the Secretary of the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad.



(iv) Delhi

1. To K.L. Balmiki<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 1, 1958

Dear Shri Balmiki,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of July 1st. I have enquired into this matter and I am assured that only huts built since it was announced that on no account further huts will be built, have been demolished. I particularly said that care should be taken in this matter, and I was assured that this was being done. If there is any mistake about this, you can point it out.

You must realise this is meant for the good of the people living in what is called the *Bhangi* Colony. It does them no good to go on worsening slum conditions in that area. Repeated intimation has been given in the past, but this is ignored with the result that conditions become worse and worse. We cannot raise our people if we permit this continuing degradation to go on. I do not know what you mean by ulterior motive. The motive is to provide good accommodation and clean living conditions, and not to encourage slums.

You say that newly built huts should be demolished and fix a date December 1957. Surely, long before this date, efforts have been made that no further huts should be constructed there. In spite of that, others were constructed. Therefore, the date fixed, I believe, is an earlier date.

As I have said above, you can draw the attention of the municipal authorities to any mistake made about any individual quarter or hut. I have asked them to be particularly careful in this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Leader of the Delhi Provincial Municipal Workers Sangh and Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Bulandshahar, UP.

## 2. Demolition of Unauthorised Huts<sup>1</sup>

Please see Shri Balmiki's letter to me and my reply.<sup>2</sup> While the municipal authorities appear to be fully justified in demolishing these recent huts, the problem does arise as to what the people, who were living there are to do now, just before the rainy season. I must say that the municipal authorities have chosen a bad time for this destruction. If they had done it at some other time, that would have given some opportunity for alternate accommodation to be fixed up. Anyhow, I do think it is the responsibility of the municipal authorities to provide some kind of accommodation, however temporary it may be, and not leave people in the open during the rainy season. Will you please draw the attention of the municipal authorities to this matter?

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 1 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.

## 3. Temporary Accommodation for Lawyers<sup>1</sup>

These lawyers came to me today. I told them I did not quite know what to do with them. I understand that the Rehabilitation Ministry having helped them once has no intention of repeating the performance. The question at present is not one of financial help but of giving them some temporary accommodation where they can put their books, etc., which are now roofless.

2. I asked them to see the Mayor of Delhi.<sup>2</sup> Not that she can do much, but nevertheless she might be able to help in finding some temporary accommodation. I do not think that it will be feasible to give them accommodation which has been reserved for others in Shankar Market<sup>3</sup> and elsewhere.

3. However, I feel that some effort should be made to give them temporary accommodation somewhere.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 3 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Aruna Asaf Ali.
3. Situated near Connaught Place in New Delhi, Shankar Market was built in 1954. Most of the early occupants of the Market were post-Partition refugees.



#### 4. Education of Harijan Children<sup>1</sup>

Please write in reply to this. Say that I am very much interested in the education of Harijan children. I am also interested in the proper organisation of the area round about the *Bhangi* Colony. The state of that area when I visited it some time ago was deplorable.<sup>2</sup>

2. As a part of the new planning of Greater Delhi, this area will have to be paid particular attention.

3. Any proper educational scheme for the children there will have to be organised with care. It is not clear to me what organisation is looking after this. What is the Balmiki Temple Trust and how has it been formed?

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 5 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. For Nehru's visit to the *Bhangi* Colony, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 333-334 and 340.

#### 5. Methodist Church's Proposal to set up a Hospital in Delhi<sup>1</sup>

Some representatives of the Methodist Church of Delhi District came to see me today and gave a note, a copy of which I attach. Their church organisation, which is supported and financed from America, wants to set up a hospital in Delhi. They want to acquire control of the Tirathram Shah Charitable Trust Hospital and Nursing Home in Delhi.

2. It appears that the building, etc., of this institution is owned by the Life Insurance Corporation but the hospital itself is run by the Tirathram Shah Charitable Trust who pay only a nominal rent to Government for the use of the building, etc.

3. The deputation told me that they have been given to understand by the Trust people that they are prepared to agree to transfer the hospital, etc., provided

1. Note to Health Minister D.P. Karmarkar and Finance Minister Morarji Desai, 7 July 1958. JN Collection.

this hospital carries its present name. It is for the Life Insurance Corporation presumably to agree to a transfer.<sup>2</sup>

4. This is a matter to be dealt with by the Finance Ministry and the Health Ministry. I am sending this note to both of them. I have told the deputation which saw me that they should deal directly with the Ministries concerned.

5. I might add that their alternative proposal to have a new five acre site for a new hospital should not be agreed to, at present at least, as the whole question of Delhi planning is being considered.<sup>3</sup>

2. The Methodist Church had been negotiating with the Tirathram Shah Charitable Trust Hospital, which was built in 1953 with the funds procured from insurance. On nationalisation of all insurance companies in 1956, the title for its property passed over to the LIC. The note given by the representatives of the Methodist Church requested for assistance in getting the lowest possible amount for the building. Nothing seems to have come of this proposal as the hospital is still run by the Tirathram Shah Charitable Trust.
3. In case this particular hospital was not available, they requested for a plot of five acres for a new hospital possibly "the wooded area on the ridge behind Civil Lines, known as Hindu Rao Estate."

## 6. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 22, 1958

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

These terrific rains have done much damage to Delhi.<sup>3</sup> If old houses have fallen, it is not surprising. But I learn that a large number of new houses in our colonies for displaced persons have collapsed. The most distressing piece of news is that the new overbridge on the Okhla side or somewhere there has broken up. This means very great loss, I suppose. There are all kinds of rumours in the city about this bridge, that is, that it was badly made and contractors or others made money out of it at the cost of strength. These rumours may be wholly unfounded but it seems to me desirable that some highly competent

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

3. Heavy rainfall on 21 July led to the collapse of around 250 houses and death of around eight people in Delhi.



engineers should examine this bridge and give us a report as to why it should have broken up as soon as it was finished.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To Rajendra Prasad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 23, 1958

My dear Rajendra Babu,

Thank you for your letter of the 23rd July about the effect of the heavy rains two days ago.<sup>2</sup> I entirely agree with you that there appears to have been negligence in putting up these buildings. The present building occupied by Agriculture Ministry is, at the bottom, a kind of a cup, and water collects there.<sup>3</sup>

This morning, I held a conference of Ministries, officials and others concerned, and the very points that you have been good enough to mention were placed before them, as well as others. We have appointed two committees

1. JN Collection.
2. President Rajendra Prasad wrote that his visit to the Agriculture Ministry building, the new AIR studio and the Telephone Exchange after the heavy downpour of 21 July left the impression on his mind that "all the new buildings have been erected without much thought about drainage." According to him, construction of so many buildings and new colonies must have caused a great deal of disturbance to the natural drainage system. He felt that something should be done to prevent further flooding and care should be taken in sanctioning new buildings. Rajendra Prasad added that though some old dilapidated buildings had collapsed, there was no flooding in the Old City which indicated that "those people had a better appreciation of the general level of the land than our present-day engineers have."
3. Rajendra Prasad described that when he occupied 1, Queen Victoria Road (now Rajendra Prasad Road), which was next to the newly built Agriculture Ministry office, the whole compound would be flooded after a heavy rain. Besides, "the general lie of the land was such that all the water on the high grounds of Rashtrapati Bhavan and the Secretariat would naturally flow through this plot..." He added that enough precautions had not been taken in this regard.

to function immediately. One committee is for relief. The other is a committee for planning measures against floods and similar calamities.<sup>4</sup> These committees will not only deal with the present, but look into the future also.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. While a 10-member committee headed by the Mayor Aruna Asaf Ali was appointed on 23 July 1958 to collect donations for the relief of those affected by the heavy rains, another 10-member committee with Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, K.C. Reddy as the chairman was constituted to examine the adequacy of the existing drainage and sewerage systems in Delhi.

## 8. Committee for Sub-Soil Water<sup>1</sup>

I enclose a letter from Mr Walter George,<sup>2</sup> architect. He has been connected with New Delhi ever since its inception and worked under Lutyens<sup>3</sup> and Baker.<sup>4</sup> A few years ago it was Mr George who drew our attention to the danger of the sub-soil water in Delhi rising. I remember writing on this subject to the Ministries concerned. Later a committee was appointed to examine this. Mr George refers

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 26 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Walter Sykes George (1881-1962); British architect; joined Edwin Lutyens and Edward Baker in the New Delhi capital project; stayed on in Delhi and designed the St. Stephen's College campus (1930-41) and Delhi Polytechnic at Kashmiri Gate (1942).
3. Edwin L. Lutyens (1869-1944); architect and artist; member of the Royal Art Commission since 1924; hon. member of the Royal Scottish Academy; president of the Royal Academy since 1938; Member of the Committee to advise Government of India on the choice of the site of New Delhi capital project, 1912; architect for Government House, Imperial Delhi, 1912-29; works include: Whitehall Cenotaph, British School of Art, Rome, British Pavilion, Paris, 1900, New British Embassy, Washington; one of the principal architects for the Imperial War Graves Commission.
4. Herbert Baker (1862-1946); architect; works include Government House and the Capital Buildings for the South African Government at Pretoria, cathedrals at Capetown, Johannesburg, Pretoria and Salisbury, Rhodesia; practised in London and Delhi from 1913; built Secretariat and Parliament buildings for the New Capital at Delhi; one of the principal architects for the Imperial War Graves Commission; author of *Cecil Rhodes and Architecture and Personalities*.



to this committee in his letter as the Ad Hoc Committee for Sub-Soil Water. I have a recollection that a preliminary report was sent to us by this committee long ago. I had forgotten about the committee but apparently it is still functioning though it does not meet often.

Anyhow, the letter that Mr George has written is important and comes from an expert with personal knowledge of the position in Delhi. I think that you should draw the attention of the second committee appointed by us the other day to this letter and the points raised in it. Apart from this, I think you should send copies of it to the Ministry of WH&S, Chief Commissioner of Delhi,<sup>5</sup> Shri G. Mukherjee<sup>6</sup> of the DDA and others especially concerned.

I think you might suggest to our committee that they should invite Mr George to a meeting of theirs to discuss these matters with him.

Also please find out what the old committee for sub-soil water is doing and what it has thus far done.

Please write to Mr George thanking him for his letter to me which I have read and tell him that you are asking our committee to consider it.

5. A.D. Pandit.

6. Secretary, Delhi Development Authority.

## 9. Interim Report on the Drainage System<sup>1</sup>

The note attached clearly states that the report of the committee was an interim one.<sup>2</sup> From this it follows that a further and fuller report was to come later. Evidently this has not been prepared. We should ask the WHS Ministry why this committee ceased to function. Apart from the importance of this subject, the Cabinet was presented an interim report and they were entitled to a fuller report later. Mr George, in his recent letter to me, also makes it appear that he thinks that this committee exists.

In the preliminary report, three recommendations were made:

- 1) Improving the drainage system for quick removal of rain water;
- 2) economy in the use of unfiltered water for irrigation of lawns; and
- 3) lowering of sub-soil water table by pumping.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 29 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. This refers to the Ad Hoc Committee for Sub-Soil Water mentioned by Walter S. George in his letter to Nehru. See the preceding item.

What steps were taken by WHS Ministry to carry out these recommendations which were approved by the Cabinet? Indeed the Minister for WHS stated that action would be taken on the lines of these recommendations. I should like to have a note as to what action was taken since that date, that is, May 1956 onwards.

It is evident that insofar as drainage system is concerned, either no action was taken or action which was inadequate, as we have seen during the recent heavy rains, and the drainage system does not function properly.

As for economy in the use of unfiltered water, I have drawn attention to this on several occasions in the course of the last year or two and have had answers from the Minister for WHS. But even in my house I have seen no signs of economy in this respect.

Has any pumping been done in the badly affected areas?

## 10. To Radha Raman<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 4, 1958

My dear Radha Raman,<sup>2</sup>

I received your letter of the 25th July a few days ago. With this you have sent me a note on "Mass Contact", which presumably has been sent by you to a number of persons as it is a cyclostyled copy. I take it that you have sent it to the Home Ministry and the Delhi Administration. It is the latter that really is concerned with a number of things that you have written.

Much that you have written deals with problems which are well known and which have given us a lot of trouble. You refer to slums. I suppose we have given more thought to this matter than almost anything in Delhi, although I realise that the result of that thought has not been very remarkable. The whole question has been considered repeatedly not only from the short-term but a long-term point of view. A planning authority is busy drawing up a comprehensive plan.<sup>3</sup> Apart from this, temporary measures have been taken which have given some relief. The great difficulty is that these measures cannot really succeed unless the people cooperate. In fact slum improvement can take place only in

1. B.K. Chandiwalla Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Chandni Chowk, Delhi.
3. The Delhi Development Authority had, with the assistance of a Ford Foundation team, prepared the first Master Plan for Delhi for the integrated development of the city for the period 1961-81. It came into effect on 1 September 1962.



two ways. One is a complete destruction of it and new types of houses, etc., being built all over and the other is broadly on the lines of community development where the community in question is made responsible.

As regards drainage in the city, you might perhaps know that a special committee has been appointed and I am taking particular interest in their work. I think there has been much negligence in the past in regard to this matter.

You should take up questions like letterboxes and others with the Departments concerned.

As regards schoolbooks, we have recently laid down very clear rules on this subject more especially relating to Urdu.<sup>4</sup> The Home Ministry has accepted those rules for Delhi. You should try to see that they are implemented.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For statement clarifying Government of India's policy on Urdu issued on 14 July 1958, see *ante*, pp. 218-221.

## 11. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Reddy,

I have seen Sachdev's<sup>2</sup> letter to my PPS, K. Ram, dated 1st August. Reading it, it seems to me that there was surprising casualness in the follow-up of the interim report on sub-soil water. It is said that a special Executive Engineer was appointed in 1956. Presumably he has worked hard, but that is not obvious, and meanwhile this Committee hardly met. In a matter of this kind, it would have been surely cheaper to expedite the work even by having more engineers, if necessary. Two years does appear a long time for the preparation of a scheme for the improvement of the drainage system in Delhi. Possibly if we had been more wide awake we could have avoided some of the difficulties and damage we experienced recently in Delhi.

But apart from this, of course, the question of sub-soil water is one of high importance from the point of view of the future. I am glad that this matter is

1. JN Collection.

2. M.R. Sachdev, Secretary in the Ministry of Works, Housing and Supply.

being tackled with greater vigour now, and further that Walter George has been co-opted as a member of the Technical Committee.

Regarding the use of unfiltered water for lawns, I have mentioned to you on several occasions that your directions have had little effect. Certainly they have had no effect in my own house. I do not mind, and nobody should mind, if our lawns lose a little of their lustre and even dry up to some extent. We cannot take the risk of doing basic damage just for the sake of our lawns.

Brij Krishen Chandiwalla referred to certain rural areas around Delhi. I myself visited them last year and wrote about them to the Delhi Administration.<sup>3</sup> Progress there has been remarkably slow. It is said now that the Central Water and Power Commission has been put in charge of this. I hope they will function with some speed. You might interest yourself in it and find out from time to time what is being done, although this matter relates to another Ministry. If you keep me informed, I shall deal with the other Ministry.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 37, pp. 179 and 327.

## 12. Need to Check Decay of Deserted Mosques<sup>1</sup>

In the long note that Shri Radha Raman sent,<sup>2</sup> a copy of which is attached, there are two points which I should like you to take up and enquire about them. One is about the deserted mosques (at the end of page 1 of the note) and the other about schoolbooks in Urdu (page 5 of the note).

2. So far as the mosques are concerned, I presume the Rehabilitation Ministry has something to do with them, or with some of them. There is no point in allowing them to go to pieces. The Delhi Administration could discuss this matter with the leading Muslims or the Jamiat. You might enquire both from the Delhi Administration and the Ministry of Rehabilitation.

3. As for schoolbooks, the policy of Government has been laid down clearly not only by the Cabinet but by a resolution, I think, of the Home Ministry

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 5 August 1958. JN Collection.  
2. Radha Raman, Member of Parliament, had sent a note on "Mass Contact".



in regard to Delhi. You can enquire why this has not been given effect to. There is no lack of books in Urdu as the Jamia Millia publishes some of the best books for schools available in India. In regard to this matter you should write to the Delhi Administration as well as to the Corporation.

4. You might indeed send the whole note by Shri Radha Raman to the Delhi Administration. I suppose they have received copies of this themselves directly.

### 13. Growth of New Slums in Delhi<sup>1</sup>

I have read these decisions.

2. I see that a large number of old houses in Delhi have collapsed. Can we not take advantage of this situation from the point of view of Delhi planning? That is, we should acquire this area with the tumbled down houses. It is no good putting up another feeble structure there. Anyhow, whatever is done there should fit in with the plan that is being drawn up.

3. In the Planning Commission today, reference was made that new slums are being continually created round about Delhi by fresh squatters on government property. A particular reference was made to the area near the Ashoka Hotel. Opinion was strongly expressed that this thing must stop. At one time, the Delhi Administration started a special police squad to keep in touch with new constructions and knock them down. This was announced with a flourish of trumpets. I am now told that this squad has been disbanded or, at any rate, is doing some other work. When criticism was made, it was said that nothing much could be done because MPs, etc., interfere with this demolition.

4. I think this is a very extraordinary attitude to take up. MPs will interfere and, sometimes, the Prime Minister will interfere. But, whenever I have interfered, it has been to find out what is happening because people come to me, and not to stop this kind of work being done.

5. We are again told that the law for acquisition is difficult. There are some flaws and so slum areas cannot be acquired. The flaws should be removed. But, apart from this, I understand that there are hundreds of *katras* under the control of the Improvement Trust and Rehabilitation.

6. What is happening in these new buildings and the new slums that are arising is that some people, usually construction workers or from the villages, put up a shed and immediately they let it out for a premium to somebody else who resists being ejected.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 8 August 1958. JN Collection.

7. I am told that on the Grand Trunk Road, between the Bund and the Canal Road to Shahadra, there is a good deal of low-lying land which it is proposed to be developed. This land gets flooded every year. When this was pointed out, the answer was that the water will be pumped out. This is an odd answer. To develop land in the hope of pumping out water, whenever it occurs, surely is not a very wise procedure.

#### 14. To Humayun Kabir<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

16th August, 1958

My dear Humayun,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 15th August about receptions in the Dewan-e-Khas of Red Fort. The Dewan-e-Khas was chosen for receptions not because there is no other place which might be so used, but because it seemed particularly appropriate that the Dewan-e-Khas should be so used. After all, we permit tourists and visitors to go there. Why should we not use it on some rare and ceremonial occasions? I think we should.

So far as the new Town Hall is concerned, that will take a long time to be built. Even so, the desire to have some receptions in the Dewan-e-Khas would remain.

The real objectionable feature has not been the receptions in the Dewan-e-Khas, but the way these have been arranged. The municipal authorities put up all kinds of poles and lights and generally convert this beautiful place into an imitation cinema-hall. If this had been avoided, not much damage could have taken place. Perhaps, the lawns might have been affected here and there.

If my attention had been drawn to this matter before, I would have had stringent steps taken to prevent this sumptuous and unnecessary lighting, etc. Instead of this, the question of having receptions there or not was raised. I am firmly of opinion that some receptions should be given there because it is the right place for them. I am equally firmly of opinion that there should not be this vulgar display of lighting. Once we make this clear, the question of damage hardly arises.

Indeed, the reception should normally be arranged before dark with only the minimum of lighting. There should be no arches at all as previously used to

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.



be and no money should be wasted on this type of ornate decorations which merely hides the beauty of the place.

I agree that a small committee should be set up consisting of (1) the Mayor; (2) Director General of Archaeology; (3) the Chief of Protocol and (4) a representative of the Central PWD. I think the Executive Officer of the Corporation should also be included.

This committee should lay down clear rules for guidance;

- (1) The Dewan-e-Khas should not be used unless some Head of a Government or Head of a State comes here. Even then nothing should be done which involves making holes in walls or on the floors or putting up poles.
- (2) The electric lighting should be the minimum required. The beauty of the place is marred by the lighting being too bright.
- (3) Generally the reception should be in the late afternoon before dark.

Some such general rules might be framed. When a function is to be held there this committee should supervise the arrangements and see that none of their rules is broken.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 15. Slums in Delhi University<sup>1</sup>

Please see the letter from the Vice Chancellor, Delhi University.<sup>2</sup> It is clear that these squatters in the heart of the Delhi University area should not continue to remain there. But, even apart from this, certain urgency has arisen about this matter because of the Indian Science Congress which is going to be held in the University area in January next.<sup>3</sup> It will be highly improper for these squatters to remain there at that time. This will not only come in the way of the arrangements for the Indian Science Congress, but will also be a deplorable exhibition of a slum to foreign visitors right in the heart of the University campus.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 17 August 1958. JN Collection.  
2. V.K.R.V. Rao.  
3. The 46th Session of the Indian Science Congress commenced in New Delhi on 21 January 1959.

2. Please, therefore, write to the Chief Commissioner, Delhi,<sup>4</sup> as well as to the Executive Officer of the Corporation<sup>5</sup> about this matter. I do not know if the Rehabilitation Ministry has anything to do with it.

4. A.D. Pandit.

5. P.R. Nayak.

## 16. Restoration of Normal Water Supply<sup>1</sup>

There is a controversy about the sins of omission and commission which might have resulted in the sudden stoppage of water supply in Delhi today.<sup>2</sup> However that may be, there can be little doubt that the situation when it arose, was dealt with with some vigour. I went this evening to Wazirabad to see the work being done there to cut channels from the new bed of the Yamuna to the old so that the pumping engines of the water-works could have an adequate supply of water. I should like to pay a tribute to our men of the Army who, alert as ever, answered the call at the dead of night and have done their work with quiet efficiency. I should also like to pay my tribute to the hundreds and thousands of workers who have been continuously digging, night and day, to make this new channel, even when their normal hours of work were over and they were tired, so as to humour and tame fickle and impulsive Yamuna.<sup>3</sup>

1. Statement on the breakdown of water supply in Delhi, 18 August 1958. JN Collection. Published in newspapers including *Pioneer*, *National Herald* and *The Statesman* on 19 and 20 August 1958.
2. The water taps throughout Delhi went dry on 17 August 1958 when the Yamuna, which had been in spate only a few days back, receded suddenly at the Wazirabad Pumping Station and moved away from the west bank towards the east bank.
3. The Prime Minister informed the Cabinet on 20 August 1958 that Delhi's water supply position was steadily improving and that it might be possible to restore a near-normal supply within the next 24 hours. The latest report received from Wazirabad indicated that 40 million gallons of water, as against Delhi's normal daily supply of 60 million gallons had been made available at the intake wells. The Prime Minister added that the distribution was restricted to six hours on 20 August as the Army Medical authorities had insisted on maintaining an exceptionally high standard of purity to prevent any possible outbreak of an epidemic.



## 17. Water Supply in Delhi<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I hope the House might be interested to know the present position of water supply. I do not know the latest position as I have had no news for the last hour and a half. At 2 p.m. I was informed that seven units out of 11 were pumping water to the reservoir at the rate of 34 million gallons per 24 hours. The normal capacity of the 11 units is 60 million gallons per 24 hours. The chloride content of the water was low, about 7 p.p.m. This morning we had decided to invite the Army people to take charge of various aspects of this question, not only cutting the channel but also ensuring the purity of the water. Thirdly, to help wherever necessary, in pumping out water from wells, etc., wherever they might be. Fourthly, wherever necessary, to distribute water in their conveyances like hospitals and other places. The Army has been doing this. I am not quite sure but I think that they are taking over full charge this evening at about 6 o'clock. They have been discussing what to do.

At 3.45 p.m. the report was that at that time five units out of eleven were working, i.e., two had been stopped for a little while because water tended to become rather muddy. But still about 31 million gallons per 24 hours were being pumped. Water, it was stated, would be supplied for three hours from 5 p.m. onwards this evening.

Chintamani Panigrahi:<sup>2</sup> Can normal supply of water be resumed tomorrow?

JN: I do not want to say something which I might have to vary afterwards, but the House knows that they are doing their utmost and I will be quite frank with the House that we have become anxious even at the cost of inconvenience that nothing happens to the quality of water. That is the real difficulty. Of course, there is tendency for some backwash to come into the water. That is one of the reasons why we have brought the Army and all their surgeons into the picture.

H.C. Dasappa:<sup>3</sup> Is there still need for boiling water?

JN: Yes, undoubtedly water should be boiled.

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha on the water supply situation in Delhi, 19 August 1958, *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, 1958, cols. 1766-1768.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Puri, Orissa.
3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Bangalore.

Dr Sushila Nayyar:<sup>4</sup> Seven parts per million of chloride is very high. It means that water is pretty heavily contaminated.

JN: That was this morning.

4. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jhansi, UP.

## 18. Grievances of Muslims of Delhi<sup>1</sup>

Maulana Hifzur Rahman<sup>2</sup> came to see me today. He has been wanting to have an interview with me for some time, but unfortunately, I could not give it to him earlier. He referred to two or three matters as follows:

1. Whenever any Muslim festival takes place, Id or Moharrum, somebody throws crackers or country bombs. This has happened repeatedly and this causes some injury to people. Whenever this has happened, the Delhi police make a point of arresting numbers of Muslims, some of them well known and respected. They have been harassed, badly beaten in the lock-ups and kept in prison or lock-ups for months and then released.

Only once has a case been started against some Muslims in this connection. This not only failed, but, I am told, that the Judge passed very uncomplimentary remarks on the police for having started such a case. It appears that some dealers in fireworks had been arrested because they possessed some types of fireworks that were considered as country bombs.

This year also during the Moharrum some crackers or country bombs were thrown at the *Tazia* procession at the Khari Baoli. Again Muslims were arrested and indeed continue to be arrested. There were some beatings too at an earlier stage. The fact that there is no Muslim house in the neighbourhood made no difference, nor the other fact that it is not likely that a Muslim will throw a bomb at a *Tazia* procession.

But the police have developed a fixed conviction that some Muslims from Pakistan or their friends are behind these bombs or crackers. As a result, their first action always is to arrest numbers of Muslims and harass them greatly.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 21 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Amroha, and Member, Anjuman Taraqqi-e-Urdu Hind and All India Muslim Educational Conference.



Maulvi Hifzur Rahman said that this kind of treatment given to them by the police has been causing great consternation and it is, on the face of it, completely unjustified. In fact, a senior police officer admitted that they proceeded on this assumption.

I think I have previously asked you to write to the Chief Commissioner on the subject. It does not do much credit to the Delhi Police that this kind of bomb throwing should go on year after year without their finding out who does it. If they suspect any people, they can arrest them, before any of these festivals, as goondas. They take no steps of this kind, nor do they take any effective steps afterwards. Whoever may be suspected of being guilty, whether he is a Hindu or a Muslim, should certainly be arrested. But this kind of presumption seems to me quite unjustified and in any case this business of beating people in the lock-up does no credit to our police. If they cannot find out the guilty persons, they need not at least harass the innocent.

Please, therefore, write to the Chief Commissioner on this subject.

2. Maulvi Hifzur Rahman spoke to me about the unauthorised occupants of *waqf* properties. I told him that it was proposed to extend the period of limitation from 12 to 15 years to enable the *waqf* authorities to take legal action against these unauthorised occupants. He asked me what legal action they could take. The Home Minister himself had said that there was no law which could be used for this purpose. They could perhaps file a civil claim which would last years and involve great expense which they could not possibly find. He said that it would not help much if the period of limitation was extended by three years as the position would remain exactly the same. The unauthorised occupants would carry on for another three years and then establish their claim. Why should not the *waqf* properties be treated in the same way as Government properties? That is to say, the period of limitation should not apply.

It seems to me that there is much justification in what he said. You might take up this matter with the Ministries concerned.

3. His third point was about the sale of evacuee properties. Again, I told him that we had decided that evacuee property in predominantly Muslim areas in Delhi should be treated in a particular way. He said he appreciated that, but these predominantly Muslim areas had gradually disappeared and there were many such small houses spread out in Delhi where some Muslims had lived for generations. He was not thinking of the big houses but houses worth Rs 10,000 or less. Thus, he suggested that the rule applying to houses of refugees worth Rs 10,000 or less should be made to apply to Muslims who had similar houses in any part of Delhi.

When the Rehabilitation Committee considered this matter, this aspect was not brought out. I think we would have agreed to it if they had given thought to

this matter. In some ways, the Rehabilitation Committee went much further than was necessary. That is, they dealt with houses costing much more than Rs 10,000.

You might bring this matter also to the notice of the Rehabilitation Ministry.

## 19. Multi-Storey Buildings and Width of Roads<sup>1</sup>

I find that where our multi-storeyed buildings are put up, hardly enough space is left for a broad road. This mistake was made previously and was pointed out. Even now it appears to be repeated. Our conception of the width of a road must undergo a complete change. With multi-storeyed buildings, the traffic on a road increases as many times as there are storeys. Also, it is the modern practice to have double roads for vehicles with some intervening grass patch where possible; also with separate bicycle tracks and footpaths. All this involves a great deal of space. In view of the numerous bicycles that are used in Delhi, bicycle tracks are particularly important.

I hope that in future every new building that is erected will be so put up as to leave a very broad stretch open for roads. The road itself may not, to begin with, be so broad, but room for its expansion should be there.

1. Note to Minister of Works, Housing and Supply, K.C. Reddy, 21 August 1958. File No. 2(175)/57-66-PMS.



## 20. Army to Supervise Delhi's Water Supply<sup>1</sup>

Please inform the Defence Ministry and the Army authorities that I should like them to continue to be in charge of the Delhi water supply till further notice.<sup>2</sup>

For the present, we are naturally involved in the immediate difficulties of water supply. But we have to give thought also very soon to the basic problem. Whatever we may do about the Jumna water supply to Delhi, we shall have to make possibly some other arrangements as a standby. Various proposals have been made.

One proposal worth considering is to have a number of tubewells in Delhi as such standby. One advantage about these tubewells would be that by taking up water from the sub-soil, they will reduce the pressure of the sub-soil water. This was proposed previously purely from the point of view of the sub-soil. This idea can be tied up with the other idea of providing water to Delhi whenever needed. How far this can work out, I do not know.

I should like you to refer this to the committees and Ministries concerned so that they can give thought to this.

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 22 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. See *ante*, pp. 323-325.

## (v) Kerala

1. To K.A. Damodara Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 28, 1958

My dear Damodara Menon,<sup>2</sup>

I received your telegram about the tragic incidents near Trichur<sup>3</sup> as I was leaving for Calcutta. Since then, I have read further accounts in the newspapers. Naturally, we are much disturbed and concerned with this situation.<sup>4</sup>

I came back from Calcutta today and I shall consult our Home Minister<sup>5</sup> and the Congress President.<sup>6</sup> Meanwhile, may I suggest that our people should not become panicky or lose their heads in their excitement. Nothing is more necessary in a serious situation than to keep calm and composed.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President of the Kerala Pradesh Congress Committee.
3. Five persons were killed in a clash between volunteers of a communist *jatha* and a group of persons stated to be non-communists at Varandarappilly about 15 miles from Trichur on 26 July 1958. According to Mathai Manjuran, the Kerala Socialist Party leader, *jathas* from nearby villages entered the village and congregated before the Congress Mandal Office and asked the people inside the Congress office to come out. On their refusal, Manjuran said, "stones were pelted and the refugees were forced to come out" and a clash occurred in the course of which all kinds of weapons were used.
4. The political atmosphere in Kerala was beginning to get surcharged with anti-communist government feelings. There was a growing perception that the State Government was favouring communist cadre even when they were indulging in violence and hooliganism. The government's education policies too attracted strong opposition from various quarters in the State. A campaign was launched against the Education Bill as early as in May 1957. By July 1958 there was talk of a 'liberation movement' against the communist government. The Opposition in the State, especially the State Congress leaders, supported agitations against the government—be it by the students protesting against boat fare hike or the mill workers of Trichur or the coir workers of Fort Cochin.
5. Govind Ballabh Pant.
6. U. N. Dhebar.
7. Nehru also wrote (not printed) to Kuroor Nambudiripad, President of the Trichur District Congress Committee on similar lines on 28 July 1958.



## 2. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 29, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad<sup>2</sup>

I received your long letter of the 22nd July a few days ago.<sup>3</sup> Thank you for it. When I have a little leisure I might perhaps send you a reply to it.

Meanwhile I have received your letter of the 26th July. I have also received during the last few days any number of letters and telegrams from various people and organisations in Kerala complaining against governmental and police activities in Kerala. I am not in the habit of coming to conclusions about any disputed matter without fully considering all aspects of it insofar as this is possible. Because of this, when I was asked a number of questions in Calcutta recently at a press conference, I avoided dealing with these matters even though

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Kerala.

3. Namboodiripad replied at length to the question Nehru had raised in his letter of 30 June 1958: "What does the Communist Party of India stand for?" [see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 396-401]. He emphasised the need to understand certain basic truths, that is, the inevitability of class struggle which was made complicated by several intermediate strata taking intermediate positions, possibility of the struggle taking peaceful or violent forms and the need to install the common people in power. He wrote that "the essence of Marxism consists in acceptance of not only the reality of class struggle but the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat as a stage of transition from class society to classless society." Namboodiripad referred to Lenin's and Stalin's ability to distinguish in the writings of Marx and Engels between what was of universal application and what was of limited application. Similarly, while keeping the Soviet model before them, Mao Tse-tung and his comrades stood solidly on Chinese ground. He wrote that the CPI was trying to do the same in India and there was no question of their 'first loyalty' to anybody but to "the working class of our own country." He explained that while the Social Democratic Governments could not prevent the emergence of Fascism, the dictatorship of the proletariat in USSR successfully carried out socio-economic reforms envisaged by the Second International and provided a model for building a new socialist society in other countries. Their experience was summed up in the Moscow Declaration of November 1957. Namboodiripad emphasised that there were "different roads to socialism" and it was not inevitable for the political revolution to be preceded either by an armed insurrection of the Russian type or by a civil war of the Chinese type. It might happen by the development and further strengthening of parliamentary democracy which the CPI was striving for in India.

I found that there was much excitement over them.<sup>4</sup> Whatever correct facts might be, it seems to me clear that a very undesirable situation has arisen in Kerala and much violence is taking place. I am opposed to students taking part in political agitations and the like and I do not like political parties exploiting them for this purpose. At the same time, it is not possible to ignore the consequences of such an agitation by students<sup>5</sup> and the way it is treated by Government. What distressed me is the fact that very strong feelings have been aroused in Kerala and there has been far too much of violence.<sup>6</sup>

A complaint which has come to us on a large number of occasions and from a variety of people, political and non-political, has been that there is marked differential treatment between Communists and non-Communists. From such facts as have been placed before me, it seems to me that there is substance in this complaint. Your government has released many persons who had been convicted previously, some of them having been guilty of rather serious crimes, and withdrawn a large number of cases. Cases have been reported to me that some of these released persons have again indulged in violence and criminal activities. The crime figures in Kerala show a substantial increase.

4. While answering questions from pressmen at Raj Bhawan in Calcutta on 27 July 1958, Nehru rejected the idea of the Centre intervening in Kerala since "a case of mere firing does not justify such an intervention." He also said that "Kerala is not a nightmare nor do the conditions there amount to civil war. Petty conflicts between two parties cannot be called civil war." Nehru agreed that there had been "a great deal of petty conflicts in Kerala." He observed that Kerala out of all States in India was the most peaceful, generally, because the people of that State "normally do not resort to violence." Therefore, these incidents were indeed 'pitiable'. For a full report of Nehru's press conference, see *post*, pp. 602-607.
5. The students' agitation started at Alleppey protesting against the State Transport Corporation's decision cancelling certain fare concessions hitherto enjoyed by them on the Pulinkunnu-Alleppey boat route. The students' demands also included amendment to some of the "Russian model text books" and the reduction of enhanced special school fees.
6. In his letter of 22 August, Namboodiripad referred to the students' movement throughout the State. He wrote that its main feature was that it was "organised, and by no means peaceful, picketing of Government offices, transport buses and transport boats." He explained that the Kerala Government "has done our best, and gone to the farthest limit in meeting all the legitimate demands of the students and yet a section of the students has resorted to these tactics which, if our Party had resorted to in other States, your Government would have declared our Party illegal and shut us all in prison." Namboodiripad stated that he was writing "out of desperation at the fact that you give your seal of approval to these tactics by calling the Congress approach 'peaceful' ....that what the Congressmen do in Kerala is not a creditable example of your statement regarding the 'peaceful approach' of the Congress."



Then there was the case in which first class powers were taken away from a magistrate soon after he had refused to withdraw a case against some Communist even though Government wanted him to do so. I have been told that the decision to withdraw his powers was taken independently of this action of his, but the fact is that his powers were withdrawn many days afterwards and it is natural for people to connect the two. Police officers have been suspended because some Communist did not like them. Reports come to me that Communists generally are a law unto themselves and there is a feeling among many people that Communists, whatever they might do, will get away with it.

Recently came the shocking news of five people being killed by a band of Communists. I am just referring briefly to some news items that have been reaching me or that have been reported to me. There are many others. I am not for the moment judging any particular case. But, what I am concerned about is the overall impression created by all this and the deep passions that are being roused. Political parties sometimes come into conflict but the situation that has arisen in Kerala is something much deeper than that. It may be that the opposition parties have to shoulder part of the blame, but the ultimate responsibility must necessarily be that of the Government.

Another fact that has been referred to me by several persons is that the new textbooks that have been prepared for schools are being utilised for indoctrination on Communist lines.

I am writing to you rather briefly and generally to unburden my mind a little of what is troubling me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 6, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have today received your letter of the 4th August.<sup>2</sup> A day or two ago I received your note of the 2nd August with which you had sent me a copy of your letter to the Congress President, Shri U.N. Dhebar.

I have read these papers carefully. I have also received a great deal of information from a variety of sources about recent happenings in Kerala. I shall gladly consider any further information that may come to me on these subjects. I am not in the habit of coming to conclusions without trying to understand various aspects of a question. It was because of this that when I was asked at my Calcutta press conference about happenings in Kerala, I gave a vague and non-committal answer.<sup>3</sup> I find however that that answer has been misused by the Communist Party in Kerala and there has actually been some kind of interpolation in my reported answer which was not said by me.

1. JN Collection.

2. Namboodiripad had expressed relief at the termination of the students' agitation, behind which was "a particular political climate" which had been in existence in Kerala "for the last 16 months." He wrote that there was another side to the facts presented to Nehru and Central Government and the Congress High Command. He complained that if "our Government does something which is done by all other State Governments and even by the Central Government that is taken exception to by the Congressmen here and even at the Centre." Citing the example of demand for "enquiry into the firing and other police actions against the recent agitations in Kerala", he wrote that the KPCC together with certain other political parties, declared 29 July as an 'anti-repression day'. He asked whether the Congress High Command were equally anxious when similar developments took place in other States. He pointed out that when the Congressmen were demanding judicial enquiry in Kerala, Nehru was writing to Indulal Jainik how it was impossible to order an enquiry into the firings in Ahmedabad. He asked whether the Congress which was ruling at the Centre and in 13 out of 14 States could honestly claim that "what they are practising is in conformity with what they are preaching in the one State in which they happen to be in opposition." Namboodiripad referred to the KPCC's decision to defy the prohibitory order under Section 144 of the CrPC, imposed by the State Government in some areas. He also referred to an earlier statement by P.T. Chacko, the Leader of the Congress Legislature Party, to the effect that people of Kerala would be justified if they decided to refuse to pay taxes to the Government. Namboodiripad wanted to know if such things would be permitted in States where the Congress was in power.

3. See *ante*, pp. 602-607.



Previously you wrote to me a long letter about policy and the communist doctrine to which you adhered. To answer it at all adequately would require my writing at great length to you. I have at present no time to do that and I am not quite sure if it will serve any purpose our arguing matters of basic policy in regard to which we differ so much. All I shall say here is that I do not agree with your analysis and I think that this shows a curious lack of understanding of developments in various parts of the world as well as in India. That, I suppose, is a common feature of the rigidity of communist thought.<sup>4</sup>

But, apart from broad policies and objectives, there is something which I think is even more basic. That is the attitude of violence and the encouragement of ways of thinking and action which I think are violent and which inevitably lead to conflict. In fact I imagine that they are meant to lead to conflict. I do not say that Congressmen or others are very peacefully inclined or behave peacefully always. Many of them misbehave and sometimes indulge in violence. But that is a lapse which at any rate does not fit in with the broad policy they endeavour to pursue and they regret it. There is a difference between this and the deliberate encouragement of violence in thought, word and action.

I have read your letter to Dhebar Bhai. It seems to me a very feeble and inadequate explanation of the various incidents which have been referred to you. Some of these have shocked me greatly by their brutality and I have found not even a word of regret for them in your letters and statements. It seems to me that there has been a deliberate encouragement by the Communist Party of tactics to frighten and rather terrorise their opponents as well as to shield those who misbehave, if they are members of the Communist Party. I have a definite impression that this is deliberate. I think also that this is far more serious than occasional police firings which may be regrettable, but which take place sometimes in the excitement of the moment.

I am surprised at your taking exception to what Sadiq Ali, General Secretary of the Congress, said.<sup>5</sup> He has every right to criticise. You yourself have indulged in criticism of the Central Government. I do not mind that if it is properly made. But I presume you know how Communist leaders and periodicals normally refer to the Congress.

4. For Nehru's view on the rigidity of communist thought, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 35 and 554.

5. Sadiq Ali said on 4 August that the students' agitation was sudden and spontaneous, "brought on by the withdrawal of a certain concession enjoyed by a section of students for exceptional reasons." He said that the Communist Government was more and more averse to the normal functioning of opposition parties, in fact the normal functioning of the whole democratic system of government.

You object to various parties in Kerala opposing the Communist Party. Some of these parties have nothing to do with the Congress and I would imagine that when even such parties oppose you, the presumption would be that the Communist Party has been behaving badly.

Whatever the facts may be, there can be little doubt that there is at present a strong and widespread feeling in Kerala that there is little security for those who displease the Communist Party. This is something much more than political opposition and this certainly is very far removed from the atmosphere that should prevail under a democratic Government.

Your reference to civil war in a speech may have been a lapse or may be explained away, but it does appear to indicate a way of thinking that comes out in various ways as well as in various activities. There is of course going to be no civil war in India. But there may well be misdirected violence in odd places which will lead to unfortunate consequences.<sup>6</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Namboodiripad spoke of the danger of civil war, as in China, in a speech at Coimbatore (Madras State) on 3 June 1958.

#### 4. Need for Impartial Enquiry into Police Firings<sup>1</sup>

I do not want to pass judgement about any matter without the fullest enquiry. But it seems to me quite obvious that it does not require any further enquiry that, firstly, the several incidents that had happened there were peculiarly horrible, and I am not for the moment referring to firing nor have I referred to the student agitation. I have no views about it, I have not referred to it as such. I did know of student agitation, this strike everywhere, regardless of the merits of the agitation. And I dislike firing intensely on anybody except when one is absolutely compelled to. I have even suggested, and some people have criticised me for it, that it would be a good thing that normally the civil police did not possess fire arms at all, while the armed police possessed them—that too in an emergency. Some people have told me and even newspapers have said this man goes about venting his private opinions in public irresponsibly. I think that

1. Extracts from a speech at the Congress Parliamentary Party Meeting, 10 August 1958. Tape No. M.36/c, NMML.



criticism is to some extent justified. But, I cannot function with the Indian public except on the basis of frankness. Naturally I do not speak out everything I feel but I still say much more than perhaps I ought to.

I am entirely opposed to this type of demonstration which is becoming rather common; I think it is very wrong. This demonstration which leads to violence, destruction of property, injury to human beings and firing; then after firing a great deal of protest against the firing, further agitation on the basis of the firing, enquiry committees—it is all a vicious circle and go round and round and it creates ill will and actually encourages the very wrong tendency that we want to discourage. Of course I cannot, and nobody can, say that whatever happens this will not take place; obviously no, no responsible person can say that. But, broadly speaking I have come to the opinion that the civil police should not have fire arms. I think it is unfair, mind you, I am not blaming the police I am saying that the poor police are put in a very difficult position again and again. What is the poor policeman to do, half a dozen policemen or 10 policemen surrounded by thousands of excited people throwing stones at them; what is the poor policeman to do? Well, I cannot say, any average man retaliates and tries self-protection. It may be a wrong thing to do, I would say it may be an unwise thing to do. But, therefore, my sympathy is, in such a position with the poor policeman who is surrounded on all sides by this kind of thing. But, the fact is that the action taken does not end the trouble; it makes it increase, it makes it even worse.

So to come back to the Kerala situation. I have not referred to the student agitation or what the government did to it. I have not referred to the firing on the students and enquiries taking place; let an enquiry decide. But, I was referring to various other incidents and to something else—the whole background there, a background of violence, etc., and the fact that as a result of all this, as I have said, a very considerable number of people in Kerala have a feeling of insecurity, have a feeling that they are not being impartially and fairly dealt with. I have no doubt about that. You may discuss with me what the proportion is; well I cannot say what the proportion is, whether it is 40% or 50% or 45 or 35% that is immaterial. It is an adequate, big proportion, whatever that is. And it is a proportion which includes not party men, not political people, but non-political people also, considerable numbers. It is a bad thing, that kind of thing; that is what I have said. And I think all this requires a thorough probe, an impartial, independent probe.

To that some of the leaders of the Communist Party have said that I got one-sided versions and was swept away and that I should not have done that. Well, I admit that many of the versions I have received were one-sided in the sense that party men gave them, whether they were Congress men or PSP men

or RSP men or other party men. But plenty of them came from people who were not politicians at all, who have nothing to do with politics. We, therefore, said it is a development which is a dangerous development. I said in Calcutta somewhere that the people of Kerala have been among the most peaceful of India. I do believe that. But, they are no longer so. I said that look at these people who have been the most peaceful in India, indulging in this kind of thing. That is the merit of the criticism of the change. But, that is used as a kind of a testimonial to the Government: see how peaceful the people of Kerala are. You see what we are seeing in Kerala, what I fear is developing, is this violent technique of action, which is not even Communism but something—it may be allied to Communism some way—thoroughly bad I think. But, it is a destructive thing; it is terrorising people to do this or that, well, there it is.

We do not wish to interfere in a State Government and we have not thought of interfering in that way, constitutional way. Of course, I cannot guarantee what will happen in the future; we have not thought of that. But, because States have autonomy as they have and we respect that autonomy of States, that does not mean that the Government of India, whatever the Government of India might be, can ignore everything that happens in the State. That is everything pertaining to the freedom and security of the individual. After all, there is a Supreme Court here. The Supreme Court spreads out all over India and is meant to give its protection to an individual in any part of India if it is approached in the proper way. So apart from the Supreme Court, the Central Government cannot be oblivious of or ignore where fundamental inroads into the security, of freedom of individuals, in any parts of India are concerned. I am not clear in my mind, as to what the Government of India should do. But, I am quite clear that we cannot ignore such a situation. So far as we are concerned we shall pursue, proceed constitutionally and with an attempt to be absolutely impartial and not be governed by party considerations or the like....

## 5. To E.M.S. Namboodiripad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 15, 1958

My dear Namboodiripad,

I have received your telegram about the great damage caused to life and property in Kottayam, Alleppey and some other districts owing to landslides. I am sorry to learn of this. I wish I could send you a substantial sum from the Prime

1. JN Collection.



Minister's National Relief Fund. Unfortunately this fund has been almost completely exhausted. At present I have only about Rs 15,000.00 in that fund.

There have been tremendous floods in the UP and a large number of villages have been swept away.

I am issuing an appeal for the PM's National Relief Fund. Meanwhile I am sending you a cheque for Rs 12,000.00 from this fund. This almost exhausts it.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Nehru also sent the following telegram to Namboodiripad on 17 August 1958: "I have received letter of 14 August from your Minister for Land Revenue. Our Finance Ministry has made definite and generous rules for helping States to give relief in case of disasters. Your Government must have these rules. I suggest your Government writing directly to our Finance Ministry on this subject."

## 6. Propagandist Pamphlet<sup>1</sup>

I have just seen the note from the Lok Sabha Secretariat with which a pamphlet has been forwarded in regard to Kerala.

As has been stated, this pamphlet raises a novel issue, as it deals with controversial and perhaps propagandist matter. I should have liked to discuss this matter with Mr Speaker, but I am leaving Delhi tomorrow and shall be absent for three days.<sup>2</sup> My colleague, the Home Minister, however, is here and I am sure he will be available to Mr Speaker.

The question of Kerala and the situation prevailing there has been mentioned in the House. I understand that a Member of the Lok Sabha has also sent a resolution for discussion in the House.<sup>3</sup> All these questions are connected with each other and should be considered together.

1. Note to Lok Sabha Secretariat, 21 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nehru left Delhi on 22 August for Aurangabad to inaugurate the new Marathwada University on 23 August, and to address the International Conference of Agricultural Economists at Mysore. See *ante*, pp. 209-216 and 82-91.
3. K.B. Menon, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Badagara, Kerala, moved an adjournment motion on 11 August 1958 to discuss "the breakdown of the Constitution because our fundamental rights are completely neglected, our individual liberties are curtailed and our civil liberties are violated."

I have not myself been able to read the booklet which the Chief Minister of Kerala State has sent.<sup>4</sup>

4. In a 31-page booklet sent on 16 August 1958, an attempt was made by the Kerala Government to give a "true picture of what happened in Kerala during the past one month, presenting only undisputed facts brought on record in Press and official documents, leaving the people to form their own judgment in the matter."

## 7. To Morarji Desai<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 21, 1958

My dear Morarji,<sup>2</sup>

When you are in London,<sup>3</sup> you are likely to be asked questions about Kerala by Pressmen. In the last number of *New Statesman*, there is an editorial note about the strike in the *Hindu* recently<sup>4</sup> and it is stated in this connection that such things do not happen in Kerala. This shows a bias in favour of Kerala at least in the mind of the Editor of the *New Statesman*.

Personally I do not at all like the strike in the *Hindu*. But this comparison with Kerala shows considerable ignorance. I do not know if you are likely to meet the Editor of the *New Statesman*, Kingsley Martin. If you happen to meet him separately, you might say something to him about conditions in Kerala. In a public press conference, it would be better not to say too much about Kerala. What might be said however is that what concerns the Central Government are the allegations made by large numbers of people of a sense of insecurity and a feeling that the Government there is not treating various parties and groups impartially.

When in London, if it is possible, you might meet Lord and Lady Mountbatten.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Finance.

3. Morarji Desai left New Delhi on 26 August 1958 for the UK, the USA and Canada.

4. See *post*, pp. 665-666.



## 8. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 29, 1958

My dear Dhebar Bhai,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for sending me V.P. Menon's<sup>3</sup> letter. I gather that Krishna Menon<sup>4</sup> is going to Kerala tomorrow morning early for two or three days, returning Monday or Tuesday.

I would not normally consider V.P. Menon as a good adviser on political matters, especially relating to Congress. His outlook is quite different. He is clever and experienced in his own way, but his mind functions under very strict limitations.

I do not agree with the proposal he has made. Apart from questions of policy, which are important, I do not think that it is good even from a practical point of view. Any such move on our part will give far greater importance to the Communist Party in Kerala and in fact will justify what they have been saying and thus, to some extent, play into their hands. Also there will be constant controversies and even conflicts within the so-called democratic front. The Congress will certainly lose by it.

Each Party should therefore follow its own policy without coming in the way of the other Party. When the time for elections comes, it would be for us to consider how to run them and whom not to oppose.

I think it is always better to have a positive approach to a problem than a negative one. I have always said that we are not in our policies anti-anybody. We follow our own policies, which are pro-India, pro-peace, and pro-friendship with other countries, etc., where we differ from others, we express our difference and go our own way. In the larger world scene, the anti-policies do not attract and have failed. For us to join this kind of an anti-Communist front, would

1. JN Collection.

2. President, Indian National Congress.

3. In his letter to Dhebar of 23 August 1958, V.P. Menon, former Secretary in the erstwhile Ministry of States and a founder-member of the Swatantra Party, had underlined the need to form an anti-Communist Front of all parties. He added that he had discussed the matter with the leaders of different parties, other than the Communist Party, at Bangalore on 22 and 23 August.

4. Union Minister of Defence.

make us line up with many people with whom we thoroughly disagree not only in Kerala but elsewhere. It will affect our all-India policy and I think will boost up the Communist Party.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## (vi) Madhya Pradesh

### 1. To Raja Naresh Chandra Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 4, 1958

Dear Raja Naresh Chandra Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I have today received your letter of July 2nd. I read in the newspapers about the enquiry<sup>3</sup> and that as a result of this you had tendered your resignation.<sup>4</sup> More than this I do not know and I have not discussed this matter with anyone here. Nor have I seen any report of the enquiry committee. There was no particular reason why I should see it because such matters do not as a rule come up before me.

1. JN Collection.
2. (1908-1987); tribal ruler of Sarangarh State in Raigarh District (Chhattisgarh), 1946-1948; Congress Member, Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly and Minister in Madhya Pradesh Government, 1952-69; Chief Minister, Madhya Pradesh, 13 March-25 March 1969; resigned from chief ministership and quit politics.
3. The enquiry was about the 1957 general elections when Raja Naresh Chandra Singh and Mahant Lakshmi Narain both were Congress nominee for the Madhya Pradesh Legislative Assembly. Mahant Lakshmi Narain was defeated and was under the impression that Raja Naresh Chandra had a hand in his defeat in the tribal area. He came across a letter dated 2 March 1957 purported to have been signed by the Raja and approached the Executive Committee of the Congress Party in Madhya Pradesh which recommended disciplinary action on the basis of this letter. The Disciplinary Action Committee of the Working Committee was also satisfied that it was a genuine signature.
4. Raja Naresh Chandra Singh wrote that he had resigned from Ministership following an enquiry by the High Command into "allegations questioning my loyalty to the party." Soliciting Nehru's confidence, he wrote: "I can only give you my word of honour that I did not sign the letter of which I was accused of though I may not have been able to give adequate proof to support my stand."



I cannot, therefore, form any opinion on this subject. I am glad you have written to me and given me your word of honour that you did not sign some letter (I do not know about this letter).

I shall gladly meet you when you come to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Raja Naresh Chandra came to see me this afternoon. The general impression I got from my talk with him was that the enquiry held about his supporting an anti-Congress candidate in the elections was not very satisfactory. The letter that was produced is of course powerful evidence against him in so far as the signature is concerned. But normally his signature which he denied requires some more corroborated evidence. I do not myself know what kind of an enquiry was held by the Madhya Pradesh PCC. Apart from the letter, did they try to probe further into the matter? Or did our people do so?<sup>2</sup>

One obvious course would have been to send for the person to whom the letter was addressed and ask him if he had received it. Secondly, they should have tried to find out how the letter came into the possession of the person who produced it. This person, according to the Raja, has consistently been hostile to him during the past years. How did he get this letter?

There are other questions that arise too and the least that should have been done was to explore all these avenues before arriving at a final conclusion. There is the question also as to what particular motive the Raja might have to write such a letter. Merely to rely on the similarity of signatures, in the face of

1. JN Collection.
2. Dhebar wrote that he had discussed this matter with the Raja Naresh Chandra Singh on 25 July and that the Raja also realised that the signature bore fullest similarity. But he had no idea as to when he had signed it and under what circumstances. The Raja had repeatedly assured Dhebar that whatever the Disciplinary Action Committee's decision, he would cling to the Congress and "if later on he recollects about the circumstances in which he signed this letter, he will approach us."

complete denial, seems to me rather inadequate. We have to remember that the PCC no doubt dealt with it with a prejudice against him because the President of the PCC was involved. Presumably the President himself took action against him. Altogether I am not quite satisfied and I feel that some attempt should be made to find out, if possible, other facts.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### (vii) Madras

#### 1. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 1, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,<sup>2</sup>

Seth Govind Das<sup>3</sup> has been touring Madras State on behalf of the AICC.<sup>4</sup> In the course of his visit to Trichinopoly, he was told that the people there wanted the local establishment of the All India Radio to be called by the Tamil name 'Vanoly' instead of 'Akashvani', further that you had promised to do this. There was some disappointment that in spite of your promise, this change had not been brought about. I know nothing about this matter, but I am merely passing on to you this information. Perhaps, you could use both names 'Akashvani' and 'Vanoly'.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43(124)/58-PMS.
2. Union Minister of Information and Broadcasting.
3. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Jabalpur.
4. Seth Govind Das was deputed by the AICC to tour the country and make a survey of the working of Mandal Congress Committees. He was in Trichinopoly on 26 June 1958.
5. The name Akashvani continued to be used till 1971 when the DMK Ministry opted for the Tamil name, 'Vanoly'.



## 2. To K. Kamaraj<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
1st July, 1958

My dear Kamaraj,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 28th with which you sent me a note on the Ramanathapuram disturbances<sup>3</sup> and the detention of Thevar.<sup>4</sup> The note reached me in good time and posted me with the present position.

This morning I met the deputation which came on behalf of the Forward Bloc. The so-called Indian National Democratic Congress<sup>5</sup> was supposed to join the delegation, but did not do so as I was told they were ill.

In effect nobody from South India came and the Forward Bloc representatives were, I believe, from Nagpur and Delhi. They gave me the attached memorandum. I told them that these matters were entirely in the discretion of the State Government and I would not interfere. Apart from this, the facts that I had gathered indicated that P.M. Thevar had played a very undesirable part.

Ultimately, what they laid stress on was, apart from judicial inquiry and withdrawal of all cases, etc., that P.M. Thevar should be released from detention so that he could look after his case. I told them that this matter also was for the State Government to decide.

They mentioned to me that 700 persons were in prison because of these disturbances and that a large number of cases had been instituted against them. This number seems to me a big one. In such matters it seems to me better to proceed against the leaders and not to waste time and money on others. You might perhaps consider this.

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Madras State.

3. In Ramanathapuram about 40 persons were killed in clashes, which lasted for 14 days from 14 September 1957, between Maravars and Harijans. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 19, 381-82 and 816.

4. U. Muthuramalinga Thevar, also known as Pasumpon Muthuramalinga Thevar, MP, was imprisoned for instigating riots in Ramanathapuram in September 1957.

5. Indian National Democratic Congress started by C. Rajagopalachari in 1956, was later merged with Swatantra Party in March 1962. They had set up a Thevar Committee.

I referred to P.M. Thevar's repeated statements about Subhas Bose<sup>6</sup> and said that this indicated to me that Thevar was a very odd person. He was either mad or a knave because I could not understand how any person with any sense could make those statements. I also said that Thevar posed as some kind of a got who could not be touched by the police or Government.

I suppose you will be coming here for the Working Committee meeting.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. P.M. Thevar had reportedly said that he frequently met Subhas Bose and had dinner with him.
7. Kamaraj attended the CWC meeting on 12 July 1958.

### 3. To K. Kamaraj<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 1, 1958

My dear Kamaraj,

I wrote to you yesterday and sent you a copy of a letter from Venkataraman.<sup>2</sup> I have now enquired further into this matter from the External Affairs Ministry.

Members of the Administrative Tribunal are elected by name by the General Assembly of the United Nations. Venkataraman was elected a member in 1955. His term will expire in the autumn this year or thereabouts, and the question of re-election will come up during the next session of the General Assembly, that is, September-October. Our Permanent Representative in the United Nations, Arthur Lall, has informed us that Venkataraman is almost certain to be re-elected.

The Administrative Tribunal sits principally during the session of the General Assembly and deals with the work which is accumulated since the previous session. The Tribunal usually meets once in between two sessions of the Assembly. Thus, if Venkataraman is to continue as a member of the Administrative Tribunal, he will have to be in New York during the next Assembly session and probably also for two or three weeks in the course of the next year. If he is re-elected to this Tribunal and is therefore in New York at the time of the General

1. JN Collection.

2. R. Venkataraman, Minister of Industry and Labour in the Madras Government.



Assembly meeting, it will obviously be advantageous for us to make him a member of our UN delegation for the year.

I think in all the circumstances it would be desirable for him to stand for re-election to the Administrative Tribunal. He himself is obviously keen on it. I do not myself see why he should resign from his Ministership of your Cabinet, even though this would involve his absence from Madras for about two to three months in the year. This is for you to decide, of course. But I hope you will be able to adjust matters to enable him to remain a member of your Government and, at the same time, to be a member of the UN Administrative Tribunal. Perhaps, as I think I suggested, you could appoint a Deputy Minister to help in the work especially during Venkataraman's absence.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Nehru also wrote (not printed) to the Congress President U.N. Dhebar on 2 July 1958 saying that "I am mentioning all this to you as you can then have the whole picture of the Madras Cabinet."

## (viii) Orissa

1. To Harekrushna Mahtab<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 12, 1958

My dear Mahtab,<sup>2</sup>

I enclose a copy of a letter<sup>3</sup> I have received from Surendranath Dwivedy, MP.<sup>4</sup> With this letter he has sent a copy of a letter said to have been addressed by the Secretary to the Orissa Government in the Home Department<sup>5</sup> to the Manager of *The Hindu*.

I have read this letter from your Home Secretary to the Manager of *The Hindu* with considerable astonishment. It is a brief letter but, in the space of a few lines, he has made a number of statements which should never be made in a letter from a Government to a newspaper. If the press correspondent was charged with misrepresenting facts, the actual instances of misrepresentation might have been given publicity and corrected. Then, to say that the correspondent was siding with the Ganatantra Parishad may be true or not, but it is not fitting for a Government to make this charge against a press correspondent. Thirdly, the reference to the correspondent being in the "pay roll of a foreign embassy interested in the ousting of the Congress Government from power in Orissa" is also a statement which, even apart from the facts,

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Orissa.

3. In his letter of 9 July 1958, S.N. Dwivedy questioned the propriety of by the Home Secretary of the Orissa Government writing a letter to the Manager of *The Hindu* asking him to replace their correspondent N.R. Swami "in the interest of administration...preferably before August 1958." According to Dwivedy's information, similar letters had been written to the *Statesman*, Calcutta, and the United Press of India. He pointed out that it was an attempt "to control the press and make it behave in a particular manner," and also to utilise the Government machinery for the Congress Party. Dwivedy wrote that these were "serious encroachment on the rights of individual citizens and also a great danger to our democracy." He requested Nehru to investigate the matter and take the public into confidence.

4. Surendranath Dwivedy (1913-2001) General Secretary, Utkal Pradesh Congress Committee, 1946-49; Deputy Chairman, Praja Socialist Party; Member, Rajya Sabha, 1952-56; Member, Lok Sabha, 1957-1970.

5. H.K. Ghosh.



should never have been made. What the facts are is another matter and I do not have enough facts about this matter.<sup>6</sup>

Lastly, it is odd, to say the least of it, to say that the correspondent should be removed "in the interests of administration."

I am afraid your Home Department and more especially the Secretary to the Home Department of the Orissa Government has committed a grave blunder in writing such a letter which no Government should ever write. It exhibits the ignorance of such matters which is truly surprising.<sup>7</sup>

I am writing briefly to Shri Surendranath Dwivedy acknowledging his letter and stating that I have referred it to your Government. I enclose a copy of my letter to him. Will you kindly enquire into this matter and let me have the facts?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. For allegations into Swami's role in the state politics, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 427-431.
7. Nehru also wrote to the Home Minister G.B. Pant on the same day: "The Home Secretary of the Orissa Government has done a very foolish thing indeed in writing the letter he did and this has put us in a quandary."

## 2. To Harekrushna Mahtab<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 27, 1958

My dear Mahtab,

The unfortunate step that your Government or your Home Secretary took in writing to *The Hindu* about their correspondent is pursuing me still. Questions are sent for Parliament, and I am asked to explain. I have, of course, no explanation. I have tried to avoid the question being actually put, and have sent for the questioner to speak to him,<sup>2</sup> but all I could say was that this was a very

1. JN Collection.
2. However, Nehru had to answer some questions in the Rajya Sabha on 20 August 1958 regarding the Orissa Government's complaint about the movement of a certain foreign embassy employee in New Delhi and Home Secretary's letter. Nehru commented that there were hundreds of people—trade consuls, attaches, etc.,—in Delhi and they travelled about in India. He agreed that the Home Secretary did not function as he should have done and even if he had justification for writing such a letter, he had no business to write.

serious mistake which we regret. The more I think of it, the more surprised I am that such a thing should have occurred. The Home Secretary who wrote, ought to have known better, but obviously he did so under instructions from the Home Minister.<sup>3</sup> All I can say is that your Home Minister is wholly unacquainted with the proprieties of public life and he has put us in great difficulty. I hope you have spoken to your Home Minister on this subject and told him of the serious consequences which have flowed from his action.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Lingaraj Panigrahi.

## (ix) Punjab

### 1. Bilingual Nature of Punjab<sup>1</sup>

Please reply as follows to this letter from Shri Narendra:-<sup>2</sup>

Dear Sir,

Prime Minister has received your letter of July 4th.<sup>3</sup> He has nothing to add to what he has already written to you previously<sup>4</sup> and what he has said on other occasions on this subject. These matters have been fully discussed previously. If any minor adjustments have to be made, this can be done by mutual agreement. But the basis of the regional formula has to remain.<sup>5</sup> These minor adjustments, if any, are a matter for educationists to consider from the educational point of view and should not be considered from communal or political viewpoints.

In your letter you refer to two matters especially, one of these being that the Punjabi Zone should be made a bilingual zone with Hindi as the second language. It is not understood what all this means because the

1. Note to Private Secretary, M.O. Mathai, 7 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Narendra Prasad Saxena, Arya Samaj leader and acting President, Basha Swatantra Samity and Sarwadeshik Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, Hyderabad.
3. Letter not traceable.
4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 233-234.
5. For details of the regional formula, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 32, p. 209.



whole of the Punjab is a bilingual State and each zone is in that sense bilingual. Obviously, in the Punjabi Zone Hindi has to be taken up. The only question is of the timing of taking up the second language whichever it may be. This is an educational matter to be decided by educationists.

Apart from any regional formula, it is the long established policy of Government to give education in the mother tongue whatever that may be.

Yours faithfully,

## 2. To Sher Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 24, 1958

Dear Shri Sher Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 23rd July and with it a memorandum.<sup>3</sup>

You are no doubt aware that the world is passing through a very grave crisis which might even result in catastrophe.<sup>4</sup> In India we have to face a very serious food situation. It surprises me, therefore, that you should use your time and my time over a matter which seems to me of no particular importance in this context of affairs.

I have repeatedly expressed myself about the question of language in the Punjab.<sup>5</sup> I do not think I can add to what I have already said.

I do not understand what the Arya Samaj has got to do with this question and, more so, why it has left its proper sphere of religion and culture and indulged in communal politics which have brought no credit to it.

1. JN Collection.

2. Sher Singh (1917-2009); Founder President, Haryana Lok Samiti; advocated a separate State for Haryana people; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1946-62; Minister of Irrigation and Power in the Punjab Government, 1956-57; Member, Punjab Legislative Council, 1962-67; Member of Lok Sabha, 1967-79; Union Minister of State for Education, 1967-69; Union Minister of State for Education and Communication, 1969-71; Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting, 1971-74; Union Minister of State for Defence, 1977-79; author of *Haryana Aaj aur Kal*.

3. Sher Singh sent the memorandum in his capacity as Chairman, Sarvadeshik Bhasha Swatantra Samiti.

4. The reference is to the Middle East crisis. See *post*, pp. 460-511.

5. For Nehru's views on the language issue in Punjab, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 233-234.

My colleague, the Home Minister, has spoken on this issue of language on several occasions. What he has said represents the policy of Government.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 25, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,<sup>2</sup>

I had a visit from Maharaj Partap Singh,<sup>3</sup> the Namdhari leader, today. He was much excited and distressed. He told me something about a warrant issued against his son Baba Bir Singh<sup>4</sup> in connection with some murder case. He said that his community, the Namdharis, was a very peaceful and disciplined one but some wrong people had come into it and may be guilty of crimes. He himself would like them punished and help in this process. But to charge his son Bir Singh with a crime and arrest and handcuff him was monstrous. He was prepared to suffer any penalty if this was proved to be correct. According to him [the administration] there was dead set against him and the Namdharis at Sirsa because he was not approved of by Chaudhury Devi Lal,<sup>5</sup> whose orders were carried out in Hissar District. A large number of Namdharis had been proceeded against in some way or other. If his community was not approved of and had to suffer as criminals, he was prepared to migrate with them to some other country where he could live more peacefully. He begged for a proper enquiry. I told him that I could not interfere with judicial processes. All I could do was to draw the Chief Minister's attention to this matter which I proposed doing. He said that he had already met you on more than one occasion about it and that he had also seen our Home Minister Pantji.

He further added that a platoon of preventive police had been stationed in his area. His lakhs of followers were deeply grieved and upset about all this.

He said he had been accused of not supporting the Congress. As a matter of fact, he had supported it but it was true that he had not supported Chaudhury

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Punjab.
3. Maharaj Partap Singh (1890-1959); head of the Namdharis.
4. Baba Bir Singh (1923-2008); younger son of Maharaj Partap Singh.
5. Congress leader from Sirsa in Hissar District.



Devi Lal because he had not approved of him. He was not connected with politics and he was concentrating on food production and improvement of cattle. His record for food production was one of the biggest anywhere and, as for his cows, they had won numerous prizes and they were the pride of India. Some of his cows gave 75 pounds of milk daily which was a record anywhere. He wanted to live his life peacefully doing this work, but if he was harassed and put to indignity all the time, it was impossible for him to continue in this way. He sought protection and impartial enquiries.

I have written to you above what he told me. Naturally I said to him that I knew nothing about it and it was not my custom to interfere in such matters but that I would draw your attention to what he had said.

I cannot form any opinion about the charges brought against the Namdharis and, more especially, against Bir Singh because I know nothing about the matter. But Maharaj Partap Singh is the leader of a very disciplined group which has a long history of conflict with the British. He and his people played some part in our struggle for freedom. It is true I have heard complaints about him in the last year or two in the course of the Hindi agitation and otherwise. How far these complaints were true, I do not know. But, anyhow, he is a man of position and influence and commands the allegiance of a considerable body of disciplined people. That, of course, should make no difference if a crime is committed. The law must take its course. But there must be a feeling among the people that justice is being done and not that some private grievance is being satisfied. Such a case is naturally likely to draw considerable public attention and one has to be very careful that nothing is done which may reflect on the administration or make people think that it is not justice but carrying out of personal grudges by someone that is being done. I should like you, therefore, to take particular care in this matter and more particularly avoid any procedure which leads to indignity to Maharaj Partap Singh or his sons or indeed anyone. This kind of thing leaves bitter memories and has long distance consequences.

This story connected itself in my mind with other reports that I have received from persons who are entirely different and non-political. I have been worried about the Haryana area, more especially since the recent election loss.<sup>6</sup> It was not the loss of a seat which mattered much but the amazing turn-over of public opinion and the collapse of the Congress in an area which was our stronghold. There have been enquiries and various reasons have been given, all no doubt

6. The Congress candidate Mauli Chandra Sharma was defeated by an Independent, Prakash Vir Shastri, in a bye-election held on 3 June 1958 in Gurgaon parliamentary constituency. The bye-election was necessitated by the death of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad on 22 February 1958.

good. The Congress was not functioning in those days, not much organised work had been done for the election, possibly there was some sabotage, the Hindi agitation and all that. Even so, this turn-over of opinion has come as a shock to me. I have been told by independent observers recently that people in these areas in Haryana are rather sullen and very dissatisfied with the administration. Even in the Community Projects they behaved differently from what they did before. They are constantly complaining of the administration. Further that there is a fairly widespread complaint about Chaudhury Devi Lal who, it is said, bosses in those areas and makes the district authorities do what he wishes. It is said that the district authorities are weak and are afraid of him.

All this may be untrue or exaggerated. I have no means of knowing but I have got two impressions: (1) that there is widespread discontent in these areas, and (2) that there is a good deal of feeling about Chaudhury Devi Lal bossing the show in these areas and especially in Hissar District. Whatever the real facts might be, this discontent itself becomes a fact and this kind of thing spreads and poisons the atmosphere.

I would not have attached much importance to all this if some people politically opposed to you had said it to me. But, when this comes from non-political people who have no grouse against you and in fact who are broadly in your favour, then it deserves a little more attention. We cannot allow public opinion to be affected in this way and to begin to think, with or without reason, that justice is not done and private grudges are carried out. More particularly, when a large and disciplined group, like the Namdhari group, is concerned, one should move with caution and leave no chance for anyone to challenge procedures. I hope, therefore, that you will look into this matter yourself.<sup>7</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. On 29 July 1958, Nehru forwarded to Kairon a telegram dated 28 July received from Maharaj Partap Singh's followers in Nairobi expressing shock at the incident. The telegram read: "It is a pity that Indian police in this enlightened land should resort and be a party to such a mean and baseless incident. We although not being obstructive in real justice or interfering with the authority of the Government sincerely hope that nothing is done to blame or blemish the name of our spiritual leader and this would avoid a hornet's nest about everybody concerned."



#### 4. To Ghanshyam Singh Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July, 1958

Dear Ghanshyam Singhji,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of July 24 about what is called the language question in the Punjab. I have recently also received some other letters purporting to come from Arya Samaj organisations. I have never been quite able to understand why the Arya Samaj should get entangled in a matter which is obviously a political and communal matter and which in fact took this shape. I am sorry that the Arya Samaj is again raising this issue in an agitational manner. That will do no good to Hindi or to the Arya Samaj.

At a time when the world may be hovering on the brink of war and when our chief anxiety in India is in regard to food, it amazes me that this narrow communal approach should be persisted in.<sup>3</sup> On my part, in spite of all efforts, I have been quite unable to understand during all this past period why any person should get so much excited. I am convinced that basically the decision made by Government was a fair and just one. Naturally improvements and small adjustments can always be made, but this can be done with profit only when the issue is completely divorced from politics and the communal approach and is considered from the educational point of view. Further, it is easier to remedy defects which are shown up by experience. So far as I know, most of these proposals have not even been given effect to and hence the question of experience has not arisen. As for an approach on the educational plane, that surely is not done by what are called "councils of action". Already the action of the Arya Samaj in the Punjab has degraded education and culture.

I do not quite know what you wish me to do in the matter.

I am forwarding your letter to the Punjab authorities.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Former Arya Samajist and President, Sarwadeshik Bhasha Swatantrya Samiti.

3. On 24 July 1958, Nehru replied to the Secretary of Delhi State Hindu Mahasabha Ram Nath Kalia expressing similar views. He wrote that the whole agitation had very little to do with language or culture, bred ill-will and encouraged communalism. Nehru was surprised that when the country and the world were facing tremendous issues, some people should be so narrow-minded as to carry on an agitation on a subject which was essentially an educational one.

## 5. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
29th July, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

This morning a deputation of some peasants from Gurgaon came to see me. They gave me a representation which I enclose.

The matter they have raised is in a sense a very small one but, of course, for them it is big because their lands are involved. I am rather concerned about it as the charge is made that a certain normal alignment of the road was changed under pressure from a landlord who is said to be a friend of one of your Ministers. This kind of a charge gives a certain importance to the complaint because we cannot allow ourselves to be accused of being partisans to our friends and acquaintances. Also the interest of the poor peasants is far more important than that of the landlords.

I shall be grateful if you will kindly look into this matter, more especially to see if it is a fact that under the new alignment the landlord's land escapes and the land of these poor peasants is affected.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

## 6. To Maharaj Partap Singhji Namdhari<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
7th August, 1958

Dear Maharaj Partap Singh,

On the 25th July, 1958, you came to see me and made various complaints in regard to the Punjab Government or their local officers. In particular you referred to a charge that had been brought against your son Baba Bir Singh in connection with a murder. I told you that I could not interfere in judicial processes but that I would draw the attention of the Chief Minister of the Punjab to what you had said to me. You asked me to institute an impartial enquiry.

1. JN Collection.



In accordance with what I told you when you saw me, I wrote to the Chief Minister of the Punjab.<sup>2</sup> I have not yet received his reply and I am awaiting it. But meanwhile I have made some enquiries. I propose to have further enquiries made.

Such information as has come to me has rather surprised me. I do not propose to accept any charge without due enquiry. But I think it is only fair to tell you that the charges brought against you by a number of people are very serious. Apart from the enquiry that is going on in the murder of Ghaseeta Singh,<sup>3</sup> there are other serious charges including that of smuggling gold in a large way.<sup>4</sup> What has troubled me most is the impression that has been conveyed to me that the people living in the Sirsa area of Hissar District are greatly afraid of you and your associates and there is this atmosphere of apprehension there.

As I have said above, I do not propose to arrive at any firm conclusions at this stage, but these charges do indicate the necessity of full enquiries. I gather that your son Baba Bir Singh who has been implicated in the Ghaseeta Singh murder case has been absconding. This does not seem to me a proper way of facing a trial. Indeed if a person absconds, it indicates a guilty conscience. If your son is innocent, he should prove his innocence in the trial.

I find that Ghaseeta Singh, who was murdered early in June last, came to see me and presented a petition. In this petition he expressed his apprehension that he would be killed. Unfortunately that apprehension turned out to be true.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. See *ante*, pp. 351-353.

3. Five persons, including Maharaj Bir Singh, son of Maharaj Partap Singh, were arrested for the murder of Ghaseeta Singh, the rebel Namdhari leader. However Justice B. L. Goswami, Session Judge of Ferozepur, who dealt with the case, honourably acquitted Maharaj Bir Singh of the charge and observed that he had been falsely implicated.

4. Nehru wrote (not printed) to Home Minister Pant on the same day that he had received a bundle of papers in which serious charges were made about Maharaj Partap Singh and his son Baba Bir Singh. He asked Pant to pass on these papers to "our Intelligence chiefly because there is a reference to gold smuggling in them." Nehru also wrote (not printed) to Kairon on the same day: "What the true facts are I do not know. But it seems to me obvious that an enquiry should take place about these charges and counter charges. If Maharaj Partap Singh or his son is guilty of serious offence, undoubtedly steps should be taken against them."

## 7. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 23, 1958

My dear Dhebar Bhai,

Principal Jodh Singh<sup>2</sup> came to see me today and talked about Punjab affairs. He said he was much disturbed at the turn events had taken there and how communal elements were again becoming aggressive. He referred to the history of the Punjab for the last many years and how during this entire period there had been factions in the Punjab Congress. It was obvious that in spite of these factions the Congress was the only party that could bring about some measure of stability. For this reason, apart from any other, he wanted the Congress to be the party in power there.

But if the Punjab Congress itself was full of factions, then what was the way out? The usual attempt made by us was to preach goodwill and unity to everybody and expect them to listen to our advice. It had been clearly shown that they did not listen to it or act up to it, whatever they might say before us. If that was so, then the only other way was to trust the majority group in the Congress and support it. If the minority group in the Congress misbehaved, then they should be pushed out.

We had tried to soft-pedal everything with the result that the whole administration was collapsing.

He did not mention any names but his obvious argument was in favour of our supporting Partap Singh Kairon and taking steps against any members of the Congress Party who did not observe discipline.

He referred to the recent difficulties about the election of the Pradesh Congress President. If Devi Lal had been elected in the normal way, why did we upset this election?<sup>3</sup> Why were we asking Musafir to take this post when Musafir had not succeeded in maintaining any discipline during the last many years of his being the President of the PCC?<sup>4</sup>

1. JN Collection.

2. Principal, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1935-52, wrote several books on Sikhism.

3. Partap Singh Kairon had supported the selection of Devi Lal as President of the Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee against the wishes of the Congress High Command. However, Devi Lal, elected President on 23 March 1958, resigned on 4 April 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 446.

4. Gurmukh Singh Musafir was the President of Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee from 1947 to 1959.



He talked in this vein for some time and asked us to take early and effective steps to put an end to the confusion and indiscipline in the Punjab.

I am sending this on to you just for your information.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To Partap Singh Kairon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1958

My dear Partap Singh,

Two or three days ago I had a fairly long talk with your Governor-designate, N.V. Gadgil.<sup>2</sup> I told him about the background in the Punjab and the various problems and difficulties we had had to face there. I spoke to him also about the Akalis and some of the Hindu groups including the Arya Samaj, both of which had given so much trouble. Also of its effect in our Party there which had lost its unity. I spoke to him also a good deal about you and how you had struggled successfully to meet these various problems and difficulties.

Gadgil assured me that he would give you every cooperation and help. I think you should take an early opportunity to meet him and discuss various matters with him. Further that you should frequently meet him and keep him informed of developments. It is necessary that your contacts should be close and that he should know how you are feeling about matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. N.V. Gadgil was Governor of Punjab, 1958-62.

## (x) Rajasthan

1. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 9, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,<sup>2</sup>

Sheikh Abdullah's son, Mustafa,<sup>3</sup> came to see me today on his way to Jaipur. He is studying in the Medical College there, second year, I think. He was returning from Kashmir.

He mentioned to me that apparently the police were shadowing him and had paid some visits to him too to make some enquiries. I do not know exactly what happened, but I should like you to make it clear to your police and others that Sheikh Sahib's boys in Jaipur, (There are two of them),<sup>4</sup> should not be harassed in any way. I feel rather responsible for them. Their father is in detention and to some extent they must feel rather isolated and unhappy in Jaipur. We should try not to add to this isolation. I am also told that people are not encouraged to see them or are afraid of seeing them. This must isolate them still more. I hope that this kind of thing does not take place. Let them lead as normal a life as they can.

Yours sincerely,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chief Minister of Rajasthan.

3. Sheikh Mustafa Kamal (b. 1939); Member, Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, 1987-90; Minister of State for Public Works Department and Estates in the Jammu and Kashmir Government, 1987-90; Member, Jammu and Kashmir Legislative Assembly, 1996-2002; Minister of Health and Medical Education and Minister in-charge, Industries and Commerce, 1996-2002.

4. Farooq Abdullah and Mustafa Kamal.



## 2. To Hiralal Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 23, 1958

My dear Hiralalji,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 21st July and the note on the Jaipur Bench of the High Court. I have read the note.

This matter has of course come up before me in various ways previously and, to some extent, I have also followed recent news in the newspapers.<sup>3</sup> Quite apart from the merits of the case, I think that the behaviour of the lawyers in Jaipur as well as some others has completely put them out of court on this question. They have behaved like small-minded parochial people functioning like excited students. In a matter of this kind it is easy to advance good arguments for either side. Some of the arguments you have mentioned are entitled to consideration. Equally, arguments opposed to these are worthy of consideration. In such cases the custom all over the civilised world is for the matter to be referred to an impartial body for a decision, keeping in view all the relevant factors. This course was adopted and a report was produced in regard to this and various other matters. These questions have to be seen in their entirety and not separately. Broadly speaking, on the merits, I am inclined to agree with that report and its recommendations. In particular, I think that it does not lie a bit with the people of Jaipur, who have been specially favoured in regard to the capital, etc., to insist on having other important headquarters of the State in Jaipur. You know that many arguments can be advanced for the capital itself to be situated somewhere else in Rajasthan and, in fact, they were advanced. What would have been the reaction of the people of Jaipur if the capital had been established elsewhere? When such questions had been raised in other countries, such as the Union of South Africa, it was deliberately decided to have the seat of Government in one city and the High Court in another far away city because of a large number of considerations.

The people of Jaipur, having been specially favoured in many ways, should have had the wisdom not to insist on everything going to them. They should have tried to gain the goodwill of the other parts of Rajasthan so that the capital

1. Hiralal Shastri Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Sawai Madhopur.

3. The lawyers of Jaipur had been protesting against the recommendation of the Rajasthan Capital Enquiry Committee to abolish the Jaipur Bench of the Rajasthan High Court. The Committee, appointed by the Government of India, had recommended the location of the Capital in Jaipur and of the High Court in Jodhpur.

and the many things associated with the capital should grow in importance with the goodwill of Rajasthan. Instead, they are taking the narrowest view possible and create ill-will all round. It is manifest that what some lawyers and others desire in regard to this High Court Bench is entirely opposed to what others desire. To say that a few more people want this and a few less want the other has little force when considered in the larger set-up. That is neither the true conception of democracy nor of common sense in working this complicated apparatus of Government. We talk about the rights of minorities. Minorities would have no rights at all if it was said that the majorities will prevail. This applies to many aspects of our problems. Among them is the language problem. In Ceylon there has been fierce rioting over the language issue because the majority tried to impose its will on a relatively small minority.

In such circumstances it is the custom, and a right custom, for an independent body to consider all aspects and decide. It would be very unwise for Government to ignore such a decision and impose its own views, whatever they might be, in the matter.

Personally I think also that it is more important to have a strong unified High Court than to split it up. But, as I have said above, quite apart from the merits of this question, although even the merits point one way, the procedure adopted by the Jaipur lawyers has done them no credit and has imperilled the integration of various parts of Rajasthan.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. In his reply of 26 July, Shastri referred to G.B. Pant's clarification that this decision was not in pursuance of the policy of having unified High Courts but on the Rajasthan Capital Enquiry Committee's recommendations. His plea was that Rajasthan alone of all other similarly placed states should not be singled out for the abolition of the High Court Bench in Jaipur as it would result in withdrawal of convenience so far enjoyed by the most populous areas of the State without adding a bit to the other area. Shastri argued that this movement was "not merely a lawyers' affair...the others are certainly not a few." He wrote that it had become a full-fledged people's movement in spite of "unnecessary provocative excesses" by the police. He also clarified that it was not directed against Jodhpur or the western areas of the State. He sought Nehru's guidance and G.B. Pant's intervention in the matter in his letters dated 31 July and 9 August 1958 respectively.



### 3. To Hiralal Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 16, 1958

My dear Hiralalji,

I have your letter of the 16th August about the Jaipur agitation.<sup>2</sup> I need not tell you that I am greatly distressed at it. But I cannot understand what I can do in the matter. I think it is a bad and a mad agitation and wholly unjustified. Even so, because people feel about it, I would like to help where I could, but I just do not know how I can help. I would, of course, see you if you so wish it, but that too will not be helpful.

In any event, this matter is both constitutionally and otherwise in the charge of the Home Minister, Pantji. I cannot bypass him.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Hiralal Shastri Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Shastri wrote about watching helplessly the suppression of the popular voice for the past six weeks. He feared that these developments, if not dealt with properly, would sweep away not only the Congress Government but also the Congress organisation from the heart of Rajasthan.
3. Shastri replied on 19 August 1958 that a little preparedness was needed to reconsider the origin of the trouble. He also wrote that the Congress would be the greatest loser if a via media to put a stop to the agitation was not found and applied.

### 4. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 21, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,

Some days ago, about 150 Muslim peasants from Rajasthan came to see me. They were not Meos. They were in a miserable condition and recited their tale of woe. I felt a great deal of sympathy for them and in fact gave them some money to help them to go back.

We have after much difficulty done something for the Meos. But unfortunately these people were left out from those previous lists because they

1. JN Collection.

were not considered Meos, although their case is more or less the same. I think these people deserve all our help.

I have referred this matter to the Rehabilitation Ministry and they are looking into it thoroughly and have promised to do all they can. They have pointed out, however, that little can be done unless the Rajasthan Government interests itself in the matter and takes quick action to have the properties of these unfortunate people restored to them. I am, therefore, writing to you. I am not giving details, etc., which our Ministry of Rehabilitation will give.

I hope that you will take personal interest in this matter. I am much moved by the suffering of these people.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. To Mohanlal Sukhadia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1958

My dear Sukhadia,

I enclose a letter received by me from the Praja Socialist Party of Bhilwara. I am much concerned to learn that an air strip is being constructed at Bhilwara at the expense of many people living there, who are being pushed out. I am entirely opposed to this kind of thing or to any special expenditure for this purpose. I am prepared to put up with some inconvenience and go by road some distance if that is necessary. I do not want to have the burden of other people's suffering and wastage of public funds simply to enable me to go there by air. If the facts stated are correct, please stop this business of having an air strip.<sup>2</sup>

There are other points mentioned in this letter also, which require attention.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Earlier Nehru had written to Sukhadia on 10 August 1958 (not printed) that he was inclined to accept the invitation to visit the Central Police Training College at Mt. Abu, provided the airfield was ready. Nehru visited the College on 18 October 1958.



(xi) Uttar Pradesh

1. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 20, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,<sup>2</sup>

The news in the Press about the election of the Chairman of your Council<sup>3</sup> has rather disturbed me and started a chain of thought. I do not know all the facts and, therefore, perhaps it is a little premature for me to judge. Nor indeed am I very much concerned about the election of a particular person, though it is exceedingly odd that a person whom we deliberately refused to give a ticket during the last elections, should now be elected Chairman of the Council.<sup>4</sup>

What I am concerned about is the apparent disintegration of our Party in the UP and the rather extraordinary behaviour of some of your Ministers who appear to have gone about canvassing. I am afraid you give them too much rope.<sup>5</sup>

Again, it is extraordinary that there should be a group in the Government and in the Legislature, which openly looks for leadership to a person outside both and who has been twice defeated in elections by big margins.<sup>6</sup> This is a

1. Sampurnanand Collection, File No. A/125. National Archives of India. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.
3. Raghunath Vinayak Dhulekar (1891-1980); Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1937-39 and 1946-52, Constituent Assembly, 1946-50; Member, Lok Sabha, 1952-57; Chairman, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Council, 1958-64.
4. In the election for the Chairmanship of the UP Legislative Council, held on 18 July 1958, 47 out of 59 Members voted for R.V. Dhulekar, three for Algu Rai Shastri and nine abstained.
5. Algu Rai Shastri, who resigned his membership of Rajya Sabha "on the tacit understanding" that he would be elected Chairman of the Legislative Council, informed Nehru on 28 July 1958 that all this happened because of group rivalry and unhealthy factionalism in the UP Congress. He wrote: "All Ministers of State, Deputy Ministers and two Cabinet Ministers belonging to the [C.B.] Gupta group worked against the wishes and desire of the Chief Minister. Their canvassing, secret and occasionally open, was so successful that at the last moment Sampurnanandji found himself, it seems, helpless and he thought it proper to leave me to the wolves."
6. The reference is to C.B. Gupta, a faction leader in the UP Congress, who was defeated in the 1957 general election from the Lucknow City constituency and again in a bye-election in April 1958 from the Maudaha (Hamirpur) rural constituency. In both instances, he was defeated by PSP candidates.

very unhealthy sign and represents the divorce of responsibility with power or, to put it differently, the growth of complete irresponsibility. You know that I have refrained from interfering in UP politics, and I have no present intention of interfering either, but I thought I might let you know how my mind works.

I was in Allahabad a few days ago, as you know. Even there, there were these petty squabbles. Two persons who do not come out at all well of this business there are two of your Ministers, Muzaffar Hussain<sup>7</sup> and Mangla Prasad.<sup>8</sup> One can put up perhaps with a person who is able but otherwise undesirable, or with a person of integrity who has no great ability. But, what is one to do with persons who have neither integrity nor ability?

Forgive me for writing to you. I thought I must say something, even though I may do nothing. My mind really at present is full of this Middle Eastern crisis.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. (b. 1902); joined Annie Besant's Home Rule League, 1921; Secretary of the Provincial Congress Committee, 1946-50; Vice-President of the PCC, 1950-52; Member, Uttar Pradesh Legislative Assembly, 1947-67; held various portfolios such as Home, Jails, Social Security, Transport and Political Pensions in the UP Government.
8. Minister of State for Harijan Welfare and Legislative Affairs in the UP Government.

## 2. To Algu Rai Shastri<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1958

My dear Algu Rai,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 28th July.<sup>3</sup>

What happened in connection with the election to the Chairmanship of the Uttar Pradesh Council surprised and distressed me. The whole thing appeared

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament and Member, Rajya Sabha from UP, 1956-58; Party nominee for the Chairmanship of UP State Council.
3. Algu Rai wrote that he resigned from Rajya Sabha on Sampurnanand's assurance that he will be elected Chairman of the Legislative Council. He elaborated that two points emerged from this episode: (i) although Sampurnanand was in favour of Algu Rai's election as Chairman, he did not make his wishes known to the Party, neither did he attend the Party meetings; and (ii) a month-long signature campaign was carried on in an undesirable manner throughout the State by Sampurnanand's colleagues in Government belonging to the Gupta group.



to me an example of complete lack of discipline and irresponsible behaviour. In fact, I wrote soon after to have further details of this.

I really do not know what advice I can give you on this matter. I suppose the best person to advise you would be Pantji.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

### 3. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 30, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I wrote to you the other day about the election of the Chairman of the UP Council. Since then I have had further reports which have disturbed me. I now enclose a letter which I have received from one of the members of the UP Council. In this he states that some kinds of threats are held out to him because he did not fall in line with others.<sup>2</sup> This is a strange state of affairs.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. The letter was from M.J. Mukerjee, MLC.

#### 4. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 2, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

Today on my way back from Dehra Dun, I was given a letter, a copy of which I enclose. The letter deals with many matters, most of which have little to do with you or with your Government, though some deal with your Government. It is evidently written in a spirit of frustration and some very unfair things have been said in it. Nevertheless it represents the reactions of intellectual people who try to settle in the villages. Such people should normally be won over by us. I send this letter to you more as an example which deserves attention.

Perhaps you will be good enough to have one or two matters which relate to your Government looked into.<sup>2</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Nehru replied to this letter from a certain Dhruv Kumar on 17 August 1958. See *post*, p. 370.

#### 5. To Chaturbhuj Sharma<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 8, 1958

My dear Chaturbhujji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 7th August. I am glad you wrote to me.

It is perfectly true that I have felt rather strongly about what I consider certain deterioration in the Congress organisation in Uttar Pradesh. It is true that I am not intimately acquainted with Congress work in Uttar Pradesh now. But, still, I know most of the old workers and I can easily pick up threads as to what is happening. Quite a good deal of information reaches me also. In my own city and district of Allahabad, I think that the Congress organisation is in a deplorable

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee.



state. What distresses me very greatly is that the same old people continue to intrigue against each other, oblivious of the fact that nobody respects them or cares for what they do. All my efforts to improve these conditions in Allahabad have failed. Of course, I could not give time to it; I could only express my opinion. It amazes me that some of our older Congressmen should be so tied up with personal rivalries and with their passion for holding offices.

What upset me was the recent election of the Chairman of the UP Council.<sup>3</sup> This showed an utter lack of discipline and not even pulling together by the Ministers to go about canvassing. The choice of Dhulekar as Chairman was most unfortunate. Everybody knows that, after long consideration, the Central Parliamentary Board of the Congress had decided not to give a ticket to Dhulekar for Parliament. If in spite of that he is chosen, it can only mean (1) a slap in the face of the Central Parliamentary Board and (2) approval of Dhulekar's reactionary and communal policies which we do not approve of.

But, probably, his election is merely representative of the fact that a certain group wanted to show their strength.

I fear this kind of group functioning will almost put an end to the Congress in the UP. There are hardly any ideals left. The last election showed how strongly the public reacted to some features of the Uttar Pradesh Congress. If we cannot learn a lesson from them, then we have to suffer for that. We control neither the students nor the common folk. We only control an organisation which loses touch with the people more and more and thinks of itself and its factions, forgetting the people. The organisation is nothing if it has not got the backing of the people. We tend to rely more on some moneyed persons and on some kind of bossism in districts.

I was very glad when you became President of the Pradesh Congress Committee, and I am sure you have been doing good work. But the task is a very big one and will have to be faced with some vigour and almost regardless of personalities. I hope the new Mandals will show good results.

I shall gladly see you when you come to Delhi.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Considerable significance was attached to the election for the Chairmanship of the Council because R.V. Dhulekar was sponsored by the C.B. Gupta group, while Algurai Shastri was the choice of the Kamlapati Tripathi, Charan Singh and Mohanlal Gautam group. This was the first time there was a trial of strength between the two groups. It showed that C.B. Gupta still exercised considerable influence over the Congress Legislative Party.

## 6. To Chaturbhuj Sharma<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 8, 1958

My dear Chaturbhujji,

I enclose a letter in original which I have received from the City Congress Committee, Saharanpur. In this letter complaint is made about a certain person, Dr Jai Gopal. Who Dr Jai Gopal is I do not know. But if the charges made against him are anywhere near correct, action should be taken against him.

It is stated that this matter had been referred previously to the PCC without any result. No Congressman or Congress Committee should feel that a representation is ignored because of partiality. Will you, therefore, kindly deal with this matter?

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

## 7. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 15, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

Thank you for your letter of August 12th in which you have given a full account of the recent students' agitation in Lucknow. More or less I had understood what was happening, but your account has filled in many gaps.

I think that the behaviour of the Ayurveda College students has been very bad<sup>2</sup> and I do not see how you can possibly agree to their demands. Perhaps it

1. JN Collection.
2. One person was killed and three others, including two students, received gunshot injuries when the police opened fire on student demonstrators in Lucknow on 2 August 1958. Five students were also arrested following the firing. The police firing came at the fag end of the demonstrations when the students tried to march to the Kanyakubja College, whose students had refused to strike in support of and sympathy with their fasting Ayurvedic College colleagues. The students of the Government Ayurvedic College, Lucknow were on strike for six months demanding that their syllabus be made 'scientific' and that they be declared eligible for PMS Class II.



was a good thing that there was a difference of opinion between these students and the students of the Medical College and other departments of the University.

I do not myself understand how there can be an integrated system of training for Ayurveda and what is called modern medicine. Personally, I think that nobody should be allowed to practise medicine unless he has passed some test in modern medicine.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. To Dhruv Kumar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 17, 1958

Dear Dhruv Kumarji,<sup>2</sup>

A few days back when I was returning from Dehra Dun, you met me on the way by the roadside and gave me a letter. I read that letter.<sup>3</sup> Most of the issues raised in the letter were about Uttar Pradesh. I cannot comment on these. Therefore, I have sent a copy of your letter to the Chief Minister of Uttar Pradesh.

In your letter, you have complained about several matters. Some of them may be justified. Some, you might have mentioned out of annoyance. There are many things in the world and in our country which we do not like. It is not easy to set them right but still we try to do that.

You have mentioned your brother Dr Harsh Vardhan.<sup>4</sup> I enquired about him and I have been told that he has been doing good work in the Defence Science Organisation and Dr Kothari<sup>5</sup> is very happy with his work. I am sure he will do well.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Original in Hindi.

2. A resident of Saharanpur.

3. Nehru had forwarded a copy of this letter to Sampurnanand on 2 August 1958. See also *ante* p. 367.

4. See *ante*, p. 231.

5. D.S. Kothari, Scientific Adviser to the Defence Science Organisation, Ministry of Defence.

## 9. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I have been much worried, as of course you must have been, by the deteriorating food situation in the UP and the reactions of the public to it. The fact that the food situation has been a difficult one is, of course, known to all. But I have a feeling that the administrative apparatus in the UP to deal with this and like situations is very feeble. The result is that the initiative constantly passes into other hands and we are on the defensive.

There seem to be two extremes facing each other; on the Government side our officers in the districts and elsewhere trying to function purely in a law and order way and that too with no great efficiency, and on the other side, constant threats and practice of so-called satyagraha, leading often to violence and conflicts.

It is no good our blaming the Opposition, because we must be prepared for anything that the Opposition can do. Certainly what they do often enough is very objectionable, but how do we meet that? We seem to wait supinely till a law and order situation arises and then the police come out in an array. It is my conviction that a vigilant local authority can almost always prevent a crisis from arising and that a crowd should normally be met by the leaders and not merely by the police.

But, for the moment I am writing to you about the food situation. For the present, our Government is sending you what apparently you asked for, that is, an additional 25,000 tons of foodgrains for the month of September. That is in addition to the normal supply. It has been suggested also that movement of cereals from the UP to outside regions might be stopped. If you want this, we shall be agreeable to it.

But unless there is administrative vigilance and efficiency in the districts, no amount of further help of this kind will take us far. The foodgrains in the Fair Price Shops goes and is often sold at high prices elsewhere and there is very little check on this kind of cheating. Foodgrain dealers make terrific profits and again there is no check on this profiteering. I am told that when it is suggested that some check should be put, the District Magistrates and others try to find out some law for it and feel themselves quite helpless.

1. File No. 31(77)/58-59-PMS.



I do not understand this weak approach to a vital problem. I do not want District Magistrates to get entangled in cases before courts, unless there is adequate reason in some exceptional matter, but they must play a much more adequate and impressive part than they have been doing. I am quite sure that an effective District Magistrate can play a very important part in dealing with the foodgrain dealers without any recourse to the law or any extra legal method. He has great influence, and he can exercise it. He can send for the dealers and tell them that they are profiteering which will not be tolerated. He can ask them for their purchase prices and sale prices and say that he proposes to publish these figures for each dealer so that the public may know. Of course, the dealers may refuse to give him the figures. He need not force them to do so. All that is necessary for him is to inform them that he would state in his public statement that so and so is not willing to give these figures.

The point is that there is a variety of very legitimate ways of exercising pressure without going against the law, if only we are wide awake enough and have the capacity for action. More and more we become supine and expect the gods to help us or some law to come to our rescue. I am sure we could have dealt with the situation better as a rebellious Congress in the old days than we can do today with all the machinery of Government. We could have brought adequate pressure on the dealers by just publicity and building up public opinion.

Indeed I think that the Congress organisation today ought to wake up to this. They can do what I have suggested above for the District Magistrates, that is, a Committee of responsible persons can go from shop to shop of foodgrains and ask for their purchase price and sale price. If they give the information, well and good; if not, also well and good, because this will be stated publicly. The dealers should be told that we want their cooperation in this matter; if they do not cooperate, then we shall expose them to the public. I am quite sure that this approach will bring adequate pressure on the dealers and will immediately improve the situation wherever it is tried. Of course, it must be completely peaceful and without any threats.

The big dealers must be made to understand that if they profiteer in this way they cannot expect all kinds of police and governmental protection for their misdeeds. They have to behave properly and keep their prices at a reasonable level.

I am merely indicating some odd ideas that rush to my mind. You can yourself think out many much approaches. I wish I was a District Magistrate or just the President of the Congress Committee in a district so that I could function as I think people ought to function. Unfortunately I am Prime Minister which in such matters is rather a helpless position.

I do wish that I could convey to you and to others the sense of urgency and

vitality I feel about this matter. I think that your Cabinet should be in constant session, meeting daily or twice a day to consider this situation and discuss all aspects of it, that your Heads of Departments should also be constantly meeting, that full and detailed instructions should be sent to the District Magistrates, and that the Congress Committees should also function in this matter and not sit supinely and gaze vacantly at the skies.

You will forgive me for writing to you rather warmly on this subject, but I thought I should express my feelings. The matter is important and vital and we are on our trial. It almost seems that we do not realise the importance of it; or else we have lost the capacity for rapid thinking and rapid action. The virtue of rapid action is not only that it is meant to yield results, but that it makes people feel that we have life in us and can function and can deal with emergencies with some effect. It changes the mentality of the people. Nothing is so bad for a government or for an organisation as to give the public the impression of slow action or no action at all.

I met Ali Zaheer<sup>2</sup> here for a while today and, in fact, spoke to him on the above lines. Having unburdened myself to him, I have now thought fit to repeat, more or less what I said to him to you. I hope you will forgive me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. Minister of Justice, Food, Civil Supplies and Forests in the UP Government.



(xi) West Bengal

1. To Atulya Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 4, 1958

My dear Atulya Babu,<sup>2</sup>

I have just received your letter of the 2nd July.<sup>3</sup>

When I wrote to you and to Dr Roy on this subject, I did not know anything about this proposed Youth Festival. All I know was that Dr Roy had given a brief message to these people and, on the basis of that, I had given a message.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, the AICC, presumably at your request, issued a statement dissociating itself from this Festival. I was surprised that this had been done without telling me about it, as I had already issued a message. This put me in an embarrassing position and must have created some confusion in the minds of other people. Thereupon, I wrote to you and to Dr Roy.

Later, Shriman Narayan brought some papers and showed them to me. These papers included the programme issued by these Youth Festival people. I was much surprised to see this programme, as all manner of names had been included in it, and the whole thing appeared to be completely irresponsible. I

1. JN Collection.
2. President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee, and Member of the Lok Sabha from Asansol.
3. Atulya Ghosh referred to Nehru's letters to him dated 9 June 1958 about Bharat Sewak Samaj and to B.C. Roy dated 30 June 1958 about a proposed Youth Festival [printed in *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 469-473]. He expressed distress at Nehru's view that he was deliberately preventing the youth from their activities which would strengthen the Congress organisation. Ghosh explained that a copy of a letter, dated 9 April 1958 from AICC Youth Department to the Convenor of the West Bengal Pradesh Youth Congress, was sent to him drawing his attention to this Youth Festival. Much publicity was given by the Press to this event and the sponsors of the Festival sent him a programme where names of the Union Law Minister Asoke Sen, Congress President U. N. Dhebar, Vice President S. Radhakrishnan and Ajoy Ghosh, the General Secretary of CPI were mentioned. Atulya Ghosh referred the matter to Shriman Narayan who on enquiry found that none of these leaders were even approached by the organisers. Shriman Narayan issued a press statement to this effect and added that the Congress Organisation had nothing to do with this proposed Youth Festival. Atulya Ghosh sent all these papers to Nehru.
4. For Nehru's message, sent on 22 April 1958, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 467.

had no idea that there was any such programme. You have now sent me the same programme.

Having seen this programme, it seems clear to me that these people were irresponsible and had acted wrongly, and it was desirable for the Congress to make the position clear. I am sorry that I wrote to you and Dr Roy without knowing all these facts. If I had known them, I would not have written as I did. I would not have given any message to the Youth Festival people, if I had not already seen a message from Dr Roy. Anyhow, these various statements issued to the Press, that is, my statement and the Congress disclaimer, must necessarily have produced confusion. I am partly responsible and I am sorry for it. Still, I think that it would have been better if my attention had been drawn before any disclaimer had been issued. It would then have been up to me to issue a statement on the subject.

I am sorry to have pained you by what I had written. But, I must be frank with you that the impression has been growing upon me, and I have often mentioned it to you previously, that the Bengal Congress has been suffering from the malady which has affected many of our other State Congresses, that is, we begin to lose touch with the people as a whole. Sometimes, we succeed in keeping a disciplined group in the Congress. But this is done at the expense of that wider sympathy which is essential to an organisation like the Congress. Calcutta is not only the heart of Bengal, but a major nerve centre of India. Progressively, Calcutta has slipped out of the Congress influence. This has been distressing me very greatly. Young men look elsewhere; intellectuals also generally look elsewhere. To some extent, this has happened in other parts of the country too, but Calcutta's importance makes any development there of much greater significance.

I have been struggling in my mind with this deteriorating position for some time past. Generally, the result of elections also indicates this, that is, the elections from the teachers and like constituencies. But, more than everything else is just the atmosphere of Calcutta, with its ceaseless processions, demonstrations, etc. Our opposition groups hold frequent public meetings. The Congress, so far as I know, seldom has a public meeting in Calcutta. There is the coming election in Siddhartha Ray's constituency. Our opposition people are working hard there. I do not know what the Congress is doing.<sup>5</sup> It appears almost that the West Bengal Congress has given up much hope in Calcutta and thinks more of the

5. In the bye-election held on 24 August 1958 for the South Calcutta constituency, Siddhartha Shankar Ray, supported by left parties, defeated the Congress candidate Bijoy Kumar Banerjee, a veteran Councillor of the Calcutta Corporation.



## 10. To Sampurnanand<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 28, 1958

My dear Sampurnanand,

I wrote to you today about the food situation. A little later we had a meeting of our Party in Parliament where this subject was discussed. Naturally Members felt rather strongly about it. The UP Members took a special part in the discussion. This discussion will be continued on Monday next.<sup>2</sup>

One particular aspect was greatly stressed. It was pointed out that where there had been cooperation between the district authorities and the Congress, the situation was well in hand. As an example, Meerut was mentioned. On the other hand where there was no such cooperation, the situation had grown worse. Some instances were given.

It is clear that in a matter of this kind there should be close cooperation between the district authorities and public representatives and specially the Congress. We cannot deal with this matter on the purely official basis. The public have to be taken into our confidence. At present what has happened is that some of the Opposition groups have taken the initiative in condemning Government in all its works and there is no one to speak or explain the policies or difficulties of Government.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 31(77)/58-59-PMS.

2. See *ante*, pp. 138-151.

3. Sampurnanand informed Nehru on 31 August 1958 that various Opposition parties were planning to start agitations against the State. According to his information, the Socialist Party would intensify its *Ghera Dalo Andolan* surrounding courts, offices and residences of District Magistrates and Sub-Divisional Magistrates; the Praja Socialist Party would lead hunger marches and would try to seize grain from Government godowns, fair price shops and goods wagons to distribute among the poor at a low rate and deposit the proceeds in Government treasuries; the Jan Sangh would sponsor a non-payment of dues campaign. He also wrote that there was no need for the Planning Commission to set up a committee to enquire into the economic condition of eastern UP.

## 11. Dealing with Public Funds<sup>1</sup>

These papers have been with me for some days. I have not been very clear or happy in my mind about the proposal. There can be no doubt that the two jeeps can be made to do good work in Allahabad for the purposes named. Nevertheless the work is somewhat connected with me and because of this I would not like public money to be used in this way. In dealing with public funds, even though they are to be used at my discretion, I have to be particularly careful. I would therefore prefer to pay for the jeep out of my personal account and not from the United Commercial Bank account.

Dikshitji<sup>2</sup> lives and works in Lucknow. It is not clear to me how he is in charge of these jeeps in Allahabad.

1. Note to Personal Secretary M.O. Mathai, 29 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Uma Shankar Dikshit was Managing Director, Associated Journals Ltd (publisher of *National Herald*), 1957-71.



rural areas. The rural areas of course are important, but if Calcutta goes from us, the rural areas will be powerfully affected; indeed, the whole of India will be affected.

My whole approach to the Congress organisation during the last many decades has been an approach to the general public, and an aggressive approach. I do not wish to be on the defensive, and I am not too much concerned about the internal organisation except insofar as it is a link with the general public. The internal organisation of the West Bengal Congress may appear to be good, but I have a feeling that it has lost that touch with the vital elements among the people.

In Calcutta, probably the strength of the Congress, such as it is, lies more with the non-Bengali elements there. It is good that we have the support of the non-Bengali elements, but not to have the support of the Bengali elements who form the heart of the city, is a great weakness.

For all these reasons, I have felt that new approaches are necessary and that we must get out of ruts in which we have been.

I am writing to you frankly because this is a matter of vital importance for you, for me and for all of us. It requires the most careful consideration.

However, insofar as this question of Youth Festival is concerned, I think I was somewhat unfair to you, and I am very sorry for it. It is my intention to come to Calcutta for two or three days towards the end of this month. When I come there, I should like to meet these young men of the Youth Festival, especially to clear up my own position and to tell them how I feel about their irresponsible action. I should also like to meet various groups of people, even though they might not be playing any important part in the Congress.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 11, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

Your letter of the 10th July in which you have very rightly drawn my attention to differing and contrary directions being sent from the Ministries of the Central Government in regard to our relationship with outside countries.<sup>2</sup> I am sorry that this has occurred. In this matter, the Home Ministry should have been better advised not to interfere as, normally speaking, the Ministry of External Affairs deals with our relationship with outside countries. In any event, they should have referred this to us.<sup>3</sup>

I am not particularly happy about the India-China Friendship Association, but, in the balance, we have decided to show it some favour. Indeed, some members of it have gone there after consulting us. There are quite a number of eminent people who have joined it.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. B.C. Roy wrote that different authorities from Delhi gave different directions "with regard to our relationship with outside countries." He referred to the Home Ministry's letter of 10 May 1956 saying that the "association of Ministers with certain Organisations puts the Government in a very embarrassing position" and furnishing a list of Communist-sponsored organisations mentioning India-China Friendship Association and its provincial branches. Hence B.C. Roy asked his Minister Bimal Chandra Sinha, a Vice President of the Association, and Sankardas Banerjee, the Speaker of the Assembly, to dissociate themselves with conference due to be held in Calcutta from 19 July 1958. Yet, Roy found that Nehru had written to Banerjee on 7 June 1958 about the July conference: "I send you my greetings and good wishes on this occasion. The friendly relations of India and China are not only important for these two great countries, but are also important for Asia and the world." Roy wrote that his position was rendered awkward and asked what was to be done.

3. Nehru wrote to Home Minister Pant on this issue on 11 July and 14 July 1958. See *ante*, pp. 249-251.



### 3. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 20, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

I have written two brief letters to you and also spoken to you on the telephone. But I have not answered in any detail some of your letters. I am afraid the prospect of my going to Calcutta towards the end of this month grows more and more dim. I hope, therefore, that you will not make any large scale preparations for it.<sup>2</sup> I shall keep you informed of developments. Possibly, in another three or four days, I shall know a little more definitely what might happen or how I might be engaged.

Now, to some of your letters. One is of the 15th July.<sup>3</sup>

I am much distressed at the various rumours to which you refer. As I have told you, these are either wrong or grossly exaggerated. If I come to Calcutta, I shall certainly say so. If I don't, then you are at perfect liberty to say so on my behalf. What I would say, would be to the following effect. Atulya Babu has done extraordinary good work in Bengal for the Congress, and I respect him for it. None of us is perfect, and we make mistakes. But I am convinced that Atulya Babu has been a pillar of strength for the Congress. At the same time, I have long been convinced that, as a matter of principle and practice, it is not desirable for anyone to be President or Secretary of a Congress Committee for long. There should be frequent changes, the senior people always remaining in the small executive to guide. Thus, it is not a question of pushing out anybody and placing somebody else. The senior group always remains there to guide, but the actual Presidents and Secretaries go by rotation. I would, therefore, like such changes in Bengal, as elsewhere. But, I would not like anything done which makes it appear that Atulya Babu is being pushed out or that his good work has not been appreciated. In fact, I am anxious that Atulya Babu should in any event remain in the inner executive of the Congress.

1. JN Collection.
2. Nehru wrote (not printed) to B.C. Roy on 18 and 19 July expressing difficulties regarding his visit to Calcutta on 27 July to attend a meeting of the Mandal Congress Presidents and Secretaries.
3. Roy had written that the atmosphere in Calcutta was thick with rumours that Nehru was thoroughly dissatisfied with the arrangements of the Congress for the coming South Calcutta election, and that Nehru was coming to Calcutta to make some announcement in regard to the removal of Atulya Ghosh as the President of the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

I might say that I have said nothing at all about the election in South Calcutta, because I do not know about the arrangements there. I have, perhaps, expressed my anxiety that this election should be well run and our propaganda should be aggressive.

I have already told you that the public meeting should be given up.<sup>4</sup>

Your letter of the 19th July in which reference is made to border situation with East Pakistan.<sup>5</sup> We are well aware of this. As a matter of fact, the Assam border is somewhat worse affected. It is not particularly easy to deal with a set of people who are totally irresponsible and mischievous. But we are quite alive to this position and we do not propose to allow it to continue to any large extent. Definite directions have been issued.

As a matter of fact, many of these incidents are by themselves not important, but, cumulatively, they are bad and must be dealt with.

I do not see any connection between this and the situation in Lebanon and Jordan. What has happened in the Middle East, has been very much to the disadvantage of Pakistan. The Baghdad Pact is broken up, and in Pakistan itself, there are deep rumblings. It is true that the international situation is a very serious one, and if it bursts into a war, the whole world will be affected. Pakistan will probably then be worse off than today.

I think you can say in your Assembly that you have drawn the attention of the Central Government to these frequent border incidents between India and East Pakistan.<sup>6</sup> These incidents have continued in spite of many efforts made by the Government of India to come to settlements wherever any border is in dispute. But Pakistan has avoided any settlements, and even when some local agreement has been arrived at, it has not been kept by Pakistan. This situation is not only irritating in the extreme, but creates needless trouble on the frontier and ill will between the two countries, which we wish to avoid. The Government of India proposes to take effective steps to deal with such matters.

You may add that these incidents have nothing to do with the serious developments in West Asia.

In another letter of yours, you have referred to the request of a number of people who wish to see me if I go to Calcutta.<sup>7</sup> It is for you entirely to decide

4. Roy had suggested the tentative programme for Nehru in Calcutta, i.e., meeting in the Mandal Congress workers at 5.30 p.m. on 27 July; public meeting at 4.30 p.m. on 28 July; and possibly a meeting with a group of lecturers, teachers and students on 29 July.
5. Roy drew Nehru's attention to the concentration of East Pakistan troops and digging of trenches on the border of Nadia, Murshidabad and 24-Parganas.
6. See also *post*, pp. 512-525.
7. Roy also had enclosed a note signed by 49 Congress members including some MLAs asking to meet Nehru on his visit to Calcutta.



who I have to meet there. In any event, there is no point in my meeting large groups consisting of forty persons and more. It is impossible to discuss any matter in this way. I can, of course, address all your members of the Assembly, if you so wish. Otherwise, I should meet small groups of say half a dozen or so, privately.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 23, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

I am writing to you about the border troubles with Eastern Pakistan. There is no doubt that the Pakistanis there are troublesome and mischievous. But the accounts that are published in our newspapers give a very exaggerated picture of what has happened. Sometimes even the local officials send accounts which are not strictly accurate. We have had a fairly thorough examination by our military and our Intelligence in regard to a number of incidents on the Assam-Pakistan border. As a result of this, we found that the accounts sent to us even by the Assam Government (which were, of course, based on local reports) were far from correct. In some places, our men were at fault. I do not mean to say that the Pakistanis do not misbehave. But it is not correct to say that they are constantly attacking us and we are on the defensive.

The fact of the matter is that the Pakistanis are terribly afraid of us, and a person who is afraid, misbehaves. So far as the army is concerned, East Pakistan has relatively small forces. They are not in any sense dangerous to us. Of course, one cannot get away from the fact that the great city of Calcutta is not far from the Pakistan border. That itself is a permanent risk and an opportunity for mischief. But, broadly speaking, there is no reason for us to get excited over this border situation, provided always that we are on the alert and ready to meet any development.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

1. *With Dr B.C. Roy and Other Chief Ministers* by Saroj Chakrabarty, pp. 393-394.

## 5. To Atulya Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 24, 1958

My dear Atulya Babu,

Dr Roy wrote to me, and others also have mentioned to me, that all kinds of rumours and insinuations are about in Calcutta about you and me. It is stated that I am going to Calcutta to suggest major changes and all that. I am much distressed to learn this. I have told Dr Roy clearly that this is without the slightest justification and must be countered and denied.<sup>2</sup> Indeed one of the reasons why I particularly wanted to go to Calcutta was to face these unfortunate rumours and to put an end to them.

Now I do not know whether I can go there or not. There appears to be some chance of my having to pack up and go to New York rather suddenly. It is clear that I cannot go to Calcutta for three days as I had previously intended. Nevertheless, I shall make every effort to go for one day to Calcutta, partly to meet your Mandal people, but chiefly to make it clear that these various rumours that are afloat are mischievous.

Therefore, if I can at all manage it, I shall come to Calcutta on the 27th July, getting there round about mid-day. I shall have to return on the 28th morning to Delhi. I shall have no time for the multitude of interviews that people demand. All I can do is to attend your Mandal conference and perhaps give a press conference. Indeed, I should like the press conference, because that will enable me to say much that I have in mind.<sup>3</sup>

As soon as it is finally decided about the 27th, I shall telephone to Dr Roy and tell him so. But I hope to come for one day.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. For Nehru's letter to B.C. Roy dated 20 July 1958, see *ante*, pp. 380-382.

3. For Nehru's press conference at Calcutta on 27 July 1958, see *post*, pp. 602-607.



## 6. To Atulya Ghosh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 28, 1958

My dear Atulya Babu,

Thank you for the arrangements made in Calcutta, especially for the Mandal Conference.<sup>2</sup>

On return to Delhi, I have received a letter which says that most of the Mandal Presidents and Secretaries were not elected, but in some way nominated. The letter has come from Jalpaiguri and is anonymous. It is signed "Some old field workers of Congress." More particularly, it refers to the district of Jalpaiguri and says that most of the Mandal Presidents of the Jalpaiguri district are contractors, tea garden suppliers and cinema proprietors. It adds further that this was the deciding factor in the defeat of the Congress at the Falakata bye-election.<sup>3</sup>

Although this has come to me anonymously, I am sending the purport of it on to you.

I am also enclosing a note sent to me by K.K. Sinha, the Director of the Institute of Political and Social Studies.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Addressing the Mandal Conference soon after reaching Calcutta on 27 July, Nehru ridiculed the rumour that he had come to Calcutta to shake up the Congress organisation in the State. He added that State Congress President Atulya Ghosh had been a pillar of strength for the Congress for many years, but, he continued, it would be better to have a "rotating system of office-bearers from the lowest rank upwards." The conference was attended by about 3000 Mandal Presidents and Secretaries. For his speech, see *post*, pp. 409-411.
3. The Congress candidate R.N. Sikdar was defeated by Jagadananda Roy of the PSP in a bye-election on 22 May 1958. Roy had won the seat in the 1957 general elections but his election was invalidated by the Electoral Tribunal since Roy was found to be below the minimum statutory age and this necessitated the bye-election.
4. K.K. Sinha (1914-1971); Founder-Director of the Institute of Political and Social Studies, Calcutta; editor, *Indian Posts*; a member of the radical humanist movement; works include *Towards Pluralist Society* and *Problems of Defence of South and East Asia* (ed.).

## 7. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

The opening of the new Supreme Court building took place today. In the course of a conversation with the Chief Justice,<sup>2</sup> he told me that he had recently been staying at his house in Kalimpong. Conditions in Kalimpong were so bad that he did not want to go there again and indeed he might dispose of his house. He complained of the behaviour of Tibetan traders there who, to some extent, terrorise the population. He told me of his personal experience in this matter. A Tibetan came into his garden there. The mali objected, but the Tibetan threatened him. Then the Chief Justice himself went and told him to get out. Thereupon the Tibetan became aggressive and even drew out a dagger which he had somewhere round about him. Nothing much happened, but the Chief Justice got a shock. The matter was later reported to the Police who managed to trace this Tibetan and I believe he was sentenced to some brief term of imprisonment.

I am drawing your attention to this because we must not allow anybody, Tibetan or other, to go about terrorising our population. We have particularly to be careful on this border area. I think therefore that your Police there should be given strict injunctions on this subject.

There are in Kalimpong and round about all kinds of Tibetans. There are plenty of émigrés from Tibet who are opposed to the Chinese regime there. There are people favouring the Chinese regime and there are plenty of spies of various countries. We have to be particularly careful therefore in Kalimpong that nobody is allowed to misbehave.

We have received complaints from the Chinese Government about Tibetan émigrés using Kalimpong as a base for their operations against the Chinese in

1. JN Collection.

2. Justice S.R. Das.



Tibet.<sup>3</sup> Some of these complaints have been forwarded to your Government. There is no doubt that there are people in Kalimpong and round about who want to do this kind of thing. We have made it clear that we will not tolerate it, and that we shall take action if they create any kind of trouble.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. S. Dutt has written in his book *With Nehru in the Foreign Office* that the Chinese had alleged that Kalimpong was the "commanding centre of the rebellion." Nehru refuted these allegations while conceding that spies may have been functioning in Kalimpong. Nehru also asked the people of Kalimpong to refrain from collecting arms to be sent to Tibet or do anything inimical to China.

## 8. To Asoke K. Sen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 10, 1958

My dear Asoke,<sup>2</sup>

There has been a great deal of confusion about what is called the All India Youth Festival 1958. Some months ago, Amalendu Gangulee, who described himself as General Secretary of this festival, came to me. He showed me a message from Dr B.C. Roy and told me that you were the President of this festival. When I saw Dr Roy's and your names associated with this, I gave him a message. But I told him also that I could not attend it.

Subsequently, I found that your name had been used without your permission and, in fact, you had made it quite clear that you could not associate yourself with it. A note was issued from the AICC office stating that the National Congress was not supporting this festival.

Later, I discovered that these people sponsoring the All India Youth Festival had issued some papers giving the names of all manner of leading persons all over India, belonging to all parties and none. The whole programme given in them was rather extraordinary and totally irresponsible. People's names had

1. JN Collection. A copy of this letter was sent to U. N. Dhebar.  
2. Union Minister of Law.

been included without their permission. This seemed to me very wrong, and I told these people that it was very improper for them to do it.<sup>3</sup>

I now discover that during your recent visit to Calcutta, you went to some kind of a meeting in connection with this Youth Festival and took Krishna Menon with you also, who spoke there. I do not quite understand all this confusing and contradictory developments. So far as I am concerned, I made it quite clear that I shall have nothing to do with this festival, and I gather that the Congress has dissociated itself from it also.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. See *ante*, pp. 376-378.

4. M.O. Mathai, the Private Secretary to Nehru, wrote to Amalendu Gangulee on 10 August 1958, stating that Nehru felt greatly disappointed on well-known Congressmen's names being used for the proposed Youth Festival without their permission and added that, after receiving some more information about the festival, Nehru had decided not to be associated with it in any way. He clarified that the Congress organisation could not recognise this festival. Nehru also wrote to U. N. Dhebar that he was quite right in dissociating the Congress from it.





## CONSTITUTIONAL AND PARLIAMENTARY AFFAIRS





## 1. To Ram Subhag Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 3, 1958

My dear Ram Subhag,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of today's date about the Convention of Members of Parliament of the Eastern Zone.<sup>3</sup> As I told you, I shall discuss this matter with Dr Roy.<sup>4</sup>

But I want to make one thing clear. These conventions should be as informal as possible. No one should inaugurate them and no one should be a president. I do not want inauguration speeches or presidential speeches. At every session someone can be chosen to preside for the moment in order to guide the deliberations and not to deliver presidential address.

If it is possible for me to be there I shall certainly attend and naturally, if I attend, I shall discuss matters. But it will be completely wrong for you to have formal inaugurations, presidential addresses, etc. This should apply not only to the Eastern Zone Convention of MPs, but the other conventions also in other zones.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Secretary, Congress Party in Parliament.

3. The Convention of Congress MPs of Eastern Zone commenced its two-day session in Calcutta on 5 August 1958. Members of Parliament from West Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, Assam, Manipur and Tripura participated in the deliberations which centred mainly around organisational matters.

4. Dr B.C. Roy, Chief Minister of West Bengal.



## 2. To H.V. Pataskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 6, 1958

My dear Pataskar,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 30th June 1958, with which you sent me a note on the constitutional position and functions of the Governor. I have read this note.<sup>3</sup>

This matter, as you know, has been discussed at Governor's conferences. On some occasions in the course of the last two or three years, I have written both to the Governors and Chief Ministers on the subject. I found then that the position of the Governor, or rather the type of work he was supposed to do, varied in different States. In some States, he took a fairly intimate part in the work of the Government and was frequently consulted. In some others, he hardly took any part and sometimes did not even see important papers. I felt then that the Governor should be more intimately associated, at any rate, in regard to advice and consultation.

I agree with you that the position of the Governor now is different from what it was in the pre-Independence days. You have mentioned some of these differences. It is true, of course, that the Governor represented previously the Crown in England and was, we might say, the agent of the Viceroy, who himself was the agent of the British Government. But, at the same time, he was the Executive Head of the State or Province, and the responsibility for a vast number of decisions rested ultimately on him, subject of course to the [approval of] then Government of India. In this sense, he had far greater responsibility and actual executive work than present Governors have been supposed to have.

The present Governor is the constitutional head of the State, and, as such, he is not directly responsible for the executive decisions of the State Government. The fact that the Constitution lays down certain duties for him, does not mean that he can take executive action, as in the previous days the Governor could. Action indeed is often taken in his name by the State Government, just as action

1. File No. 3/28/58-Public-I, MHA. Also available in File No. 2/1/61-SR(R), MHA.

2. Governor of Madhya Pradesh.

3. Pataskar's note cited Articles 153-156, 159, 161, 163-167 and 356 of the Constitution which dealt with the position of the Governor. He concluded by saying that the institution of Governor was not a "surplusage", that for the Governor to discharge his functions properly he should be promptly informed about the affairs of the administration, and that there should be free and frequent consultations between the Governor and the Chief Minister regarding the affairs of the state.

is taken in the President's name in the Central Government, although the decisions are those of the Government.

Although the Governor is indeed the constitutional head, nevertheless, I think that he has very important functions to perform. In the main, these functions are [giving] advice to the State Government and keeping the President informed. Advice can only be given if he himself remains in touch with developments in the State. Also, he can only keep the President informed if he is in such touch.

You have rightly pointed out that in the first few years of the working of our new Constitution, the fact that the Governor and the Government belonged to the same political organisation, led, to some extent, to a certain slurring over of some of the duties of the Governor. Even so, we had cases where President's rule was necessitated. Obviously, the Governor had to play a very important part in this, firstly in reporting conditions in the State and advising the President and, secondly, in being responsible for the Government in the State on behalf of the President.

I entirely agree with you that a Governor has a very important duty to fulfil and, whatever his party affiliations might be, he has to function in a manner detached from party politics and unconnected with the day-to-day administration. He should watch that our Constitution is not violated in any way. In particular, I think he should watch and protect the interests of minorities, whether they are religious, linguistic or other.

How is all this to be done? We cannot give executive power to the Governor, as this would create two authorities which will conflict. Nor, I think, can we lay down too many rigid rules which may come in the way of the harmonious working of the Constitution or create friction between the Governor and his Ministry in the State. By and large, this will have to be by conventions.

You refer to the necessity of maintaining continuity and stability of Government and compare this with the duty of the Crown in Great Britain. That duty might apply to the President, but it would hardly apply to the Governor, though to a much lesser extent the Governor would discharge that duty.

There are many matters mentioned in our Constitution which the Governor is supposed to do. Thus, there is the power to grant pardons, to appoint a person to be Advocate-General, etc. I think, however, that these powers have to be exercised on the advice of the Council of Ministers. The Governor may privately advise, and his advice should have weight, but it would create great difficulties if the Governor started making any appointments off his own bat.

In effect, the real question is of the Governor being kept informed of important matters and his advice taken. The Council of Ministers, however, is not compelled to take his advice in such matters. If it is important enough, the



Governor can report to the President. It will be very difficult for the Governor to override his Council of Ministers unless that Council does something very flagrant, when he may refer the matter to the President.

You have quoted from the Act of Model Rules framed by the Ministry of Home Affairs some time ago. These Rules appear to be very detailed. In fact, they are so detailed that I think they have lost all point. Thus, reference to the posting and promotion of district judges or deputy commissioners or collectors, seems to me far too trivial to be included as a special item. But broadly the Governor should be consulted.

You refer to the Governor being ex-officio Chancellor of Universities in the State. I am personally inclined to think that in this matter the Governor has a certain special discretion. He should exercise that discretion in consultation with his Government or the Minister concerned, but I do not think he should be treated as a mere figurehead. He should function as the real head of the Universities.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

**3. To M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar<sup>1</sup>**

New Delhi  
July 14, 1958

Dear Mr Speaker,

Thank you for your letter of July 12th, in which you have dealt with representations, complaints or enquiries from Members of Parliament.<sup>2</sup> I am grateful for the trouble you have taken in this matter. I shall consult my colleague, the Minister for Parliamentary Affairs, and perhaps write to you again on this subject.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Ayyangar wrote that after due consideration, a circular was issued by the Minister of Parliamentary Affairs to all MPs in 1951 and was reissued on 3 June 1957 about the correct procedure for addressing letters to the Ministers. Simultaneously all the Ministries were also informed. The circular clarified that the Members could send letters to the Minister or Deputy Minister on matters of importance and only to the Secretary of the Ministry on matters of a routine character. The replies were to be issued after the approval of the Secretary of the Ministry or some such person designated for this purpose. Ayyangar wrote that this procedure was well settled and adequate but in a big administration such as in India, it might lead to delay and waste of expenditure. He had issued a circular that as in the UK, a convention might be established whereby MPs might directly address the Statutory Corporations or private limited companies for supply of information, unless it was in public interest to withhold that information. In regard to the Defence Forces, he suggested that MPs should only correspond with the Minister, the Deputy Minister or the Secretary. The Defence personnel should not be allowed to approach MPs, as such a practice might lead to deterioration in discipline. Ayyangar had ascertained the position in the United Kingdom on these matters.
3. Nehru sent the copy of Ayyangar's letter to Satya Narayan Sinha, Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, on the same day.



#### 4. To Hari Hara Das<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 24, 1958

Dear Shri Hari Hara Das,<sup>2</sup>

I received your letter of the 19th July some days ago.

Our rule is that where there is a conscientious objection, the member of the Party can ask the Leader for permission to abstain from voting. But this applies only to matters verging on religion. Normally, in political and economic matters, it does not apply. It is left to the Leader to decide when such abstention may be permitted.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Hari Hara Das (b. 1922); Associate member, Indian Roads Congress; member, Orissa Engineering Association, Orissa Oil Seed Advisory Committee; Member, Orissa Legislative Assembly, 1952-61; vice president, Orissa State Swatantra Party; president, Orissa State Swatantra Party, 1961-62; Director, Jharana Industrial Commercial Estate, 1961.

#### 5. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July, 1958

My dear Pantji,<sup>2</sup>

You will remember the circular letter I sent to the Governors some little time ago.<sup>3</sup> In this letter I pointed out the importance of the office of the Governor and that he was by no means a figure-head. He should see papers, etc., and be even consulted in many matters by his Government. At the same time, I also pointed out that unnecessary pomp was not in keeping with the spirit of the times and was in fact rather vulgar.

1. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 3/28/58-Public, I, MHA.
2. Union Minister of Home Affairs.
3. For Nehru's letter to Governors dated 28 June 1958, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 344-345.

I have had good many replies from the Governors to this letter. I think my letter did good in so far as a certain simplicity was concerned, but some Governors have pointed out that they are practically ignored by their Government and hardly see any papers. Among the places from which this type of complaint comes is Bombay where a convention has grown up to be very courteous to the Governor, but otherwise to ignore him.

I am therefore today sending a letter on the same subject to Chief Ministers with which I am enclosing a copy of the original letter to the Governors that I had issued. I enclose a copy of this letter of mine to the Chief Ministers.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 6. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of July 19th. As you must have realised, my letter to you regarding Governors was not a personal letter, but was a kind of circular letter addressed to all Governors.

In regard to some of them I had felt that there was a bit too much of external pomp and rigidity. This certainly did not apply to you or, indeed, to most others. It was because of this that I sent a letter to all of them.

I am convinced that the institution of Governor is not only necessary in India, but important. Naturally a great deal depends on individuals, i.e., both the Governor and the Chief Minister. The Governor can be and should be very helpful on many occasions. He is certainly not just a figure-head.

I am sorry that a convention has been established in Bombay which is based on dealing with the Governor with distant courtesy. I shall speak to Chavan<sup>3</sup> about it when I meet him, although it is never easy to change a convention.

You refer in your letter to what you call our adopting European ways of life. To some extent what you say is true. But what other alternative have we? What other ways of life, Indian or other, can be adopted to meet modern conditions? The Indian way of life can certainly be adopted by an individual in

1. JN Collection.
2. Governor of Bombay.
3. Y.B. Chavan, Chief Minister of Bombay.



## 7. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

discipline. The fact is that we are, as I have said, a people. For a long period we developed a love to ideas, stuck to certain social customs which came quite out of date. The Hindu religion, with its basic tolerance, was very rigid in regard to the social customs. Hinduism, in fact, was essentially a national religion unlike Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

Chief Ministers on the subject<sup>4</sup> I shall send

often pointed out, an indisciplined and closed society which, though receptive to new ideas and conventions even though they be in conflict with its magnificent philosophy and social customs. Hinduism, in fact, was essentially a national religion unlike Buddhism, Christianity and Islam.

I am thinking of writing to the Chief Ministers on the subject<sup>4</sup> I shall send you a copy of my letter.

4 See the next item.

## 7. To Chief Ministers<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25 July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,  
About a month ago I sent a confidential letter to all our Governors.<sup>2</sup> I referred in this letter to the position of Governors in our Constitution and also to the ceremonial attached to that office. In sending this letter I was not criticising the Governors because I know that they have played a very helpful part in the last few years. A few of them tended rather to lay stress too much on the ceremonial side, but this was gradually being simplified. As this letter might interest you, I

enclose a copy.  
There are two aspects to a Governor's functions. One, as I have said, should not be a replica of the old British pattern. But the other, the dignity of the Head of the State, is a personal matter but appertains to the State. The ceremonial and dignity attached to the Head of a

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<sup>1</sup> This letter is available in JN Collection. This letter has also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers* (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 91-93.

<sup>1</sup> File No. 3 28 58-Public-I, MHA. Also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.), *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers* (New Delhi, 1988), pp. 91-93.  
<sup>2</sup> On 28 June 1958.

State. In India we are so apt to be undisciplined that it is useful to have this dignity and ceremonial on occasions, just as it is very useful, I think, to have the army discipline which tones us up.

Then there is other side of the Governor's duty under the Constitution. Any reference to the Constitution will show that the Governor is not merely a figure-head, although he is a constitutional head. He has to play an important part and his Ministers should keep in intimate touch with him and keep him informed of all important developments. There were in the past some cases where the Governor was kept apart and hardly informed of what was happening or informed after it had happened. This was not only wrong but it meant not utilising for public good a person of experience and position whose chief function was to help. In some other States the Governor has indeed played an important part in such consultations. Thus, it is desirable for Ministers to keep in fairly intimate touch with the Governors. The heads of the public services should also keep him informed of their work, more especially in regard to development.

The Governor is often a public man who has belonged to a political party. But, as Governor, he is to some extent above party affairs and he has to keep in friendly touch with all groups and parties and thus help in bringing about a certain harmony.

I might say that as Prime Minister I endeavour to keep in the closest touch with our President. I see him regularly and keep him posted with events and often take his advice about important matters and development. I think the same practice might well be followed in regard to Governors by the Chief Ministers.

In times of distress—drought or floods or famine or some other calamity—the Governor should be particularly helpful. When loans are floated or in the small savings schemes the Governor's advice and cooperation would also be very helpful.

Unfortunately, even apart from politics, there are many disruptive elements in our national life. A Governor can and should help in smoothing differences and generally encouraging a sense of unity.

I hope you will forgive me for writing to you on this subject, but I thought I would keep you in touch in this matter and with the letter I had sent to the Governors some time ago.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru



## 8. To Asoke K. Sen<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1958

My dear Asoke,<sup>2</sup>

There is a question in the Lok Sabha on the 1st September about the report of the Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance.<sup>3</sup> In the answer it is stated that the report is under the consideration of Government. This is all right in so far as it goes. But I do not see why we should not place a copy of the report on the table of the House. It is a bad practice to hold all these reports up till Government has come to a decision on them. I suggest therefore that you should place a copy on the table of the House and send copies to the Library of Parliament.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Law.

3. An 11-member Advisory Committee on Slum Clearance was appointed on 25 January 1958 with Asoke K. Sen as its Chairman. The Committee was to give special attention to the slum situation in the principal cities in general and Calcutta in particular. The Committee recommended: (i) slum clearance should be viewed as a part of the problem of urban development; (ii) all activities relating to social welfare, including the provision of fruitful employment, should be integrated to bring about the development of the depressed and slum areas; (iii) the worst slum area in the six cities of Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi, Kanpur and Ahmedabad might be taken up for treatment.

## 9. To R.R. Diwakar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 31, 1958

My dear Diwakar,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 28th August. I was not aware that any reference had been made to you in the Lok Sabha debates till I got your letter. On receiving it, I sent for the record of the debates, and have now read passages in which some references are made to you.<sup>3</sup>

I think you can certainly deal with these attacks in any way you like, just as any other citizen can. There is no question of an ex-Governor being prevented, by rule or convention, to remain quiet under attack. He is just like any other citizen. No one to my knowledge has suggested that an ex-Governor or, for the matter of that, an ex-President cannot have the full rights of a citizen in this matter, or is in any way disqualified from following a course of action which he would otherwise have followed, if he had not been a Governor. Indeed, if an ex-Governor received a pension, like an ex-President, even then he would in no way be disqualified from following that course of action. There is thus no constitutional or legal bar or any convention of propriety which comes in the way of an ex-Governor.

You have given a quotation. I do not know where that is taken from. Anyway, I agree with that quotation completely.

I should imagine that an ex-Governor would have the same rights as any other citizen even in regard to criticism about his previous activities as Governor. But, however that may be, any criticism about his other activities can certainly be dealt with in the normal way.

I do not think the Speaker could have intervened in this matter merely on the ground that an ex-Governor had been referred to.

As I have said above, I did not know anything about this before I got your letter. No one in Parliament appears to have paid much attention to it.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. A leading Congressman of Dharwar and former Governor of Bihar, he was at this time Chairman of Gandhi National Memorial Fund.
3. R.R. Diwakar's name was mentioned during the discussion on the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Bill on 22 and 25 August 1958.





# INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS





## 1. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1958

Nan dear,<sup>2</sup>

I have just received your letter of July 1st.

As for Jayaprakash,<sup>3</sup> I am afraid that he gets more and more woolly-minded. He certainly has great virtues, but he has not only lost touch with the changing world, but has also developed a strange mentality. I am surprised to learn that he charges me of making the Socialist Party leave the Congress Party.<sup>4</sup> So far as I can remember, I was not responsible for this. I must confess, however, that I have no clear recollection of what happened at the time. You will remember that this was the period just before and after Bapu's death. We were terribly tied up with all the deplorable happenings after Independence and Partition. I remember very well Bapu telling me one day that in view of all the circumstances he had advised Jayaprakash that the Socialist Party might leave the Congress. Or he might have said that he had agreed to Jayaprakash's proposal that the Socialist Party might leave the Congress. I do not remember where I came in the picture. The fact of the matter is that I was too overburdened with problems to think of this particular matter. I think it was sometime after Bapu's death that the Socialist Party actually left the Congress.<sup>5</sup>

As for Prem Lata,<sup>6</sup> I think that you should tell her quite clearly and definitely that she is behaving very foolishly. I do not remember meeting her. But when I enquired about her here, the report I got was more or less on the lines of your report. We made it clear to her that we were much annoyed at her describing

1. JN Collection.

2. Indian High Commissioner in London.

3. Jayaprakash Narayan and Prabhavati Narayan were on a tour of Europe and West Asia from April to September 1958.

4. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had written that "Jayaprakash seems to have been saying the most extraordinary things and has made a rather strange impression on people." A number of people who had spoken to him and heard him at a public meeting told Mrs Pandit that "he was not realistic in his approach to Indian politics and seemed to be out of touch with events." She pointed out that in all his talks "one thread runs throughout, namely that you were responsible for making Socialist Party leave Congress."

5. The National Executive of Socialist Party of India announced its decision to dissociate itself completely from the Congress on 18 March 1948.

6. A teacher in St. Columba's High School, New Delhi who was in London as a guest of the Commonwealth Relations Office and British Council.



herself a member of the AICC.<sup>7</sup> I think you should tell her that we are annoyed at the report we get about her behaviour in England and this will do her no good and that she will have to pull herself up. You should, of course, make it clear privately to the CRO what her real position is.<sup>8</sup>

As for Panikkar,<sup>9</sup> he has not written to us officially about his leaving his present post in December.<sup>10</sup> But I am told that he has been talking about it to odd people. I did not know anything about it.

I believe Indu has written to you about the dates of her visit to London. It would certainly be desirable for you to arrange that she could meet some people in London.

Yours,  
Jawahar

7. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit had written that a number of people had enquired about Prem Lata's credentials. She had given the impression that she was a member of the AICC and an important political figure. Mrs Pandit wrote that Prem Lata was "a little too self-possessed and has used big names freely."
8. However, Nehru wrote in a note to N.R. Pillai and M.J. Desai on 31 August 1958: "She is a bright and intelligent young woman, but perhaps a little too ambitious and tends to exaggerate her own importance. She told people that she was high up in the Congress hierarchy and impressed the UK High Commission. As a matter of fact, all she had done was to take some part in a local election campaign. In England too, she threw her weight about a little, and our High Commissioner wrote to me about this. Anyhow, Prem Lata is undoubtedly intelligent and creates a good impression, which she did in England."
9. K.M. Panikkar (1895-1963); Minister, Patiala State, 1933-38; Minister Bikaner State, 1938-44; Chief Minister, Bikaner State, 1944-48; Ambassador to (i) China, 1948-52, (ii) Egypt and other Arab countries, 1952-54 and (iii) France, 1955-59; Member of the States Reorganisation Commission, 1953-55; a nominated Member of the Rajya Sabha, 1959-61.
10. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit informed Nehru that while in London for his wife's cataract operation, Panikkar had told her that he was leaving Paris on 6 December on completing two years in that post and would like a nomination to Rajya Sabha to represent literary interests in South India.

## 2. To Bhag Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 9, 1958

Dear Bhag Singhji,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of the 7th July.

It is difficult for me to express any opinion on the subject you mention. It is always good for Congressmen to discuss the country's problems in a realistic way. Many of us are apt to be theoretical and talk in terms of slogans which have little application today. While discussion is good, I do not quite understand this kind of public or semi-public discussions among a large number. In such circumstances, little real discussion takes place. People deliver set speeches which are of little use. Also, we should avoid making groups. That has been the bane of our public life.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Bhag Singh (b. 1913); Harijan social worker; opposed the formation of Punjabi Suba; Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1962-67; played a crucial role in bridging the differences between the Akalis and Nirankaris.

## 3. To Biva Mitra<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
23rd July 1958

Dear Biva Mitra,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of 21st July.

I had hoped to go to Calcutta towards the end of this month, but I am afraid that is very unlikely now because of the international situation.

I am sorry to learn that all kinds of statements are made by some people about my visit to Calcutta and that specially it is stated that I am going there to suggest a change in the leadership of the PCC organisation. If I had gone to Calcutta I would naturally have discussed Congress affairs with Congressmen

1. JN Collection.
2. Member, AICC, elected to West Bengal Legislative Assembly in 1962.



there. It is not for me to impose leadership or anything else in Bengal. I am interested in effective work by the Congress.

I might add that I have a high opinion of the work done by Shri Atulya Ghosh<sup>3</sup> in the Congress organisation in Bengal. He is a fine organiser and has served the Congress well. It would be completely wrong for anyone to suggest that I want to push him out. I do not anyhow function in this way and I think that would be wrong.

What I have sometimes said to Congressmen from various parts of India is that as a matter of principle it is a good thing to have a rotating system of office bearers in Congress committees. This is a practice we introduced in the UP in the twenties with very good results. The senior men in the organisation were always in the Executive to guide it while the office bearers changed from time to time. Thus many people got that experience. I have stated this, as I have said above, as a principle which I think is a good one. It has nothing to do with any person or any particular place.

I would repeat that I have a high regard for Shri Atulya Ghosh and his work for the Congress.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. President, West Bengal Pradesh Congress Committee.

4. See also *ante*, pp. 380-381 and *post*, pp. 602-607.

#### 4. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 26, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,

Your letter of July 25th enclosing a letter from the President of the Sikkim State Congress.<sup>2</sup>

I am quite clear that we, that is the Congress, should not get entangled in any way in the Sikkim elections.<sup>3</sup> Sending money is of course completely out of

1. JN Collection.

2. Kashi Raj Pradhan.

3. Elections were held in Sikkim on 17 November 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 649-651.

the question. But, even apart from that, we should not get tied up there in any way.

I am not sure that according to the Congress Constitution we ought to interfere in Sikkim. Sikkim is not India. It might be described as a protected state of India although we avoid using that description. Anyhow it is not India. For months past we have been dealing with this very delicate matter of elections there. We have got one of our most competent men as our representative at Gangtok—Apa Pant.<sup>4</sup> Even the Dewan of Sikkim<sup>5</sup> is one of our men and he also is first rate.

For the Indian National Congress to interfere, therefore, would create a crisis and come in the way of our relations with Sikkim as well as indirectly with Bhutan.

I am returning the papers you sent me.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Apa Pant was at this time Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan.

5. Nari Kaikhosru Rustomji.

## 5. The Gandhian Approach to World Problems<sup>1</sup>

I believe, both intellectually and emotionally, that the Gandhian approach to the problems of the world was idealistic but today it is the only practical proposition. This is because there is no other way to get over the world's problems. I keep myself abreast with the problems of the world, although I do not wish to interfere with the problems of others. But in the event of a war, India will suffer as will other countries. If something happened in West Asia, as it has already happened, I cannot remain indifferent to that event. I do not like recriminations but believe in expressing India's view in a firm but restrained way. Mere denunciation does not help, and, in fact, it causes havoc. So we should try our best to avoid denouncing other countries, even if their actions are entirely wrong. We can, at best, regret it. It is our misfortune that in the world today there is hatred, suspicion and distrust. On the physical plane, it was represented by an increase

1. Speech at a meeting of the Presidents and Secretaries of Mandal Congress Committees, Calcutta, 27 July 1958. From *The Hindu* and *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, 28 July 1958.



in armaments. Each country is trying to have more armaments. But piling up of armaments will not solve the problem.

I am convinced that no real settlement of world issues is possible if there is an atmosphere of violence and suspicion. World problems cannot be solved by the physical approach. In this age of sputniks and hydrogen bombs, we have to function in some other way. The solution to the problems of the world should be found in Gandhiji's teachings.

What pains me is the gradual shift to petty violence in the country. I do not talk of major violence, possibly such violence is better in a sense, for it is easier to tackle it. But all this pettiness in India is bad because I do not think that the Indian people are petty. The activities of some people in this respect seem to be those of badly brought up children. Congressmen should lead the country away from this path of pettiness. It is the duty of the Congressmen to lead the country politically and economically but more so to give a lead in the maintenance of high public standard and to some extent private standard too. I am afraid that this duty is not being discharged in the way it ought to be. It is the duty of Congressmen, whether in the Mandal Congress committees or in the Corporations or in the higher spheres of the Government, to be particularly careful in this matter. In India what is respected much is not intellectual eminence or wealth but what I call goodness and straightforwardness.

The Congressmen must not cover up their faults and mistakes but sort them out. In spite of the weakness in the organisation there is no doubt in my mind that the Congress is to lead the country, for that is its historical task. The Congress stands for, and is capable of, fighting against the forces of destruction which threaten the country. Congressmen should not have rigid mind-sets but keep their minds receptive and in tune with the changing conditions. An organisation which does not attract the younger generation is doomed. I therefore urge the Congressmen to keep the doors open. They should not be too rigid about discipline. True, without discipline no organisation can function but on the other hand if discipline becomes terribly rigid and do not allow variety it would be bad. The Congress is and has been a party, but it is more than that. It is a movement and it should remain so. People holding somewhat different opinions should be there in the organisation. It is not an authoritarian organisation.

It has been suggested that I have come to Calcutta to shake up the Congress organisation and to push out Atulya Babu. All this is absurd. He has a very fine record of work and service. I hope that his work and service to the country and the Congress in Bengal will continue for long. But what I have said just now I have been saying it for the last thirty years, and partly because of my influence in my province, it was accepted there as a rule in the early twenties. Other provinces have not adopted it. I, however, think that it is better to have a rotating

system of leadership for the Congress organisation in the country at all levels to provide opportunity to the younger elements to take up the responsibility when called upon to do so. The office-bearers should change every year, some might come a year or two later, but should not continue for long. This dispels any feeling of envy and the organisation is exposed to new influences.

The Mandal Congress committees should have the system of rotating office-bearers. They should develop greater mass contacts. They should move among the masses and make them understand the implications of the various plans undertaken for the good of the country. The function of the Mandal Congress people should be one of liaison between the masses and the Government.<sup>2</sup>

The refugee problem is a big problem and our capacity to solve it is limited. Unfortunately instead of everybody treating it as a national task some are looking at it from the party point of view and exploiting the refugees for political reasons. The result is, of course, bad for those poor people. It is not a political issue but attempts are being made to make it so. I realise that the Bengal Congress has to face many such issues. But in spite of this, the Congress had worked well here and it is a compliment to the Congress. I would like to pay my tribute to my honoured friend and comrade, B.C. Roy, whom I cannot refer to without emotion for he is something much more than an individual working here or in India. We are all fortunate in having him in our midst and I hope that he would be amidst us for a long time to come.

2. Nehru also spoke along these lines to a group of Congressmen on 1 August 1958 at Hardwar. He said that the Congress organisation was passing through difficult times and Mandal Congress should be strengthened to revitalise the Congress.

## 6. Tasks before the Congress<sup>1</sup>

Addressing the Conference in Hindi, Shri Nehru said that it was decided about three years back to hold meetings of PCC Presidents and Secretaries to assess the achievements of the party. It was a good decision. The world had been changing ceaselessly. In the context of changing circumstances, it was necessary for the organisation to think ahead. If the mind of the worker was not fresh and clear, there was no life in the organisation. If there was no life, the organisation

1. Speech at the Conference of Presidents and General Secretaries of Pradesh Congress Committees, New Delhi, 20 August 1958. *Congress Bulletin*, August-September 1958, pp. 443-445.



came to nothing. The world was changing fast in the social, political and economic spheres. They should try to understand these changes and make others understand their implications. The routine and stereo-typed work was sure to produce a stalemate in the organisation. The youth of the country was coming up in all fields of activities—service, army, science, etc. This was a very hopeful sign for strengthening the base of the country.

Continuing, he said that they should know where the thinking apparatus of the Congress lay. The organisation was more important than individuals. The Congress was like the mountain whose heights they shared as they worked for big causes. The organisation was not formed only to fight elections every five years. He said that fissiparous tendencies had crept into the organisation and they had lost the habit of working in a co-operative spirit. Toleration was necessary for the successful implementation of their programme.

Speaking on food and agriculture he said that cultivable land lying unutilised was their enemy in the march towards self-sufficiency in food production. Elaborate arrangements for irrigation were being made, and yet water channels were not always dug up and the fields in the remote villages irrigated. People must render active co-operation to the Government. This was the key to the success of their agricultural programme and also Community Development Blocks. Village Panchayats had to play an important role in this sphere. They should also get out of the habit of shoving the responsibility on others.

In the past, they had to work against the Government and teach people to become self-reliant but now the picture had changed. For anything whatever, people looked to the Government. One of the main activities of the Mandal Congress Committees should be to see to the progress of agriculture and irrigation in their areas. They should see whether the wells and channels were working properly.

Regarding land reforms, he said that they must complete this work as early as possible. The feudalistic order, arising out of the possession of large chunks of land had to go. As the society changed, the outlook of the people also changed. They would have to think of new methods of approach and work. "The idea that the introduction of the machine caused unemployment in the country was not correct. We must produce more for enriching the country, and we cannot do that without the use of the machine. If we do not introduce modern techniques we cannot remove poverty from the country and it will go on increasing because of the vast population of our country," he added. Small Scale Industries and *Gram Udyog* could not compete without the application of modern techniques; else they would lose in the race.

7. To Sham Nath<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 28, 1958

My dear Sham Nath,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 28th August in which you suggest that a Muslim and more especially Maulana Ahmed Sayeed should be selected for the vacant Rajya Sabha seat. I entirely agree with you that it would be better to select a Muslim and that is the opinion of my colleagues in the Parliamentary Board also. For the rest the matter has been left to the Congress President<sup>3</sup> to whom I am sending your letter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Leader, Congress Party, Delhi Municipal Corporation.
3. U.N. Dhebar.



## 8. To Ajmer Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
30th August, 1958

Dear Ajmer Singhji,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 22nd August.

I agree with you that one of our chief difficulties is the growth of groups and factions in the Congress itself. Of course, outside the Congress they exist even in greater measure. There is no magic remedy for this, but we should go on trying to rise above these factions. I think that factions come partly because people are not occupied in some kind of work. The new Mandal committees which the Congress has started is a good move to engage large numbers of people in work.

Of course, that is not enough and we must continue to get over the spirit of faction in every direction. I find that it is probably more helpful to do this without condemning each other too much, though sometimes one has to pass strong opinions. Usually, however, this condemnation ends up in mutual rebukes, which do not help at all.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Ajmer Singh (b. 1911); Member, Punjab Legislative Assembly, 1952-67; Member, Punjab Pradesh Congress Committee; Member, Punjab Police Commission; Minister for Revenue, 1962-64; Minister for Planning and Local Government.

The first of these is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a long and glorious history of resistance against foreign rule. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have fought many wars against the invaders of their land. The second is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of national identity and pride. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been proud of their land and their people. The third is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of justice and fairness. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been fighting for their rights and their freedom.

The fourth is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of unity and solidarity. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been standing together in the face of adversity. The fifth is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of hope and optimism. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been looking forward to a better future. The sixth is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of responsibility and duty. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been willing to sacrifice for their land and their people. The seventh is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of love and compassion. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been helping each other in times of need.

The eighth is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of faith and belief. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been believing in their own strength and abilities. The ninth is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of courage and bravery. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been fighting for their rights and their freedom. The tenth is the fact that the Kashmiri people have a strong sense of wisdom and knowledge. This is evident from the fact that the Kashmiri people have always been using their wisdom and knowledge to guide them in their lives.





## 1. To Vishnu Sahay<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 1, 1958

My dear Vishnu Sahay,<sup>2</sup>

I have just been reading a note of the Intelligence Bureau dated 1st July which gives a note written by Makhdoom Mohiuddin,<sup>3</sup> a communist from Andhra Pradesh. Much is said in this note, but I should like you to tell me how far a particular statement is true or untrue. This is in paragraph 2 where it is said that according to Bakhshi<sup>4</sup> 85 persons are under arrest in the Hazratbal case.<sup>5</sup> It is added, however, that there are 300 persons under arrest without trial under the charge of murder in connection with the Hazratbal incident.

Further, there is a reference to people being arrested by the National Conference workers and to various kinds of torture.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary for Kashmir Affairs, MHA.
3. Makhdoom Mohiuddin Huzri (1908-1969); Urdu poet of Andhra Pradesh, popularly known as Shayar-e-Inquilab; member of the CPI; founder of the Progressive Writers Union in Hyderabad; took leading part in the Telangana rebellion against the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1946-47; Member of Andhra Pradesh Legislative Council; works include *Bisat-e-Raqs*, *Hosh ke Nakhun* and *Phir Chhidi Baat*.
4. Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad, the Prime Minister of Jammu and Kashmir State.
5. This refers to the attack on the National Conference volunteers by the Plebiscite Front and Political Conference workers on 21 February 1958 near Hazratbal shrine and action taken by the Government of Jammu & Kashmir. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 644.



## 2. To Karan Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 2, 1958

My dear Tiger,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 29th June.<sup>3</sup> I am sorry to learn that you have been suffering from an attack of herpes.<sup>4</sup> That is a very painful affair. I hope that you have got over it now.

As for a visit to the Soviet Union, I should like you to go there. But, somehow, events happen or are anticipated which rather come in the way. At the present moment, there is a good deal of feeling in many countries about the execution of Imre Nagy and his colleagues in Budapest,<sup>5</sup> and the Soviet Union is somehow tacked on to this affair. I think, therefore, it would be better for us not to raise the question of your visit to Moscow just yet. That means that it will not be possible for you to go there in September-October. You might provisionally think of paying a visit to the Soviet Union in April next.

It would, of course, be necessary to mention this matter to Mr Khrushchev<sup>6</sup> before you go there. But it would be rather premature for us to tell him this now, if you intend going there in April next. Remind me of this somewhat later.

I hope that in another month's time or so, our direct service from Delhi to Moscow will be established.<sup>7</sup> That will make travel much easier and swifter.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also printed in Jawaid Alam (ed.), *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64*, Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh, pp. 213-214.
2. Karan Singh, *Sadar-i-Riyasat*, Jammu and Kashmir, was affectionately called Tiger.
3. Karan Singh had sought Nehru's approval for a visit to the Soviet Union either in September-October 1958 or in April-May 1959. The reasons he cited were that "there is so much happening in the world today that travel is more of an adventure and education than ever" and he had "a horror of getting stagnated and into a rut at my age and despite all its beauty and charm Kashmir is not the most vital place in the world."
4. Karan Singh had written that he was convalescing at Dachigam after a painful attack of herpes and wanted to be away from official work and engagements for a few days.
5. On 16 June 1958, Imre Nagy, the former Prime Minister of Hungary, was executed along with former Defence Minister General Pal Maleter and two others: Miklos Gimes and Joseph Szilagyi.
6. Nikita Khrushchev, the Prime Minister of the USSR.
7. See also *ante*, pp. 267-268.

### 3. To Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 9, 1958

My dear Bakhshi,

This evening Mustafa,<sup>2</sup> Sheikh Sahib's son, came to see me. He had just come to Delhi on his way to Jaipur where he was going to join his Medical College.<sup>3</sup> He told me that he had seen his father at Kud three days ago and his father had sent me his greetings.

I asked him how Sheikh Sahib was. He said that he was keeping more or less well, but there were a number of matters which made him uncomfortable and unhappy. He was supposed to be an A class prisoner but some of the facilities given to such prisoners were not given to him. These were:

- 1) He had no books.
- 2) He was supposed to send and receive letters once a week. Actually he did not get them and apparently his own letters were not delivered or were greatly delayed. He had, therefore, given up writing letters.
- 3) There were great difficulties in regard to interviews and his wife<sup>4</sup> had not, therefore, been able to see him.
- 4) The food he was getting was not very suitable and apparently some Sikh warder or prisoner was cooking it. He was keeping some poultry but there was no one to deal with them in the proper *halal* way.

These were the things he mentioned to me and I am passing them on to you. I hope that normal facilities that are given to A class prisoners will be given to him, more especially about books and letters, etc.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.  
2. Sheikh Mustafa Kamal, third son of Sheikh Abdullah.  
3. See also *ante*, p. 359.  
4. Begum Akbar Jahan Abdullah.



#### 4. To Satya Narayan Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 18, 1958

My dear Satya Narayan,<sup>2</sup>

Ajit Singh,<sup>3</sup> who is, I believe, a Congress MP from Bhatinda in the Punjab, has been writing to me rather extraordinary letters from Kashmir, basing them on some statements of Lakhanpal.<sup>4</sup> I sent him some replies.<sup>5</sup> I was surprised at the tone and content of Ajit Singh's letters. I now learn that he has been in close contact with Lakhanpal, and Lakhanpal really has been exploiting him for this purpose. Indeed, Pakistan newspapers have given some publicity to what I wrote to Ajit Singh, which no doubt he passes on to Lakhanpal.

Now, Lakhanpal is a most objectionable and undesirable person who, I think, has been guilty of not only anti-national behaviour, but something much worse. He has been in internment for that.

I think you should speak to Ajit Singh and ask him what his relations with Lakhanpal are, and tell him that we take rather a serious view of this matter.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection
2. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.
3. Ajit Singh Bhatinda (b. 1925); agriculturist; member, Akali Dal, joined the Congress Party in January, 1954; served in the Indian Army for about six years; served as a civilian school master in the Army after Partition; President, DCC, Bhatinda; Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Bhatinda, Punjab, 1952-62.
4. P.L. Lakhanpal, author, editor and politician, detained several times, Chairman, End Kashmir Dispute Committee, a supporter of Sheikh Abdullah and opposed to Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad.
5. See also *post*, p. 422.

## Beware of Dogs!



Mr. Dulles said, to include India in a Big Power meet will lead to pressures from other interested nations.

A CARTOON FROM SHANKAR'S WEEKLY, 10 AUGUST 1958



3. You might also send for the Yugoslav Ambassador<sup>8</sup> and tell him that I have received President Tito's message and I thank him for it.<sup>9</sup> I am returning immediately to Delhi to confer with my colleagues. I agree that foreign intervention in Lebanon and Iraq is fraught with grave peril. Governments in both those countries were very unpopular and foreign intervention will have to be against nationalist forces in those countries. I shall send a fuller answer later after returning to Delhi. Meanwhile, I feel that it will be wiser for us to act separately. I have received messages from Prime Ministers of UK and Canada and have to answer them. Joint statements may come in the way of the separate action that we might take.

8. Dusan Kveder.

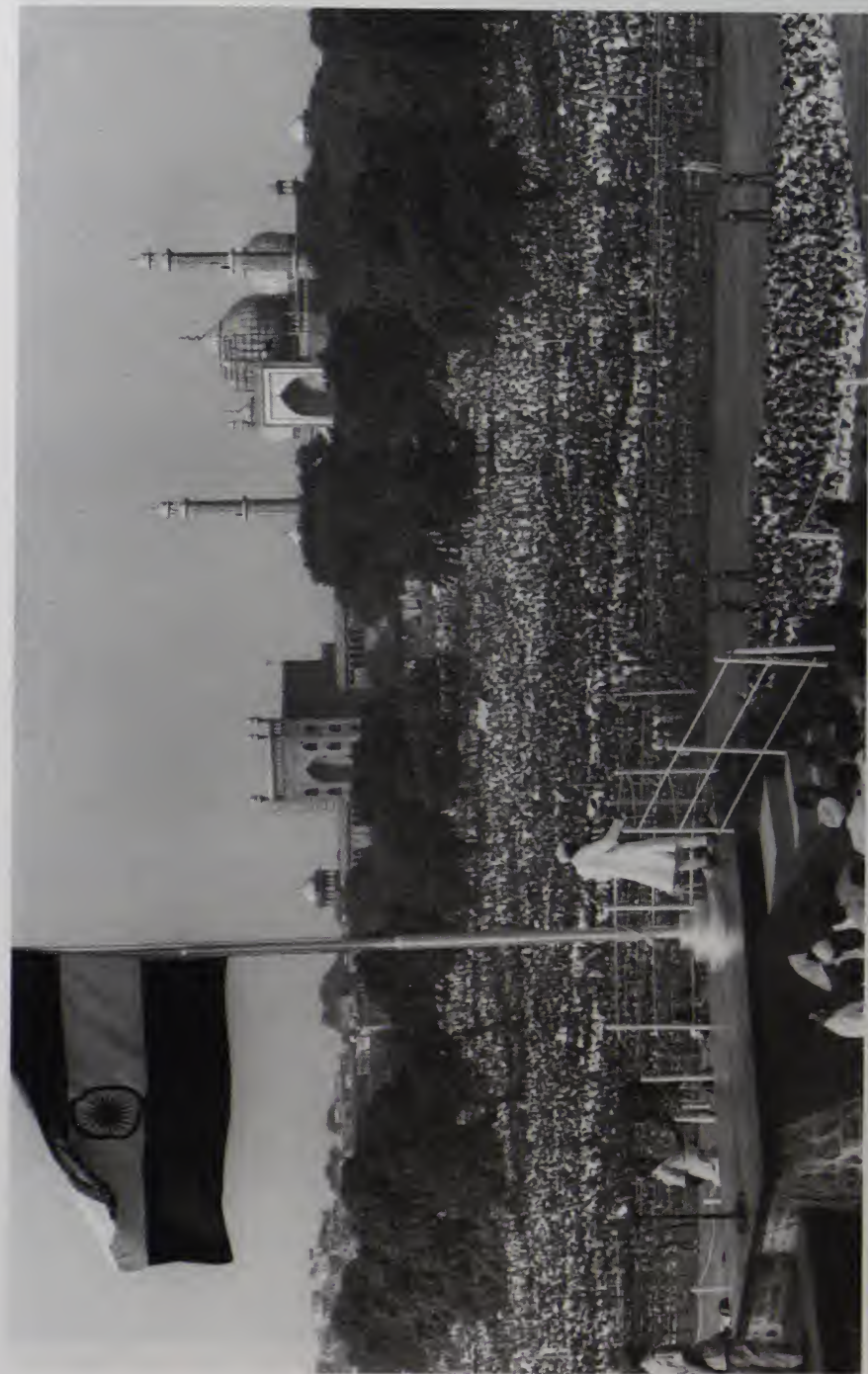
9. See *post*, pp. 467-468.

### 3. Differing Perceptions of the Crisis<sup>1</sup>

At about 9.30 this evening, the UK High Commissioner sent word to me that he had received a message from his Prime Minister for me and he would like to deliver it tonight. I asked him to come over to do so, and he came at 10 p.m., when he handed to me the attached paper. He told me this was not supposed to be official.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, N.R. Pillai and Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 17 July 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 9(33)-WANA/58, Vol. III, Sr. No. 61/Cor., MEA.

2. The British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's unofficial note on the Middle East crisis informed Nehru about a formal request on 16 July 1958 from King Hussein of Jordan and his Prime Minister Samir Rifai in Amman through the US and the UK representatives for immediate dispatch of the British and the US forces to Jordan on the grounds that the UAR would attempt a coup in Jordan on 17 July on the West Bank, on the Syrian frontier and in the capital. Macmillan consulted the US Secretary of State J.F. Dulles who indicated that the US Government had no forces available for this but would give the UK full moral support and logistic backing. The message said that the UK airborne forces would land in Jordan on 17th itself. The UK Government arrived at this decision on consideration that (i) the legitimate government in Jordan should be protected from an attack, similar to the Iraq coup, directed by Nasser and his agents; (ii) such forcible overthrow, if allowed to pass unchecked, would spread elsewhere; and (iii) in terms of international law, this was a response to an appeal for help from a friendly and legitimate government to prevent its overthrow by violent means.



ADDRESSING THE NATION FROM THE RAMPARTS OF THE RED FORT, 15 AUGUST 1958





WITH IRAQI AMBASSADOR SYED HUSSEIN JAMIL, NEW DELHI, 21 AUGUST 1958



ADDRESSING THE INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF AGRICULTURAL ECONOMISTS, MYSORE, 24 AUGUST 1958



These papers have been with me for some days.  
I have not been very clear or happy in my mind  
about the proposal. There can be no doubt that  
the two jobs can be made to do good work  
in Allahabad for the purposes named. Nevertheless  
the work is somewhat connected with me  
and because of this I would not like public  
money to be used in this way. In dealing  
with public funds, even though they are to  
be used at my discretion, I have to be  
particularly careful. I would therefore  
prefer to pay for the job out of my  
personal account and not from the  
United Commercial Bank account.

Dikshitji ~~was~~ lives and works in  
Lucknow - It is not clear to me  
how he is charge of these jobs in  
Allahabad -

J. L. Mathai  
29/8/58 -

Shri Mathai

## 5. Reply to V.S. Mani<sup>1</sup>

Please see the letter of Shri V.S. Mani, Advocate, dated 6th August 1958, and send him the following reply:

Dear Sir,

Prime Minister has received your letter of the 6th August 1958.<sup>2</sup> He had previously received a letter from Mirza Mohammed Afzal Beg<sup>3</sup> to which you refer.

The communication addressed by Shri Arthur Lall<sup>4</sup> to the Security Council was in response to a communication addressed to the Security Council by the Permanent Representative of the Pakistan Government.<sup>5</sup> In this Pakistan communication, statements were made which were not true and they had to be corrected.<sup>6</sup>

In the course of his statement, Shri Arthur Lall referred to some charges in the Conspiracy Case.<sup>7</sup> The reference was to the effect that some charges had been made and a trial was going to take place. Shri Arthur Lall avoided going into any details because the matter was being enquired into by a court.

There is no question of the proceedings in the court being affected by this statement and the Prime Minister is sure that the court will ensure that the trial is fair and impartial.

Yours faithfully,

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 16 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Letter not traceable.
3. Member of Sheikh Abdullah's Cabinet and arrested in Kashmir Conspiracy Case.
4. India's Permanent Representative in the UN.
5. Prince Aly Khan.
6. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 571 and 576-577.
7. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 568-569 and 571-572.



## 6. To Ajit Singh Bhatinda<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 26, 1958

Dear Ajit Singhji,

I have your letter of August 25th.

When you first wrote to me about something that Lakhanpal had said, I was surprised that any member of the Congress Party or, indeed, any nationally-minded Indian should deal with Lakhanpal and write to me as you had done. However, I replied to you and made it clear in my letter what I thought of Lakhanpal. The reply you sent to my letter was still more extraordinary, and it seemed to me that what I had written to you about Lakhanpal had had no effect on you whatever. You seem to think it your duty to pursue this matter, and to be some kind of an intermediary between me and Lakhanpal. What I expected happened. Lakhanpal took advantage of all this for propaganda purposes in Pakistan.

I would have sent for you, but I was too busy and so I asked our Chief Whip<sup>2</sup> to speak to you on this subject. I did not ask the Home Minister<sup>3</sup> to do so, but I may have mentioned the fact that you had written to me as you did.

As for the so-called misstatements, which you pursued with such vigour, I find from a reference to the original record that some of them are not there at all, and as for others, they were not misstatements. Anyhow, they were all very trivial.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Satya Narayan Sinha, Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs, was also the Chief Whip of the Congress Party.

3. G.B. Pant.

## 7. To Mehr Chand Khanna<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 28, 1958

My dear Mehr Chand,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 28 about the Kashmir refugees.

When we discussed this matter previously, we agreed that we should not give compensation to the Kashmir refugees. Personally I am, as you know, not in favour of compensation anywhere. Apart from this, this raises political difficulties. I still hold this opinion, that is, no compensation should be given.

But I am not opposed to some other help in rehabilitation being given on an ex-gratia basis. It should have no bearing on the property they have left behind. The only fact to be considered is their present economic position and how we can help them. I am entirely opposed to any ex-gratia payment on the basis of their previous property.

You can certainly have this matter discussed in the Rehabilitation Committee of the Cabinet. A suitable date can be fixed in consultation with Pantji.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Rehabilitation and Minority Affairs.



## 8. To Karan Singh<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 31, 1958

My dear Tiger,

Some time ago, I received your letter of August 8th. I read your note with great interest and, I think, profit.<sup>2</sup> What appealed to me especially was a young man of your generation looking at the world as it is. I wish I could enter a little more into the mind of your generation.

Yours as ever,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. Also printed in Jawaid Alam (ed.) *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64*, Select Correspondence between Jawaharlal Nehru and Karan Singh, p. 219.
2. Karan Singh had written that Nehru's note 'The Basic Approach' (see *ante*, pp. 3-11) was most thought provoking and enclosed his 'random reflections' on it in a note titled 'Issues and Idealism'. Karan Singh's note is printed in Jawaid Alam (ed.) *Jammu and Kashmir 1949-64*, pp. 215-219.

EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

1. External Affairs

2. External Affairs

3. External Affairs

4. External Affairs

5. External Affairs

6. External Affairs

7. External Affairs

8. External Affairs

9. External Affairs

10. External Affairs

11. External Affairs

12. External Affairs





## I. FOREIGN POLICY

1. International Situation—I<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker,<sup>2</sup> I beg to move:

That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration.

A few days ago, I think on the 14th of this month, I placed a statement before this House in regard to the situation in West Asia.<sup>3</sup> For the last few weeks, this situation in West Asia has dominated the international scene. I do not, therefore, propose to go into any details in regard to that situation. Indeed, as the time at our disposal is limited, I do not wish to take up too much of this time; I would rather that honourable Members had more time to give their advice and criticisms which we can consider and then I could perhaps answer this debate tomorrow morning, if that suits you. So, I should briefly refer to two matters: one is the situation in West Asia and the other is our unfortunate troubles in regard to the Indo-Pakistan border. Even in regard to that I made a statement a short while ago in this House.<sup>4</sup>

Now, to take up the latter part first, nothing very special has happened since I made that statement. Firing occasionally continues on both sides and nothing is more extraordinary than the accounts of these incidents on the border

1. Speech in the Lok Sabha, New Delhi, 19 August 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols. 1657-1669.

2. M. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar.

3. For Nehru's statement, see *post*, pp. 501-511.

4. While answering a question by Dasarath Deb, CPI member from Tripura East, Nehru stated on 19 August 1958 that the Tripura Administration had reported 49 incidents involving trespass, assault on Indian nationals, cattle-lifting, thefts, etc., between 1 August 1957 to 31 July 1958. He also stated that protests were lodged under the Indo-Pakistan Agreement of December 1948 by the District Magistrates concerned with their counterparts in East Pakistan. Nehru added that serious incidents were taken up with the East Pakistan Government by the Tripura Administration and also by the Government of India with the Government of Pakistan.



in the Pakistan Press.<sup>5</sup> I can very well understand people in Pakistan reading their newspapers imagining that the Indian Army is on the march across Pakistan. It is an extraordinary state of affairs which has absolutely no basis in fact. But if people are given that kind of information all the time, naturally they begin to believe that there is some truth in it.

As a matter of fact,—I do not know who is responsible for that—I should like to refer to an incident as to how there is apparently a good deal of confusion in the minds of the authorities of Pakistan. Two days ago, Saturday afternoon, I received a letter from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, who was, I believe, in London then—it is a long letter—giving his version of the Indo-Pakistan border incidents.<sup>6</sup> I would not like to go into that because his version differs basically from our version. But at the end of that letter, he said:

I have since seen in newspapers your statement made in the Lok Sabha on August 11th, expressing your readiness to discuss the border disputes with me. I will be most happy to meet you to discuss the border problems at a time and place mutually convenient. The Secretaries' meeting which was scheduled to be held in Karachi on August 23rd, 1958, could be held after our meeting in order to consider details.

In addition to this we were specifically told by the acting High Commissioner of Pakistan<sup>7</sup> that the Secretaries' meeting could not be held on this day because the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan was in New York<sup>8</sup> and would not return in time. Therefore, he suggested that it might be postponed for a week. In my reply to the Prime Minister of Pakistan, I said:—this letter was sent early yesterday morning—<sup>9</sup>

5. According to *The Pakistan Times and Dawn*, Indian armed forces opened fire on Pakistani villages of Sharapar, Brail and Achua near Latu in Sylhet. The reports in *Dawn* stated that the firing in Latu area was absolutely "unjustified" and without any "provocation". It added: "Firing by Bharati forces along Surma sector is continuing intermittently. In Patharia forest also the Bharati forces have been firing heavily. The Pakistan forces are, however, not replying to this firing."
6. The letter from the Prime Minister of Pakistan Firoz Khan Noon was received by Nehru on 16 August 1958.
7. Mian Abdul Aziz.
8. M.S.A. Baig, the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, was in New York to attend UN General Assembly's emergency session on the Middle East.
9. On 17 August 1958. See also *post*, p. 519.

I shall gladly meet you and discuss these border problems. I would have thought, however, that the better course would be for the Secretaries to meet first and discuss these matters in some detail and then somewhat later for us to meet. I would, therefore, recommend this course to you which appear to be more likely to gain results. If, however, you feel that we should meet even before the Secretaries do so, I shall agree to that also.

I read this out not because of the intrinsic importance but because in today's newspapers, there was an extraordinary statement. I am sorry, I have not got the paper.

Speaker: Which newspaper? *Hindustan Times* or.....?

JN: Every paper, almost. I may repeat it from my memory. The Prime Minister of Pakistan on arriving at Karachi<sup>10</sup> was asked about this and he said that it was silly to suggest that the Prime Ministers should meet before the meeting of the Secretaries—the very sentence or phrase that occurs in his letter and which afterwards I pointed out that it was better for Secretaries to meet before. But now he characterises the idea of the Prime Ministers' meeting before the Secretaries' meeting as silly.

Then somebody apparently pointed out to him that the meeting of the Secretaries had been postponed. He said: why postpone it? Then it was said by somebody there that it was postponed at the request of the Government of India. It was the reverse of the case because we do not want to postpone at all; we agreed with some reluctance.

I merely wish to point this out to indicate how confused things happen to be at the other end and how, possibly, all these reports about border incidents, etc., get twisted and contorted in the passage from their border to Karachi or London, wherever the Prime Minister may be. If one cannot trust even the Prime Minister's letter as to what he meant to say, it either means that he has not seen his own letter before it was dispatched or else it has escaped his memory.

Anyhow, so far as these border incidents, or indeed so far as any other incident in regard to India and Pakistan are concerned, I am sure every Member of this House does not want these incidents to continue, does not want this firing across the river to continue all the time, occasionally killing a person. It is neither war nor peace. It is just frustration, irritation and annoyance and a

10. On 18 August 1958.



great deal of discomfort and dislocation to the people living there. Why should we want it? It is an absurd proposition. But the fact of the matter is that each side, when this firing takes place, develops a certain nervous state—each side on the border, I mean; and naturally, if a person fires from the other side another person fires from this side and there is the river in between usually. They are not firing at a target more or less but it hits sometimes and the damage is likely to be more on our side by the physical fact that our villages are nearer the border than the other side of the river; or Karimganj is there, just a fair-sized town—on the other side the people are much farther away.<sup>11</sup>

Another difficulty has arisen. We have decided long ago—that is, Pakistan and India—that exchange of territory as a result of demarcation will take place only together, not in bits. What happens is, where a certain decision had been made in favour of Pakistan naturally, we are agreeable to hand that over, but only when the decision in our favour is also implemented. That may be delayed. Meanwhile they claim that territory and fire, and sometimes attempt to take possession of it—in Tripura there is the village of Lakhimpur, etc. I am not going into details.<sup>12</sup>

I have got this newspaper [now] and I shall read out the exact words. Mr Noon said, Pakistan had not asked for a postponement of the Secretaries' meeting to discuss border issues. He said: "It is silly to suggest that the Secretaries should meet after the meeting of the Prime Ministers."—exactly what he had asked for in his letter to me. The report says: "Mr Noon said, he had asked the Pakistan Foreign Secretary, Mr Baig,<sup>13</sup> to return by the 23rd of

11. The reference is to the firing across the Surma and Kushiara rivers. Karimganj is the border town on the banks of the Kushiara, the international boundary.

12. Pakistan sealed off the Tripura border on 4 August and sent troops which occupied the village of Lakhimpur during the night of 6-7 August. Two Pakistani soldiers and two Indian policemen were killed in the fighting. According to Pakistan, Lakhimpur had been in Pakistan's possession until it was seized by Indian troops on 30 July 1958. The Indian position was that although the Demarcation Commission had agreed that the area containing Lakhimpur should ultimately go to Pakistan it had also been agreed that the transfer of territory should not be carried out piecemeal but should only take place when demarcation was completed, and that Lakhimpur had been in India's possession. Simultaneous attacks on Lakhimpur and Tukurgram suggested they were part of a coordinated plan.

13. Mirza Sikander Ali Baig (b. 1909); joined ICS, 1934; served in various capacities in Punjab; Deputy Secretary (War Department) in the Government of India, 1944-46; Administrator for Refugees, Pakistan, 1947; Foreign Secretary of Pakistan, 1955-59; Ambassador to Switzerland, 1959-62.

this month. When his attention was drawn to the official announcements in Delhi and Karachi that the conference had been postponed by a week at Pakistan's request, a Foreign Office official who was at the airport told Mr Noon that the postponement had been decided upon at India's request. Mr Noon then said: if that is so, we have no objection. He, however, made no reply when told of his reported letter to Nehru in which it had been stated the Secretaries' conference could be postponed pending the Prime Ministers' meeting."

Now, Sir, I have this morning received a further message from the Pakistan Government, through their High Commission here, agreeing that the Secretaries' meeting should take place first and after that, at our mutual convenience, the two Prime Ministers could meet. So, naturally, we agree—that was our suggestion in our reply. The Secretaries' meeting will now presumably take place on the 30th,<sup>14</sup> I think, of this month and, so far as I am concerned, I am agreeable to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan early next month.<sup>15</sup>

Sir, to refer briefly to the situation in West Asia, the matter is before the United Nations General Assembly now, and it appears from the Press as well as from the messages we get that there is what is called "intensive diplomatic activity" going on there.<sup>16</sup> Whatever that might mean, presumably it means that people are meeting each other repeatedly, one after the other, discussing draft resolutions, trying to convince each other, trying to get support for a particular resolution.

We have received, and the newspapers have given, some report about these draft resolutions; some have not yet been given. So far as we are concerned, it has never been our policy to seek to condemn through these resolutions even though we might think that a country had erred, because any such approach of condemnation inevitably brings in the cold war approach, and people function in terms of the cold war, that is, in terms not of the particular merits of the question, but rather in terms of their basic feelings towards this group or that group.

At the same time, in regard to the West Asian situation we have said right from the beginning that, according to our thinking, it was unfortunate and

14. The Indian delegation led by Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai and the Pakistan delegation led by Pakistan Foreign Secretary M.S.A. Baig held discussions in Karachi from 30 August to 2 September 1958.
15. Nehru and Noon had three long meetings in Delhi between 9 and 11 September 1958.
16. UN General Assembly met in a special session on 8 August and from 13 to 20 August 1958.



harmful for foreign troops to be sent there, and that there will be no peace there, no settlement there, or no real advance towards settlement—final settlement may take, of course, some considerable time—till these foreign troops are withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan.<sup>17</sup> We went a step further—though I should confess to you we did not think it absolutely necessary, but in the interest of peace we went a step further—and said that if this was done, we would be agreeable to some UN Observers remaining in Lebanon and even to have their numbers somewhat increased if that was asked for; also, that even some UN Observers might even be sent to Jordan. But we made it clear that we would not be agreeable to what is called a police force of any kind, whether under UN auspices or anybody else, to go into either of these countries.

This has been our basic position. That, of course, only deals with the early steps. Merely by withdrawal of the foreign forces the problems are not solved, but a situation is created when problems can be considered objectively and a solution aimed at.

Some of the resolutions placed before the United Nations General Assembly rather ignored this basic position, bypassed it. Some indicate that the withdrawal of troops may take place in the future or should take place in the future provided certain conditions are fulfilled. So far so good. But the whole approach of making this withdrawal of troops conditional on other things happening, seems to us not a right approach.

I shall not go into the past as to why these troops went there, under what conditions. Obviously, the troops were sent to Lebanon, not because of what was happening in Lebanon—because that was in a sense under control and there was the UN Observation Group there<sup>18</sup>—not because of anything that had happened in Jordan,<sup>19</sup>—though, undoubtedly, some people feared that other things might happen in Jordan—but really they were sent because of what happened in Iraq, the *coup d'etat* in Iraq,<sup>20</sup> and the fear that it might spread. I

17. The reference is to the presence of the American forces in Lebanon and the British troops in Jordan.

18. The UN Observation Group, set up on 19 June, submitted its first report on 3 July 1958.

19. King Hussein of Jordan had become unpopular after the dismissal of the Government headed by Sulaiman Nabulsi in April 1957, the dissolution of all political parties, and formation of the Arab Federation with Iraq as its Deputy Head. On 16 July 1958, he appealed to Britain for military help. An alleged attempt by a group of officers in Jordan to assassinate the King was crushed on 12 July 1958. Another unsuccessful coup occurred on 28 July.

20. On 14 July 1958, the Republic of Iraq was proclaimed by a group of army officers after an armed coup in which King Feisal II and Prime Minister Nuri el-Said were killed.

am not going into that here. The new Republic of Iraq is now recognised by, if not all, a very large number of countries, big and small, by the western countries, by the countries of Eastern Europe and most Asian countries. It is a stable and popular Government as one can expect.

In Lebanon a certain advance has been made. A new President has been elected, General Chehab.<sup>21</sup> There is a curious position, in the sense that the new President has been elected, the old President, Chamoun, continues and intends continuing to the last day of his term, that is, the 24th September.<sup>22</sup> That creates a certain uncertainty, more especially because meanwhile the United Nations General Assembly is meeting. Who is to represent Lebanon? A representative of the old regime—a passing regime of President Chamoun—or the new regime that is likely to come in in a few weeks' time? And, the two differ considerably in regard to their foreign policy—I do not know about internal policy. So, difficulties have arisen. The United States of America have stated that they are prepared to withdraw their troops from Lebanon if the legal government of Lebanon ask them to do so—the legal government at present being that of President Chamoun and, apparently, he has no present intention of asking them to do so, although it is known that the person who is going to follow him five weeks later not only will ask, but even now, in the interval, has asked for that. Meanwhile, some part of the US army has been withdrawn, a relatively small part. All I can say is that in our opinion, it is not so much a question of the form or the words of a resolution although resolutions count. Of course, they are important because they express, they are supposed to give expression to, the collective will of the nations at the United Nations. But, it is more what lies behind that resolution, what the intention is, that matters and unless that intention is one to recognise the obviously changed and changing situation in Western Asia, these resolutions will be out of date even when they are passed and will not meet that situation.

The basic situation in Western Asia is positively the rise of Arab nationalism in a vital form. I have no doubt about it that all over the Arab countries this is felt. I do not for a moment say that this means necessarily that there should be one Arab nation. That does not follow. It is not for me to say; it is for the

21. Fouad Abdallah Chehab (1902-1973); Lebanese General and statesman of Maronite Christian extraction; joined the French Army, 1923; served in many top military posts, 1937-42; Commander of the Lebanese Contingent of the *Forces Françaises Libres au Levant*, which became the nucleus of the future Lebanese Army; Commander-in-Chief, Lebanese Army, 1946-58; concurrently Prime Minister for a short while in 1952 and Defence Minister, November 1956-February 1957; President of Lebanon, 1958-64.

22. Though General Faoud Chehab was elected the President of Lebanon by the Chamber of Deputies on the 31 July 1958, he formally assumed office on 23 September 1958.



countries concerned. There may be two nations or three. But, they all have a strong feeling of Arab nationalism. There is no doubt about it in my mind or in anybody's mind who has studied the situation that President Nasser has become a symbol of this resurgent Arab nationalism and is respected and admired all over the Arab world. That does mean, I repeat, necessarily that all these Arab countries should become one country. That is one of the basic facts.

The other basic fact is that the political and economic development has not kept pace with this development of Arab nationalism. To some extent they have been trying to catch up and they have been forced to catch up. When they resisted it two or two and a half years ago during the Suez crisis when Anglo-French forces and Israelite forces invaded Egyptian territory, there was an immediate upheaval. Not because of military victory so much, but much more so because of world opinion, the decision was largely in favour of Egypt. Even the United Nations threw its weight in that direction. These attempts to pull back, you might say, the course of events failed and they are bound to fail unless instead of failing by themselves they involve the world in a major war.

Again, we have faced in the last two weeks a situation of extreme gravity. There is no doubt in my mind that on several occasions, two weeks ago, on two, possibly three occasions, we were on the verge of a major war.<sup>23</sup> Any little incident could have started it. When the hounds of war are unleashed, nobody can bring them back again. That was somehow avoided. It did not take place. We were very very near it. I think we are away from that very critical phase. But it will be wrong to imagine that we are out of the woods or out of danger from the point of view of war. Certainly, the difficulty is, as soon as the immediate danger is removed, the people relapse, countries relapse; even statesmen relapse and go back to what is called, as I referred to, intensive diplomatic activity regardless of what might be happening. There is intense diplomatic activity going on in the United Nations building in New York. What about the countries in Western Asia? Probably the persons least consulted in the matter will be the people of those countries in Western Asia whose fate is being considered and decided. Not wholly, of course, they cannot be ignored; they have their representatives too. But, broadly speaking, that is to some extent so. That is why I say we live in the political and international sphere often enough in a world of make-believe, of unreality just as there is a tremendous act of make-believe. So far as the United Nations are concerned, there is not the People's Government of China. It is an extraordinary thing. It has nothing to do with one's likes or dislikes. But it is not simply realising or accepting a major fact of the present age. If conclusions are arrived at ignoring major

23. See *post*, pp. 460-511.

facts, the conclusions are not likely to be correct. When conclusions in regard to Western Asia are arrived at ignoring all the real forces in Western Asia, all the living forces and an attempt is made to bolster up out of date conditions or regimes, difficulties arise. Then suddenly something happens which surprises people like the *coup d'etat* in Iraq.

There is one word I should like to say. There is much reference now to indirect aggression. I remember, I am old enough to remember, the long discussions in the old League of Nations in the twenties about disarmament and about aggression and an attempt to define aggression. These discussions resulted in the production, I think, of numerous large volumes containing the reports of those discussions; no other result. Of course, instead of disarmament, we had the Second World War, some time after. My point is, even aggression as such they found it very difficult to define. Now, we have another word 'indirect aggression' which is bandied about and used and who is going to define it, I do not know.

I suppose there is indirect aggression. In fact, the whole essence of military approach, the whole essence of the cold war approach is the approach of indirect aggression. I submit it means nothing else. It means pressure, what is called a cold war approach. It is an approach of propaganda, approach of pressure, approach of military threats, an approach of building up armaments. All this is indirect aggression in that sense. The House may not approve of it; I may not; that is neither here nor there. I am merely suggesting that there is indirect aggression involved in everything that is happening. There was indirect aggression undoubtedly in Western Asia as between members of the Baghdad Pact and the opponents of the Baghdad Pact. Neither liked the other. Each party wanted to weaken the other party as much as possible by propaganda and the rest. We may not perhaps like that type of propaganda. That is neither here nor there. The point is, justifying something which is otherwise unjustifiable by saying that there has been indirect aggression does not seem to be a proper and correct approach or a helpful approach to the problem. I have always been of the view and I have stated this in this House often enough that these problems cannot be solved, especially this problem of Asia and Africa, by the military approach. They can be shelved, they can be suppressed for some time or postponed. Therefore, I earnestly hope that in regard to these West Asian problems there will be an attempt not to think in terms of this military approach, not to think in terms of suppressing people there or even, if I may say so, imagining that a political problem can be bypassed by dealing with economic issues. Economic issues are of high importance, and on my part I welcome what President Eisenhower has said in regard to the economic help being given to the West Asian countries. But that does not set aside the major political



problem. The economic part can only work if the right political approach has been made. Any solution of the West Asian problem must necessarily have the goodwill and cooperation of the countries of Western Asia—it is obvious.

I just referred to the nearness of war two weeks or three weeks ago—a war in which, there is not a shadow of doubt, if it is once started, the full panoply of the weapons of the atomic age will come in, the consequences of which each honourable Member is left to imagine. But may I refer, in this connection, to something, war or no war, which goes on, and that is the atomic tests. There is an argument sometimes that the harm that these tests do is so little that it can be ignored. Now, recently, the General Assembly of the United Nations appointed a scientific committee, and this committee has made a report.<sup>24</sup> I wish to read some very brief extracts from it. The report by the 15-nation committee, based on two years' study of mass data, said:

Radio-active contamination of the environment resulting from explosions of nuclear weapons constitutes a growing increment to world-wide radiation levels. This involves new and largely unknown hazards to present and future populations. These hazards by their very nature are beyond the control of the exposed persons.

Then again,

One general conclusion that clearly emerged from the committee's studies was that even the smallest amounts of radiation are liable to cause deleterious genetic and perhaps also somatic (physical) effects", that is, distortion, etc.

The present knowledge of the long term effects of radiation did not permit the scientists to make a precise evaluation of the possible consequences to man of slight exposure, but the committee adds, even a slow rise in the environmental radio activity in the world, whether from weapon tests or any other sources, might eventually cause appreciable damage to large populations before it could be definitely identified as due to irradiation. The situation required that mankind proceed with great caution in view of a possible under-estimation.

These are some extracts from this report from a very competent scientific body appointed by the United Nations consisting of scientists from 15 countries.

24. The 228-page report entitled "Report to the General Assembly on the Strengthening and Widening of Scientific Activities in the Field of the Effects of Atomic Radiation," was submitted on 6 August 1958.

This is the background of all international policies today, it must be remembered,—whether it is in Western Asia or anywhere else. We have managed, for the time being, to escape during the last two or three weeks this world war. We may escape again perhaps, but if this background continues and this military approach and these atomic tests continue, and apart from this, the accumulation of atomic weapons continues, then a time may come when perhaps we do not escape. At the present moment, I am told the capacity of the United States of America and to a somewhat lesser extent, of the Soviet Union for the production of atomic bombs, nuclear bombs, is so great that it is tremendous. They are piling up tremendously. Remember this. Apart from tests, the piling up of the atomic weapons continues in every country at the rate of tens of thousands a year—atomic bombs—and it is stated that there is enough material in each of these countries to bomb this world out of existence if they so choose.

Well, this thought tends to pull up one a little and take one out of the normal grooves of thinking in international or other politics. Therefore, I mention this to show how we live on the verge of a possible catastrophe, and the only way to avoid it, apart from coming to agreements and settlements, is, if I may say so in all humility, to make a different type of approach, mental approach. No country, no people responsible for the government of the country, whatever their inner feelings might be, can adopt what I would call a pacifist attitude, that is, giving up the idea completely of armies, of defence forces. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the other attitude, the military attitude, has also completely failed, and will fail even more disastrously if pursued.

Therefore, I submit, while we have to take such precautions as we can in the defence of our country, we must start and more especially the great countries must start thinking and speaking in other terms and other language.

## 2. International Situation—II<sup>1</sup>

Mr Speaker: The House will now resume further consideration of the following motion moved by the honourable Prime Minister:

That the present International Situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration.

1. Extracts from a speech in the Lok Sabha New Delhi, 20 August 1958. *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols. 1891-1913.



Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Speaker, Sir, I listened with care and due respect to the speeches made yesterday by various honourable Members of this House, more particularly to the eloquent speech full of feeling which my honourable friend, Acharya Kripalani made.<sup>2</sup> Much was said yesterday and sometimes what was said appeared to be or might even have been intended to be in criticism of Government's policy. But excepting two honourable Members I think it is worth noting that in spite of odd criticisms of emphasis or of some particular minor aspect, the whole burden of the speeches yesterday was essentially acceptance of the policy of the Government. Two honourable Members who, I regret to say, have not yet been convinced of this policy from their various points of view are the honourable Raja Mahendra Pratap<sup>3</sup> and Shri Brajeshwar Prasad.<sup>4</sup> Perhaps, if I may respectfully suggest to them to confer together and try to convince each other, both might agree.

Now, in dealing with these matters we consider each particular question in some isolation, although no question can be isolated from this context of world conditions. Nevertheless, we cannot always be considering the whole world. We have to consider a question to some extent isolated from the rest. We may consider, on the other hand, the broad world situation, the background of it, why it has arisen and in what direction it is going. Both are necessary, i.e., a perspective of the situation, seeing the roots which have given rise to the present situation and the direction in which it is going and then a more detailed view. Probably we are likely to err in not taking that perspective view—when I say 'we', I mean politicians generally, whether they are in Government or outside—because we are usually so full of the troubles of the moment that we do not or we have not the time really to think of the distant future. It is well, therefore, that some of us anyway take that perspective view and look upon these questions from the ivory tower of an academician like Acharya Kripalani. It is important that we should not forget that viewpoint and I for one welcome what Acharya Kripalani said although I do not agree with some of the things that he said. But

2. J.B. Kripalani, PSP Member from Sitamarhi, Bihar, ridiculed the very idea of a summit meeting as it left small nations at the mercy of Big Powers who had arrogated to themselves the right to decide the fate of others and determine their own spheres of influence.
3. The Independent Member of the Lok Sabha from Mathura (Uttar Pradesh) stated in the Lok Sabha on 19 August 1958, that "with all respect to our Prime Minister... I would say that he does not know the way how to have peace in the world. Peace can only be there if there is world government; otherwise there can be no peace. This State will prepare for war, and that State will prepare for war, and there will arise some small State here as is happening in West Asia."
4. Congress Member from Gaya, Bihar.

I can very well understand the pain and torment through which he must go and through which any sensitive person must go when he looks round the world today and sees how high principles are proclaimed and not adhered to and how in the name of peace something the very reverse of peace is done.

He criticised *Panchsheel* or rather he criticised the inception of it—the occasion for its inception—and how it had been broken in various parts of the world by those who said they adhered to it. It is perfectly true that the ideals of *Panchsheel* have been broken and are likely to be broken in future, just like every ideal that you put forward, whether it is truth or anything else, is often broken and denied. That does not make truth untruth. That does not make a good ideal a bad ideal, because the man who proclaimed it has broken it or has not acted up to it. If that was so, much that we do and what we say in this House or outside, all of us—and I am not speaking for any individual—will find great difficulty because the world is an imperfect world. We are imperfect. We cannot live up to our protestations; often enough we are weak or circumstances are against us. Then, are we to give up our ideals or the proclamation of the truth because we happen to be feeble specimens of humanity or the world is not prepared today? Maybe, the philosopher can examine the situation that way and say, “Well, the right thing was said but the world was not ready for it.” Therefore, let us find some other way because after all whenever truth is proclaimed it is good, but at any time and more especially, in a democracy you have to have not only the truth but the receptiveness to the truth, the capacity to face the truth, the capacity to act up to the truth in the vast mass of people.

We talk about democracy a great deal today. In everything we are challenged. In the name of democracy, students say that their professors should go. In the name of democracy, children should decide what numbers count; what the elders should do. In the name of democracy all manner of things are said as if democracy was a mere counting of heads without any other principle, rule or standard of behaviour: a most extraordinary way democracy is bandied about.

I am not dealing with democracy. What I am saying is, the real difficulty always in any human behaviour more especially in the behaviour of groups, societies, is that a high truth may be proclaimed, may be observed by the great man, call him what you will, a prophet or a great leader. But, that prophet, however great he may be, will not succeed unless he can convince others of the truth. He can only convince them to the extent that they are receptive and prepared for it. Even so, he has to tone down because others can seldom be wholly ready for it. So, when you come down to the plane of action, when you come down more particularly to the democratic plane of action, you have always to see how far the people will go, how far the people will act up to a certain principle that you have laid down.



Anyhow, my point is that the fact that some countries have not lived up to their protestation does not weaken the force of a certain correct policy like *Panchsheel*. *Panchsheel* is nothing new. If I may say so respectfully, in an odd moment it struck me to apply that word. But there is nothing new about the idea itself. It is an obvious thing. It just fits in with our way of thinking, with the way we have grown up. Once it was applied, the mere fact that it somehow caught on shows that there was something real about it. The fact is that even people who do not accept it, people in other countries, other nations, statesmen and others, who, perhaps, do not particularly fancy the way the *Panchsheel* idea came into existence, nevertheless, they all pay tribute to it. You see the force of an idea: how although it is not acted upon, yet nobody dare deny it. I am not aware of a single country. They may not have acted up to it. They may not have even proclaimed their adherence to it. But everyone, when you ask the question, says that is the only way. That shows the utter strength, the rightness, of this idea. Indeed, if you examine it from the purely practical point of view and leave out high morality, there is no other way that nations can behave to each other. The other way is the way of conflict and if you avoid the way of conflict, this has to be done.

The honourable Acharaya Kripalani said that *Panchsheel* was born in sin. According to the Christian doctrine, we are all born in sin—I do not know—and we try to get out of that. But he said that because this was included in the Indo-Chinese treaty in regard to Tibet.<sup>5</sup> This is hardly the occasion for me to go into the history of Tibet or what happened then or what action we took then and what other action we could have taken. But, I should like Acharya Kripalani to go into this a little more deeply. I can very well understand his sentiments, his feelings in the matter. But, to understand what the position has been in Tibet in the past, what it was on that particular occasion and more particularly what possible courses of action were open to us, I should like him to consider that, because, merely not liking something and expressing one's disapproval is surely not enough when you have to take positive action. I submit, I cannot go

5. The preamble to the Agreement, concluded in Peking on 29 April 1954, stated that it was based on the principles of "mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, mutual non-aggression, mutual non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit and peaceful co-existence" and that it was intended to promote trade and cultural intercourse between "the Tibet region of China" and India. The Agreement provided for the establishment of trade agencies by China in India and by India in Tibet and visits by traders and pilgrims of both countries. It also provided for the lapse of certain rights and privileges previously exercised in Tibet by the Government of India.

into this story, I submit that Tibet, long long ago, before the present Government's regime was there, was always looked upon and considered by the world community as being under the suzerainty of China. At no time did any country, any foreign country consider it independent. They considered it as autonomous under the suzerainty of China. Indeed there had been internal trouble between Tibet and China. We had some trouble over this matter at the time of Chiang Kai-shek,<sup>6</sup> that is to say, when Chiang Kai-shek was controlling the destinies of China.<sup>7</sup>

N.G. Ranga:<sup>8</sup> Did the Tibetans accept it?

JN: I am saying the world community. What I am suggesting is that we as Government of India always acknowledged the suzerainty of China whether it was before Independence or after. That was what we inherited and other countries also.

We came into the picture more particularly apart from our close contacts and cultural contacts which have been of long standing not in a particularly good way when Col. Younghusband,<sup>9</sup> at the beginning of this century, on behalf of the British power in this country invaded Tibet and rather forcibly established positions there and gained certain rights for the then Government of India which really was an extension of the British Government. Those rights continued, a kind of special extraterritorial rights in Tibet of India which really

6. Head of the Nationalist Government of China from 1928-48; Director General of Kuomintang and President of Republic of China in Taiwan (1948-75).
7. The Chinese Government made a great effort to incorporate Tibet into China and President Chiang Kai-shek twice sent his special envoys to Lhasa to try to persuade the Tibetans to become subjects of the Republic. The Tibetan leaders, however, never consented to this. During Chiang Kai-shek's Republican government in China, General Wu Zhongxin, Chairman of the Committee on Mongolia and Tibet, was sent to Lhasa to confirm the reincarnation and to host the inauguration of the fourteenth Dalai Lama on 22 February 1940. As a result of the Chinese-Tibetan treaty of 1951, internal autonomy was given to Tibet and the suzerainty to China.
8. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.
9. Francis Edward Younghusband (1863-1942); British Army officer, explorer and spiritual writer; remembered chiefly for his travels in the Far East and Central Asia—especially the 1904 British invasion of Tibet, which he led—and for his writings on Asia; held various positions including British Commissioner to Tibet and President of the Royal Geographical Society.



the British exercised through India, keeping little armed forces here and there and all that which normally independent countries do not have.<sup>10</sup>

Whether Tibet was free to act for itself or was functioning under the suzerainty of China, I do not quite understand how India or the British acting through India had a right to put their platoons, companies of troops at odd places in Tibet on the plea of protecting their commerce and this and that. That was the position. Naturally, when we became independent, we did not wish to have any extra-territorial rights in Tibet. We wanted, naturally, the Tibetans to function in freedom as they wanted. Anyhow, whatever others did, we did not wish to interfere in Tibet's life in that way.

Then came the Chinese revolution and the Chinese claimed suzerainty or even sovereignty over Tibet. They said, at any rate,—how far they gave effect to it is another matter—that Tibet was an autonomous region of the Chinese State, and they acknowledged the autonomy of Tibet. In strict law, leaving out sentiment for the moment, there was nothing that could challenge that position from our point of view. We had acknowledged it before the communist period, in Chiang Kai-shek's period, before Chiang Kai-shek came into the picture. Whoever it was in China, they had continuously acknowledged that position. As I said, whether that was directly acknowledged or passively acknowledged that was the position that every other country acknowledged. Nobody had ever challenged that position. It is completely true that there have been periods in Tibet's history when Tibet itself had not acknowledged it. When Tibet was strong it did not acknowledge it. That is so. I am talking of our position in this matter. What position could we take up?

We took up a certain position and the messages then exchanged have been published, letters, etc. We hoped we could not possibly interfere. Neither in law nor in fact can we interfere unless it is considered interference to deliver a strong speech of approval or disapproval. In these circumstances, I do submit that the action we took in regard to Tibet was the only logical, legal, constitutional

10. The Anglo-Tibetan Agreement of 1904 (i) provided for the British to trade in Tibet, (ii) called for Tibet to pay an indemnity of £500,000, ceding the Chumbi Valley to Britain until it was paid, (iii) formally recognised the Sikkim-Tibet border, and (iv) declared that Tibet would not have any relations with any other foreign powers. The provisions of the 1904 treaty were revised in the Anglo-Chinese Convention of 1906 signed between Britain and China. The British agreed not to annex Tibetan territory or to interfere in the administration of Tibet while China engaged not to permit other foreign states to interfere with the territory or internal administration of Tibet.

and sensible action that a Government could take.<sup>11</sup> I should like those gentlemen like Acharya Kripalani who feel about this matter to think about all these aspects and not suggest that any action that we took in this regard was either a wrong action in itself or was an action which led to wrong results. We cannot control the destiny of other countries, Tibet or any other. But the action that we took was not only the right action, but to the extent it did, it was a helpful action.

But, as I said, coming back to *Panchsheel*, we have to consider, and Acharya Kripalani no doubt has considered, whether there can be any other policy of international relationship except the one indicated in those five principles, I cannot think of any other; the other is conflict and domination of one over the other. If that is the correct policy, then it is a good policy and it is a policy which should be proclaimed all the time even though some of those who proclaim it do not act up to it or practise it.

J. B. Kripalani said.....

Raja Mahendra Pratap: A world federation would be a better policy.

JN: I am in entire agreement with Raja Mahendra Pratap for once. When the world federation comes, no doubt it will be based on the five principles.

Acharya Kripalani said—perhaps he has misunderstood what I had said about this matter—he was talking about foreign forces going to another country, and he gave the example of the Spanish Civil War. I am not quite sure that example was applicable, but I do not think I can lay, or any one can lay it down as an abstract rule, that foreign forces should never go. It is dangerous for foreign forces to go, they should not go, but there may be special circumstances. I entirely agree with him but I cannot lay it down as an abstract rule that they can never go. There may be some special circumstances when they may be invited, they may be asked to go, there may be other circumstances, but there is this danger that while you may accept that as an abstract principle, in reality their going may sometimes be covered by some cloak which appears to give them some justification to go there, while really the motive might not be an entirely healthy one.

11. The reference is to the negotiations between the officials of India and China between 31 December 1953 and 29 April 1954, which paved the way for the signing of the Agreement on Trade and Intercourse between India and Tibet Region of China in Peking on 29 April 1954. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp.468-469.



Then there was some reference to this summit conference that was proposed<sup>12</sup> and Acharya Kripalani said that in any event India should not have gone there because if India was there, she would have just rubber-stamped what other had agreed to, and he referred in this connection to Korea and Indo-China.<sup>13</sup>

I do not think his history information about these is quite correct. If these Great Powers which are opposed to each other—the United States of America, the Soviet Union and other Powers come to an agreement, I do not say that necessarily it must be an ideal or good agreement. I do not say that. It is conceivable that while they are opposed to each other, they may come to an agreement which is not good by the small nations. I cannot rule it out. Nevertheless, in the present context, the dangers come from the conflict of these Great Powers. That will be another kind of danger, if it ever arises, when the great nuclear powers come together and decide to control the rest of the world. In theory you may think of it, but that question does not arise today. If they agree, well, at any rate, whatever the other consequences may be, the present grave dangers would be avoided. If they agreed today to put an end to the production of nuclear bombs, I say it is a gain, a tremendous gain. If they agree to any kind of big disarmament, it is a gain for the world, it relieves the world. So, I would welcome that agreement, and if by any chance I have a say in the matter, I would try to bring about that agreement.

But why should Acharya Kripalani imagine that if we go there, we merely act as rubber stamps of anybody? That is not the reputation we have acquired in other countries or, I think, even in our country. Why should he labour under this unhappy impression? We may have been right or we may have been wrong, that is a different matter, but nobody has accused us yet of being rubber stamps anywhere. And why, may I ask, have sometimes our services been asked for, whether in Korea or Indo-China? And how does Acharya Kripalani imagine that we played the part of rubber-stamp in either of those places I do not understand at all. As a matter of fact, in both of these matters, we played a rather distinguished part, though a distant one sometimes, but a distinguished part

12. Khrushchev had suggested that India should participate in the proposed summit meeting on the situation in Middle East. See *post*, pp. 482-483.

13. On 12 June 1953, India agreed to serve as the Chairman of the Neutral Nations Repatriation Commission in Korea. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 22, pp. 452-453. On 21 July 1954, under the Geneva Agreement, three International Commissions for Supervision and Control (ICSC) for Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia were set up with India as the Chairman.

and, though I say it, I am prepared to add that but for that part there was far graver danger of war continuing. In fact, I think that in the past history of our international affairs, the part we took in Korea (it was a little less though it was there) and the part we took in Indo-China (it was also an indirect part but an important one)—these two events stand out in complete justification of the way we function. We do not push ourselves in, we do not shout, we do not wave flags, we do not denounce, but we try to help. Sometimes we have succeeded in helping a little, sometimes we have not, but we did succeed in these two, and it is surprising that these two incidents should have been brought up as examples not of success but of helpless failure.

J.B. Kripalani: May I say, Sir, that both in Korea and in Indo-China the net result is that the countries are divided between two spheres of influence and there is no likelihood of their coming together early?

JN: Yes, Germany is divided, Pakistan and India became divided into two parts. Acharya Kripalani apparently thinks that we should be able to put the world right, we should be able to solve the problems of the world, of Korea, Indo-China, maybe of Germany, maybe of other places. I have no such presumption. I do not presume that. All we could do in these places was to help in preventing dangerous developments, in preventing war. We did that. Take this country of Indo-China which had been ruined after six, seven, eight years of war, and it might have been ruined still further. Well, our coming into the picture created a certain hope, gave time to think, a certain interval was created, and if Acharya Kripalani goes to these countries of Indo-China, he will perhaps appreciate a little more of what those people think of India's efforts and India's services.

How can we put an end to the Korean problem? That simply means we should put an end to the basic problems or one of the basic problems of the world today, this struggle between two mighty colossus, mighty powers or groups of powers. It is utterly beyond our capacity. Who are we to say that we can do that? But we can, as any country can, big or small, make a difference by pleading for a right cause, provided the cause is right.

Sometimes it is suggested—one honourable Member suggested, I think it was Acharya Kripalani—that we should, the small countries of the world, small in a military sense, should band themselves together. Now, if that refers to what has been called a third force, well, it is almost a contradiction in terms, because numbers do not create a force—moral pressures, yes, but not a force. If you are thinking in terms of the great military powers of today, you do not make the slightest difference by militarily weak countries banding themselves together in terms of force, physical force; if it is in terms of moral pressure,



certainly, I agree, but even in the case of moral pressure, if it takes the shape of banding together, the moral side rather goes into the background, and the physical side comes up, the third force side which again rather lessens that moral pressure.

Therefore, it is completely right that countries should come close together, countries of a like way or thinking should come close together, should confer together, should jointly function, whether it is in the United Nations or in other places in the world. That exactly has been the policy of India and of other countries, because we do not presume to call ourselves leaders; and we dislike being called leaders of Asia, leaders of any group. We want comradeship with other countries, and on that basis, we have tried to work together, and we have been in the most intimate relationship with a number of countries, our neighbours, and even countries farther away. And we have done so—and that is important to realise—without breaking our friendly ties with other countries, because the other approach appears to be that we must become hostile to the other countries, and thus, gathering together a number of like countries, like us, that is, militarily weak, and other countries, and raise our voice in hostility to the Great Powers. That, I consider, is a wrong approach. Therefore, we have opposed the idea of a third force because it has no meaning except in terms of physical force, which we have not got, and also because the moment you talk in those terms, you adopt to some extent the cold war approach and the language of hostility.

We can, and we do, criticise other countries' activities, whether in the United Nations or here, but we have always endeavoured to do so not in the manner of the cold war, not by denouncing. Who are we to denounce? Who are we to hold forth the light to others, we who have enough darkness in our own land and in our own minds? I feel ashamed of going out to the world and telling them what to do. For my part, and I am completely honest about this, I would rather that we were cut off from the world for a while and looked after our own affairs. We cannot do that. Physically, that is not possible, because we are a part of this world, and things happen in the rest of the world which affect us.

Two curious criticisms are made. One is sometimes that we are interfering too much. The other is—and that was made yesterday repeatedly—that we do not take initiative in this matter and we allow the initiative to go into other hands. Shri Khadilkar<sup>14</sup> said that we had allowed the initiative to go to other hands. I do not know whether he expects us to be a knight-errant jumping out, taking initiatives all over the place. I do not propose to do so. Sometimes, we

14. R.K. Khadilkar, Congress Member from Ahmednagar, Bombay State.

have taken the initiative, but even when we have taken it, it has been from behind the scenes, it has been quietly, modestly and without pushing ourselves forward, without shouting whether it is in the United Nations or elsewhere. So, I agree with him that on this present occasion, and often, we have deliberately not taken the initiative.

Here is this question of Western Asia, a highly important question in which many of our most intimate and friendly countries are involved, in which the future of the world is involved from the point of view of peace or war. We have, of course, been, as I said in the course of a statement I made the other day,<sup>15</sup> in the most intimate touch with a large number of countries and their leaders, and given a great deal of thought in this matter, sometimes ventured to offer the advice confidentially. But we did think, and we do think that we could not throw about too much of directions to others as to how they should behave. It is not becoming; it is irritating to others. If quietly we can suggest something, we do so. But Shri Khadilkar would say, that is not taking the initiative, that is not marching ahead with a flag in hand, seizing the initiative. True, we have no desire to do that. We are a modest people, I hope, and we certainly are a modest Government, and we have enough problems of our own, and such influence as we have got in the world is because of our modesty, not because of our shouting. There are plenty of countries which shout, and there is a habit today of shouting and of directing and passing resolution of condemnation of this or that. I do not think anything will come of this habit of condemnation, this reflex action from the cold war.

I realise that many things are happening in this world, and in this country indeed, which I do not like, which this House does not like. We try to the best of our ability to deal with the situation, sometimes succeed a little, and sometimes fail. In this matter of Western Asia, I really have nothing more to say than what I had said previously, except that any resolution that is brought up in the United Nations, which does not clearly and specifically ask for or lead to the withdrawal of foreign forces cannot be accepted by us, because we think that is basic. I do not say that this by itself will solve the problems of Western Asia or of the Arab world, because they are very intricate, but that is the initial first step that should be taken together with such other steps as may be necessary. And our directions to our representatives there are therefore to put this withdrawal of foreign forces in the forefront.

In this connection, may I say, when I refer to our representatives there, that one of the honourable Members here, Shri Joachim Alva<sup>16</sup> was pleased

15. See *post*, pp. 501-511.

16. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Kanara, Mysore State.



generally to criticise not our policies, but our persons, personalities in the Foreign Service, and by name, which is a very unusual thing, our permanent representatives at present in the United Nations, Mr Arthur Lall? I regret that kind of approach of individuals who obviously have no possibility of answering such criticisms being mentioned there in this connection. Shri Joachim Alva is completely free, and I invite him, to criticise me because I am responsible not only for the policies that Mr Arthur Lall pursues there, but for the fact of appointing Mr Arthur Lall there; I am responsible for both. I accept that. He has every right to criticise in that way, and all I can answer is that I regret that I do not agree with him at all.<sup>17</sup> He gave some other instances and asked: 'Why did our Ambassador in Moscow<sup>18</sup> and our representative in Budapest<sup>19</sup> not tell us, and give us previous information of Mr Khrushchev going to Peking<sup>20</sup> or Imre Nagy's trial and subsequent execution?<sup>21</sup> Why did they not do that? What is your Foreign Service doing, when they cannot tell you beforehand?' Well, I do not quite know what answer to give, except that Shri Joachim Alva's conception of a Foreign Service is very remarkable, and Shri Joachim Alva's conception of what other Foreign Services do also must be remarkable. Certainly, I want to say very clearly that it is not fair to say anything about one of our most distinguished Ambassadors, the one in Moscow, Mr K.P.S. Menon, who has done very good work there, and our representative in Budapest, who has passed through a very difficult time, in the last year or two, and who has kept us, our Government, I believe, more informed of conditions there than probably—I cannot say, of course, about any Government—probably most Governments in the world. We have had more intimate and more detailed information,—and not now, but in the most difficult period,—of what has happened in Hungary, because of our representative there. And yet Mr Alva ignoring all this makes these insinuations and allegations. I may tell the House that I made enquiries about this matter. Not a single Ambassador in Moscow knew about Mr Khrushchev's visit to Peking; nobody in Peking knew that he had come there, except very intimate circles. Now this may stand to the credit

17. Alva was not happy about Lall speaking for India at the emergency session of the UN on West Asia. He stated that, "We want a man from public life, a man of the Cabinet rank who can speak with authority about peace, culture and patriotism in the UNO. It is not right that when President Eisenhower steps down into the UNO, when the leading foreign ministers of the countries are there that Lall should represent us."

18. K.P.S. Menon.

19. M.A. Rahman.

20. Khrushchev visited Peking between 31 July and 3 August 1958.

21. Nagy was executed in Budapest on 16 June 1958.

of those who kept the secrets or not—that is another matter. Certainly our Ambassador either in Peking<sup>22</sup> or Moscow was not alone in this. None of the others happened to know either, although I presume other Embassies have many sources of information which probably we did not possess.

Joachim Alva: As a matter of personal explanation, I had made no personal attack on Mr Menon or Mr Rahman. I have got the highest regard for them. What I said was that there is a lacuna in our Foreign Service; we do not know many critical things at critical times. That is all I said about our Foreign Service.

JN: Unless Mr Alva has some particular ideas of filling that lacuna, I do not know.

In regard to Indo-Pakistan relations, there is nothing more I can say. Some honourable Members said that they did not appreciate the idea of my meeting the Prime Minister of Pakistan; some others said nothing would come out of it. I do not know whether anything will come out of it or not. We are always in favour of such approaches, such meetings and I shall gladly meet him, not with exaggerated hopes, but nevertheless with some hope. I always have some hope of achieving some result. But apart from any hope that I may have about this meeting, or any other meeting, there is one particular policy to which I should like our Government and our country to adhere firmly, whatever happens, and that policy is, now, tomorrow, a year later or I do not know how long it may take, but ultimately, to have friendly relations with Pakistan. We are with the people of Pakistan and I do not want this bitterness which has subsisted in governmental circles more than among the people, to go down to the people. Apart from past history, apart from innumerable associations, we cannot get rid of the fact that we are neighbours and will remain neighbours now, tomorrow and as long after as you can think of. Therefore, it is to our interest and their interest to cooperate, to live our individual lives, independent lives and to cooperate.

It is true as Acharya Kripalani has reminded us—I think Machiavelli said it, maybe Chanakya also said it—of the theory that a country is inimical to its neighbour and is friendly to the country on the other side of the neighbour. That is the old doctrine of statecraft. You are inevitably supposed to be hostile to the neighbour country, but with the farther country you have to be friends, because it might help you against your neighbour country. That if it applied at all in its bad way, applied at a time when the world moved slowly. Now

22. G. Parthasarathi.



every country is the neighbour of the other country. There is no distance left in the world.

Anyhow our basic policy in regard to Pakistan has to be to win the friendship of Pakistan. I say so deliberately. Obviously, you do not win friendship at the sacrifice of your own country's interests. That is not friendship; that is only submission, that is only degradation, which does not bring friendship at all. So we have to protect and preserve our interests, but keeping in view this long term perspective which we hope may become a short term one. Otherwise our energies will suffer, will be wasted in this type of conflict. And what is worse, this kind of thing affects even our internal work and our internal thinking, as it must affect that of the people of Pakistan.

I said yesterday that it amazes me when I read in Pakistan newspapers reports about these border troubles in our eastern border. Honourable Members who often ask questions about these matters in this House might read some Pakistan papers for a while to find out how they are feeling about it. The feel just the reverse of how you feel, how we feel—that India is constantly creating trouble, India is committing aggression, India is firing all the time.

Quite apart from the facts, this is the picture that is put to the Pakistani people in their Press and in the statements of some of their leaders.<sup>23</sup> Now if the people of Pakistan are affected by it, we cannot be surprised. But I do not want to say anything to encourage this false picture in the minds of the Pakistani people. We are repeatedly asked: "What are you doing in the eastern border, people are demoralised." I do not like that kind of thing. Our people are not demoralised, must not be demoralised and it is wrong to have demoralisation if a few shots are fired. It is a hard world and if people get fired, get demoralised, get frightened because of a little firing, the sooner we get used to it the better, this kind of firing. It is true people are inconvenienced; it is true people are sometimes hit by the shots and die. But it is also true that we are adequately protecting our borders. Nothing is happening to infringe our sovereignty. There may be a disputed land of two hundred yards this way or that way and for a moment a police force comes in and is pushed out. This kind of thing has been happening. Let us not exaggerate this. It is a nuisance; it is annoying; it should be stopped. But let us not think that our territory is being conquered, or taken away by anybody, or that we cannot protect it adequately.

23. The *Pakistan Times* accused the Indian armed forces of indiscriminate firing on Pakistani villages. In an editorial titled "Border Clashes" it reiterated that reports had been pouring in of unprovoked Indian firing on, and armed intrusions into, East Pakistan territory. It added that India recently laid claim to and forcibly occupied Lakhimpur village in Brahmanbaria sub-division of the Eastern Wing.

Tridib Kumar Chaudhuri:<sup>24</sup> Can the Prime Minister hold out hope of any reasonable time by which these border disputes will be settled? It may not demoralise us in the sense of national demoralisation. I come from a border district, and if border demarcation is not finalised and these disputes go on endlessly, people there who are not aware of world developments, are bound to get demoralised on a limited scale.

JN: I quite appreciate what the honourable Member has said. How can I give a date? I do hope that this kind of trouble will cease.

But at the background of it all is a deeper disease as between India and Pakistan which breaks out in these various ways. I hope that will also become gradually less. But certainly I do hope that the troubles in the eastern border and the western border are somewhat of different types, because on the western border there are armies facing each other, broadly speaking. On the eastern border there are police pickets. There is no question of army movement. Sometimes press reports indicate army movements, etc., in Eastern Pakistan; or if you read the Pakistan newspapers, Indian army movements on our side, Assam and West Bengal.

All these movements are small. A small company of troops goes there, and often enough, one movement takes place because news comes that from the other side there is a movement. But they are petty movements. Here on the western side, armies face each other. It is a different type of thing. But I hope that anyhow these eastern troubles would cease. Before I finish, if you will permit me, I would like to say a few words in Hindi.<sup>25</sup>

Yesterday many speeches were made, Shri Vajpayee's<sup>26</sup> was one of them. In his speech, I think, he said that our foreign policy, in his opinion, was correct. I am thankful to him for saying so. He also said that to speak one needs voice but to remain silent one needs voice and wisdom both. I fully agree with this particularly in the context of the world assemblies. In our foreign policy, we may be overenthusiastic sometimes and get deceived but I want that as far as possible we should speak less and interfere rarely. But the difficulty is that if we do not speak, honourable Members say that you are scared and subdued. Shri Khadilkar said that you have given the reins to other people while you should be riding the horse yourself. I have stated this earlier somewhere that for some days, say for six months if the foreign secretaries, etc., of the world remain silent it would do a lot more good to the world; it would do no

24. Revolutionary Socialist Party Member from Berhampore, West Bengal.

25. Rest of the speech is translated from Hindi.

26. Atal Bihari Vajpayee, Jan Sangh Member of the Lok Sabha from Balrampur, UP.



harm to anybody. He also spoke about the summit conference and I think Acharya Kripalani also mentioned it. It gave the impression that we were very keen to attend the summit. I want to tell you the facts.

We have said repeatedly that we are not keen to participate in international conferences. But if we are invited by all concerned, nearly all, and if our participation helps, then we are willing to go. This has been our consistent policy for many years. If we show arrogance at such times and say that we would not go, it would not be a good thing. It is possible that our participation may not yield anything but refusal to attend the conference, in that case, does not look nice. We got involved with Korea and Indo-China because it became difficult for us to say no, especially when all the nations called us, and no other country was willing or found suitable. By suitable I do not mean that our country is the best but that we are one of the very few countries which are trusted by both the parties. So in these circumstances we went to Korea and Indo-China.

I have clarified my position in regard to these conferences, and also about this summit conference. For this summit conference, I received a telegram from Shri Khrushchev. The telegram came at a time when the situation (in West Asia) was very precarious and there was a lull in the fighting. A wrong turn of events would have led to a fresh fight. I have no idea why the British and the American forces were sent there. It was obvious that any wrong move would have led to disastrous consequences and could have resulted in a major conflagration involving the super powers. Probably after much deliberation, it was decided to take this step (summit meeting) to avoid the war. This was a gamble. But at the same time, there was full preparation of war also. If even one provocative step was taken, definitely scores of cities would have been destroyed within 24 hours. Both sides were fully prepared. If the decision to wage war was taken, the forces of both sides were ready with maps and plans regarding which cities to be bombarded, where atom bomb had to be dropped. The situation was tense; war was imminent and it was no time for discussion; the pressing worry was to prevent this happening. At that time, I got a cable from Shri Khrushchev, and this was the same cable which he had sent to other big countries proposing a conference in Geneva within the next two or three days. I was in a dilemma. It was difficult to reach Geneva in two three days unless I started the next morning itself. But this talk of two to three days implied that the situation was serious and one wrong step would have led to a war. I do not mean to say that our reply would have increased or reduced the seriousness of the situation but we were pressed for time. After taking into consideration all these aspects, I decided to send the reply immediately. Although the reply had already been given, I just repeated it. And the reply was that on

such occasion, if all the parties concerned want us to participate and think—and we also think—that we can be of any help, then we are ready to go. These two conditions had to be fulfilled. This was our reply and I repeated it. If anybody thinks that we were ready to go and eager to participate, it is not correct. I have no desire to go there and I am uncomfortable at these big conferences. Because in these conferences if 10, 15 or 20 people meet for discussions, they are followed by 200, 300 or 400 secretaries, and further trailed by 500 or 700 photographers and movie cameramen. In such situations my mind does not work—all the time you are followed by flash lights and movie cameras while you are trying to solve world issues. So I do not like to go to such events. I think if a few persons meet and discuss separately, then some of the misunderstandings can be removed and benefits obtained.

In the last five or seven years, I had the opportunity to visit many countries belonging to the two opposing military blocs. I was well received in both the places. Wherever I went I got affectionate welcome because of the prestige of our country. The people of other countries respect India. Whatever be their government's opinion—which influences the people—India's opinion influences those people, in the sense that at least the merits of the issue are discussed. People appreciate that we want peace and security in the world, we do not criticise each other in anger, that we talk in a calm manner with a cool mind. That is some times our presence in such gatherings may prove to be somewhat beneficial.

These are my views which I wanted to present before you.

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### 3. International Situation—III<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Sir, I beg to move:

That the present international situation and the policy of the Government of India in relation thereto be taken into consideration.

Sir, since this House considered the international situation and debated the question of foreign affairs, the world has gone through a number of stresses

1. Speech in the Rajya Sabha on the international situation, 26 August 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXII, cols. 1047-1055.
2. Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan.



and strains, and indeed has been sometimes on the brink of war and catastrophe. Fortunately that particular episode, bad as it was, is more or less past history now. I am referring, honourable Members will realise, to developments in Western Asia where, for about five or six weeks, the situation was very tense and on one or two occasions during those six weeks there was the actual danger of war breaking out on a big scale but recently, only a few days ago, the United Nations General Assembly passed a Resolution sponsored by the Arab representatives there, and passed it unanimously.<sup>3</sup> Now, after the great tension of the previous weeks this came as a tremendous relief, and I must congratulate with respect the United Nations Assembly for this unanimous decision, and the Arab countries who sponsored that Resolution. Now, that Resolution indicated two things—I am not going into the details of it, the actual contents of the Resolution; it indicated that the Arab countries are progressively coming together; Arab nationalism is becoming welded together. In this Resolution even those Arab countries which were opposed to each other functioned in cooperation. That, I think, is a good and healthy sign and secondly, as a consequence of that, that this fact is more and more realised now by other countries which had consistently tried to ignore this fact of the importance of this tremendous upsurge of Arab nationalism. In other words we are coming or some other countries are coming nearer to reality as it exists in Asia. Our difficulty has been that this adjustment to reality was a very slow process, slow for all of us, but it does not make very much difference to the world. If a weak country takes an unrealistic view, it is the weak country that suffers but if a strong and mighty power takes an unrealistic view, then the world suffers; that is the difference, and unfortunately this kind of thing has been happening. All the revolutionary changes in Asia and Africa have only been grudgingly recognised by the countries in Europe and America. I am not criticising anyone because it is always difficult to adjust oneself to a changing situation, and the fact of the matter is that the situation in the world today from any and every point of view is one which changes rapidly and basically. Now I cannot say what will happen in Western Asia. For the moment things have calmed down, and I believe all the countries concerned, more especially the Arab countries concerned, if I may use a colloquial expression, want to have a quiet time; nobody wants trouble there.

3. On 22 August 1958, the UNGA unanimously approved a resolution, drawn up by ten Arab members of the UN, which gave assurance against interference by Arab nations in each other's affairs, asked American troops in Lebanon and British troops in Jordan to withdraw, and called on the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld to undertake a new peace making mission to West Asia. It asked all countries to cooperate fully to implement the resolution.

Therefore, we may perhaps have a relatively quiet time though it must always be remembered that the major problems of that area have not been solved and they may give rise to another new upsurge and tension at any time.

Then the other subject which no doubt interests honourable Members a great deal and which comes up repeatedly in question after question is that of our relations with Pakistan. As the House knows, I expect to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan in about two weeks' time here in Delhi. We are supposed to discuss more particularly the frontier incidents, the border incidents that have been happening chiefly on our eastern border with Pakistan, and I hope at any rate that that problem which in reality is not at all a difficult problem would be solved.

Now, this problem of our border may be divided up into three parts. One is what might be called the international border, about which there is no doubt. Then there is the ceasefire line in Jammu and Kashmir State, which at any rate is precise; we know where it is. The third part of the border is what was decided by Mr Radcliffe<sup>4</sup> and Mr Justice Bagge<sup>5</sup> on two different occasions, and this has not been demarcated with the result that sometimes disputes arise as to the interpretation of what Mr Radcliffe or Mr Justice Bagge said. It is obviously a matter for friendly settlement—minor disputes about a village or about a mile here or there or whether the middle of a river is the frontier or the side of the river—and it seems to me really most deplorable that in matters of this kind there should be these border conflicts and intermittent firing all the time. However, I shall not go into this matter further. I hope that our meeting—the meeting with the Prime Minister of Pakistan—would at any rate lead to the ending of this border trouble. I am not optimistic enough to suggest that it would lead to the solution of our major problems but I have always felt that even the solution of the major problems is helped by this solving of minor problems and creating some kind of an atmosphere of détente and not this continuous tension. Our difficulty in regard to Pakistan has been, as I have said previously, an unfortunate legacy, partly the legacy we have and Pakistan has, the legacy of Partition and what happened after Partition and what has happened to some extent before. That is a thing which was inevitable and which I believe we have lived down largely on both sides, in both countries so far as the people are concerned. But a much more dangerous thing and a much more harmful

4. Cyril Radcliffe, a leading British lawyer, was the Chairman of Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commission.

5. Algot Fredrik Johan Bagge headed the judicial tribunal set up under the December 1948 Agreement for resolving the boundary disputes between East Bengal in Pakistan and West Bengal and Assam in India.



thing has been the legacy in Pakistan of what they inherited from the old Muslim League, the legacy of hatred, the legacy of denying everything that we might assert just for the sake of denial, the legacy of separation of the two nations and all that. And that is the real trouble; not, if I may say so, even major questions like Kashmir or canal waters or rehabilitation and that, big as they are because you cannot approach these questions or go anywhere towards their solution when you have to come up against this solid wall of violent hatred which is nurtured and kept up in the press and speeches of their leading men. I do not know whether it is quite justified but still to indicate just how this thing is kept up I should like to read to this House a report of a speech delivered by a very prominent member of the Muslim League of Pakistan. He is not in the Cabinet, that is true, but he is a leader of one of the major parties there; in fact, the party that played such a big part in bringing about Pakistan and which has for a long time controlled the governments there and a party which may still control the governments again. This is the background we have to deal with. This was a speech delivered, I believe, in the Assembly there of West Pakistan by Mian Mumtaz Daulatana,<sup>6</sup> the Muslim League leader.

The question before the Assembly was that the House do set up a Business Advisory Committee on the model of the Committee in the Indian Lok Sabha. It was a very businesslike proposition, a very simple proposition. Mr Daulatana opposed this. He said that "it was a shameful attitude to refer to the Indian practice as an example to be followed in Pakistan. Pakistan was achieved by the opposition of the Muslims to the traditions of the majority of the people of India. We must stick to it and even if any good thing comes from India we should not accept it. There are people who go to India and bring back articles from India and feel proud of it. Even if my sister goes to India and brings back some Banarasi saree, I will be ashamed to call her my sister." Somewhere else he said that it was their duty to hate everything Indian. Now, it is no laughing matter when a great party is governed by this outlook and one can understand the difficulties that arise in coming to an agreement with a country, the leaders of which approach these Indo-Pakistan questions in this light. I do not mean to say that every leader does so but there is no doubt that one of the governing attitudes in Pakistan has been this which a very prominent authority of the

6. Mian Mumtaz Daulatana (1916-1995); belonged to the Daulatana clan of the Johiya tribe in Punjab province of Pakistan; a close associate of M. A. Jinnah; Chief Minister of Punjab, 1951-1953; Defence Minister of Pakistan in the government of I. I. Chundrigar in 1957; Pakistan's High Commissioner to the United Kingdom during the regime of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto.

Muslim League has stated in his speech—just sheer hatred and animosity against everything India. And as I said on a previous occasion, because of this I have had often enough a feeling of frustration as to how to get over these difficulties. Honourable Members, I realise, by putting questions and supplementaries and otherwise themselves express their anger and irritation at the various things that happen. We all of us share that occasionally but the fact of the matter is that there can be only one thing that can reasonably, logically and sensibly be aimed at by us and that is some solution of these problems ultimately and friendly and cooperative relations with Pakistan, because of a variety of reasons, because we cannot do away with geography—we and they are neighbours—because we cannot do away with history, with all our past traditions and other things. We have to aim at that. That does not mean that we give up any principle that we stand for or any vital interest that we stand for. That is not the way to gain anyone's friendship—by showing weakness and surrendering on a vital point, but holding to everything vital and important, nevertheless, never going anywhere near this attitude of hatred that is exhibited in Pakistan towards India, I hope that the recent occurrences in West Asia which have had a lesson for many Western countries will also have a lesson for our neighbour country in the sense that it is not by negative policies that one can achieve anything whether in foreign affairs or in anything.

The Baghdad Pact is supposed to continue without Baghdad. I do not quite know what it is but the whole inception and conception of the Baghdad Pact was based on unreality, based on forgetting and ignoring the great forces, the great ferments in Asia today and merely thinking in terms of a certain substratum of rulers and a small group at the top and coming to agreements with them. And so suddenly you find that the very basis of the Baghdad Pact is gone; that is, Baghdad and Iraq dropped out of it more or less and as I said, I hope that all those concerned with the Baghdad Pact will profit by that not only in the narrow terms of Western Asia but in the larger terms of looking at things as they are and not as they want them to be. It is not much good framing our policies on make-believe, and that has often been done. It is true that when strong and powerful countries make policies, even if they may be based on erroneous assumptions, they have their effect. Now, I referred to the Baghdad Pact just now. In spite of this hard blow to it, there was a meeting of the Pact countries recently in London and faith in respect of that which had ceased to be Baghdad Pact was affirmed with vigour. I can have no grievance in any person or country affirming his or its faith in anything; I am concerned with my country affirming its faith in the right thing but it seems to me extraordinary that this military approach to a problem, whether it is through the Baghdad Pact or through the SEATO, should be persisted in. I am not saying for a



moment that the military approach can be given up in this world completely. I am not saying that. I am not speaking like a pacifist. But I do submit that trying to understand the world's problems in terms of military power and trying to solve them only in terms of military power has failed and is doomed to failure and a weak country in Asia will stand up, and India will stand up, and has shown that it can stand up, in the past, to military might and has not surrendered, and that lesson is learnt by others. And against this rising tide of nationalism and all those forces that had been suppressed for a century or more, it is not a wise thing or a profitable thing merely to put up military powers and military solutions.

Now, one thing I may mention in connection with the Baghdad Pact, something that has not been made quite clear, but it appeared from various announcements that additional assurances have been given by those members of the Baghdad Pact about coming to each other's rescue in case something happened. It is not quite clear what that something is. Previously it was said that the Baghdad Pact, as the SEATO, was meant to face the challenge of what is called international communism or any communist attack from the north. How far it succeeded in doing that, I do not know. My own reading of events in the past few years is that the Baghdad Pact was remarkably successful in encouraging and helping the very forces that it was trying to suppress and restrain. However, I am interested naturally to know what the present position of these assurances is, not from the point of view of communism and anti-communism, but because it has been our misfortune to have to deal with this question in another aspect; that is, Pakistan our neighbour country with whom we want to be friendly is not only a part of the Baghdad Pact and gets thereby the help and assurance and backing of some of the most powerful nations in the world and thereby Pakistan itself perhaps is prevented from adopting that friendly attitude to us or that attitude to come to terms with us which it otherwise might, but also there is the other question of the supply of large quantities of military equipment. A question was put here a little while ago about any foreign bases in Pakistan, and the Pakistan Government has denied that. Whether they are foreign bases or not, and even if we accept the Pakistan Government's denial, the fact is that the military equipment of Pakistan has grown and grown, that vast air-fields have been built all over. Whether you call them foreign or domestic—you call them what you like—they are there. They are built there. And all this arming of Pakistan is matter of some concern to us. Why? Pakistan is an independent country. We have no right to interfere with what it chooses to do, but it becomes a matter of concern to us, and that arming is accompanied with this background which was exhibited in the speech of Mr Daulatana, which I have just read to this House. Because the quintessence of hatred for

India plus accumulation of arms may lead to bad results; that is a matter of concern to us.

H.D. Rajah:<sup>7</sup> Then what are we to do?

JN: Exactly. We shall do what we are doing and we shall not get excited like sometimes the honourable Member gets excited, because that does not help at all in considering any question. Strong speeches do not either from a military or peaceful points of view solve the problem.

Now, while in Western Asia politically and militarily the position is somewhat cooler, in Eastern Asia we have signs of fresh activity and in the last few days it appears that the islands of Quemoy and Matsu off the coast of China had been heavily bombarded from the Chinese mainland.<sup>8</sup> The House will remember these islands are very near the coast of China. You can see them, I believe, from the coast and naturally the occupation of these islands by the Formosa authorities is a constant matter of friction.

So, this is the position in so far as the major events in the world are concerned. We have no particular solution to offer to those problems. When they affect us, we take some action; when they affect others, wherever possible we try to help to find a solution. For instance, in this matter, in the United Nations General Assembly we were helpful, I am glad to say, in the final solution being found in the way it was found. We have felt all along that a loud and aggressive attitude is not helpful nor is it dignified and normally we function, therefore, quietly and rather modestly. I believe we have achieved some success from that and I believe that the world has come to recognise not only the virtue of the basic policies in regard to international affairs that we pursue—which we sometimes call the *Panchsheel*—but also the manner of pursuing it. I do not mean to say that we have not made mistakes or we do not sometimes err. We do that. But we want to strive at least to think on those principles and act up to them. It is obvious that a country's authority and influence is largely conditioned by that country's internal strength, domestic strength. If that domestic strength is considerable, well, it can speak with a firm voice. Otherwise, its voice is not listened to. When I said domestic strength, I was not thinking

7. Republican Party Member of the Rajya Sabha from Madras State.

8. The Communist Government of China commenced an artillery bombardment of Quemoy and Matsu on 23 August 1958. Chinese patrol boats blockaded the islands and even threatened the US naval ships deployed in the vicinity. The Chinese also launched a massive propaganda assault on the US proclaiming their intent of liberating the islands. The Chinese offensive lasted till October.



merely in terms of arms or financial strength, because we have neither. But strength means other things too. And it is because to some extent people in other countries have realised that we do possess some kind of strength, in spite of our numerous weaknesses, and some kind of integrity of policy, that some credit has come to us from other countries and our voice is sometimes listened to with a measure of respect.

Sir, I do not wish to take up the time of the House at this stage much because we have not too much time and I should like to hear honourable Members on this question and profit by what they say, and finally, if necessary, to have my say again.<sup>9</sup> I beg to move this motion.

9. Nehru replied to the debate on the motion in the Rajya Sabha on 27 August 1958. See *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXII, cols. 1237-1251.

## II. THE MIDDLE EAST CRISIS

### 1. No Need to Panic<sup>1</sup>

I do not at all like our people becoming panicky because of some local trouble.<sup>2</sup> Of course, if conditions become very bad in Beirut, it may perhaps become difficult to continue sending our aircraft to Beirut.<sup>3</sup> But, unless conditions are really bad, I would discourage this.<sup>4</sup> If our aircraft do not go to Beirut, then probably we will not be able to get air mail letters and reports from Beirut as rapidly as we are doing now.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 2 July 1958. File No. 9(33)-WANA/58, Vol. II, p. 9/Note, MEA.
2. The crew of the Air India International became extremely panicky on account of reported situation in Beirut and suggested their withdrawal temporarily and stopping at Cairo instead of Beirut.
3. Lebanon was facing a civil war between the opposition forces led by Saeb Salam, Rashid Karami, Kemal Jumblatt and pro-Western Government of President Chamoun. Following widespread agitation against his Government, President Chamoun approached the UN Security Council which appointed a UN Observation Group on 11 June 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 630-633.
4. On 14 July 1958, Nehru wrote (not printed) to Dutt along the same lines regarding the panicky reaction of the Indian Mission staff in Baghdad.

## 2. Concern Over the Middle East<sup>1</sup>

I am returning to Delhi tomorrow morning, reaching there about 10 o'clock.<sup>2</sup> Please have the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting at 12 Noon.

2. You might send for the High Commissioners of UK<sup>3</sup> and Canada.<sup>4</sup> Tell them that I have received messages from their Prime Ministers and I thank them for them.<sup>5</sup> I am returning to Delhi immediately to confer with my colleagues. I need not say how very greatly concerned all of us are at developments in the Middle East.<sup>6</sup> What has happened is bad enough. But I feel that every effort is to be made to prevent the conflict spreading. Hence, while I understand the reasons for the American intervention, I fear that this may well lead to the conflict spreading.<sup>7</sup> There can be no doubt that both in Lebanon and Iraq, the Governments were unpopular. Any intervention in favour of Governments will obviously lead to conflict with the people and nationalist elements there. This will create a still more dangerous situation. However, I shall be returning soon to confer with my colleagues and then I hope to send a further reply.

1. Telephonic message for Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt from Allahabad, 16 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. Nehru was on a tour of the drought-affected areas of his constituency in Allahabad on 15 and 16 July 1958.

3. Malcolm Macdonald.

4. Chester A. Ronning.

5. See *post*, pp. 463-467.

6. While a civil war was raging in Lebanon and the US forces landed there on the request of President Chamoun on 16 July, King Faisal II of Iraq and his Prime Minister Nuri el-Said were killed in Baghdad in a coup led by a group of army officers on 14 July. The British forces landed in Jordan on 17 July on King Hussein's request.

7. The disturbances in Lebanon spread to Beirut, Sidon, much of Bekaa Valley, large hill areas of northern and southern Lebanon and almost all areas adjoining the Syrian frontier during June and July 1958. S. Dutt noted on 16 July that British High Commissioner Macdonald gave Harold Macmillan's message to Nehru (see *post*, pp. 463-465). The High Commissioner explained that the "situation in Lebanon has been provoked by the UAR. Money, men and propaganda have been employed by the UAR to stir up trouble and rebellion in Lebanon just as was being done throughout the Middle East." Dutt also noted that according to the US Ambassador Ellsworth Bunker, the US forces were landing in Lebanon to protect the US nationals and also to help maintain the integrity and independence of Lebanon. Dutt expressed the opinion that since there were no foreign invading forces in Lebanon the US forces would have to fight the opposition elements.



3. You might also send for the Yugoslav Ambassador<sup>8</sup> and tell him that I have received President Tito's message and I thank him for it.<sup>9</sup> I am returning immediately to Delhi to confer with my colleagues. I agree that foreign intervention in Lebanon and Iraq is fraught with grave peril. Governments in both those countries were very unpopular and foreign intervention will have to be against nationalist forces in those countries. I shall send a fuller answer later after returning to Delhi. Meanwhile, I feel that it will be wiser for us to act separately. I have received messages from Prime Ministers of UK and Canada and have to answer them. Joint statements may come in the way of the separate action that we might take.

8. Dusan Kveder.

9. See *post*, pp. 467-468.

### 3. Differing Perceptions of the Crisis<sup>1</sup>

At about 9.30 this evening, the UK High Commissioner sent word to me that he had received a message from his Prime Minister for me and he would like to deliver it tonight. I asked him to come over to do so, and he came at 10 p.m., when he handed to me the attached paper. He told me this was not supposed to be official.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to Secretary General, MEA, N.R. Pillai and Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 17 July 1958. JN Collection. Also available in File No. 9(33)-WANA/58, Vol. III, Sr. No. 61/Cor., MEA.
2. The British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan's unofficial note on the Middle East crisis informed Nehru about a formal request on 16 July 1958 from King Hussein of Jordan and his Prime Minister Samir Rifai in Amman through the US and the UK representatives for immediate dispatch of the British and the US forces to Jordan on the grounds that the UAR would attempt a coup in Jordan on 17 July on the West Bank, on the Syrian frontier and in the capital. Macmillan consulted the US Secretary of State J.F. Dulles who indicated that the US Government had no forces available for this but would give the UK full moral support and logistic backing. The message said that the UK airborne forces would land in Jordan on 17th itself. The UK Government arrived at this decision on consideration that (i) the legitimate government in Jordan should be protected from an attack, similar to the Iraq coup, directed by Nasser and his agents; (ii) such forcible overthrow, if allowed to pass unchecked, would spread elsewhere; and (iii) in terms of international law, this was a response to an appeal for help from a friendly and legitimate government to prevent its overthrow by violent means.

2. He remained with me for about 45 minutes, and we discussed recent developments in the Middle East and their possible consequences. As there was nothing new in what he said and what I said to him in reply, I need not give a detailed account of our talk. I pointed out, however, that we seemed to proceed on different appraisals of the situation and even our facts did not tally with each other. I was not prepared to agree to the factual analysis given in this paper, though it was obvious that there were many pulls in the Middle East and for a number of years a cold war had been going on between different Arab countries. It was obvious that President Nasser tried to undermine Nuri el-Said, and Nuri el-Said wanted to undermine Nasser. In this business, President Nasser was advantageously situated because he was a symbol of Arab nationalism which affected the people all over the Arab world powerfully; Nuri el-Said, in the eyes of the people, was the emblem of foreign powers and hence unpopular. Further, there was the obvious and unchangeable fact of geography. I added that the Western powers thought in terms of communism or of Nasser or Nuri el-Said, but seemed to ignore the peoples of these countries and what their feelings were.

3. The High Commissioner told me that Mr Macmillan was likely to send a personal message to me later.

#### **4. Message to Harold Macmillan<sup>1</sup>**

Thank you for your message about developments in the Middle East.<sup>2</sup> I was out of Delhi, but have hastened back. I entirely agree with you that the situation is very dangerous for the peace of the world. Indeed, it would appear that all the good work done to consolidate peace has suddenly been washed away and the prospect of a terrible war has suddenly come very near.

2. While I fully understand the shock that you and President Eisenhower must have experienced at developments in Iraq and more especially the killing of the King and the Prime Minister, I am alarmed at the possible consequences of US forces landing in Lebanon. I have no doubt that President Eisenhower

1. New Delhi, 17 July 1958. JN Collection. This was sent through Indian High Commissioner in London.

2. In a personal message to Nehru on 16 July 1958, the British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan had written that the situation was serious and dangerous for world peace. He stated that the events of the previous two days had caused a marked deterioration in the prevailing situation in the Middle East.



earnestly desires the maintenance of peace, but the actions that have already been taken and are being taken from day to day and hour to hour indicate that events are rapidly marching towards war.

3. In Iraq while we must all deeply regret the method of bringing about political changes by assassination, the change in regime appears to be popular and to have the support not only of the army but of the people. Evidently, it is backed by all the forces of Arab and Iraqi nationalism. Life in Baghdad is reverting to some kind of normality.

4. In Lebanon all the accounts we have had, including reports of the UN Observation Group and the Secretary General, indicate that the situation was improving<sup>3</sup> and there was a distinct possibility of a compromise. All that appears to have ended now because of the landing of US forces. Even the Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army<sup>4</sup> has protested against this landing as foreign intervention. There is the possibility of American forces coming into conflict with the Lebanese Army and Lebanese national sentiment. All this is likely to play into the hands of the very forces which it was presumably the intention of the US Government to weaken. It may well produce a very embarrassing situation for these US forces. Another important consideration is that the United Nations and the Security Council were actually dealing with the Lebanese situation, and meeting with some success, when those landings took place.

5. I have no doubt that you and President Eisenhower have given the most earnest consideration to all these factors. I would plead, however, for some step which might stop this terrible drift to war. The reason given for the US intervention was to stop foreign infiltration into Lebanon. The UN Observation Group has stated that they are now in full control of the frontier with Syria and there is hardly any possibility of infiltration on a marked scale. In view of this assurance the objective of the US forces has been largely met. I therefore most earnestly hope that the US forces will be withdrawn from Lebanon. Any such move would immediately lessen the crisis and redound to the credit of the United States and their allies.

6. I have previously ventured to point out to you the basic nationalist urges in Asian countries. These are very evident in the Arab world and the recent happenings in Iraq are evidence of the strength of this nationalism. I believe it has nothing to do with communism. Indeed, the new military regime in Baghdad contains, so I am told, some very conservative persons.

3. The three-member UN Observation Group was appointed on 14 June 1958 by the UN Secretary General Dag Hammarskjöld who also visited Lebanon from 19 to 22 June 1958.

4. General Fouad Chehab.

7. Every hour brings depressing news of the drift to war. Even as I write this, I learn with dismay that British forces have landed in Jordan. I know how deeply you feel for peace and how President Eisenhower has thrown his great influence in the cause of peace during the past years. I would plead with you with the utmost earnestness that this occasion demands a wise restraint if we are not to give up all hopes of peace. It is not with armed intervention in other countries that we can serve the cause we have at heart.

With warm regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Message to John George Diefenbaker<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message about USA landings in the Lebanon.<sup>2</sup> I was away from Delhi but have returned in view of the dangerous crisis that the world is facing.

2. We have given anxious thought to these serious developments. I can well understand the shock experienced in the United States and elsewhere by the news of the *coup d'état* in Baghdad accompanied by the killing of the King and the Prime Minister and I entirely appreciate what you have said about localising disturbances in the Middle East. Our fear, however, is that the landing of US troops in Lebanon will have the opposite effect and indeed has added to the possibility of the conflict spreading.

3. Our own information is that the situation in the Lebanon was definitely improving as a result of the work of the United Nations Observation Group and there was every hope of a settlement before the date of the Presidential election there. The report of the Observation Group as well as the comments of the UN Secretary General gave this favourable indication, which was supported by

1. New Delhi, 17 July 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Canadian High Commissioner in Delhi.

2. The Canadian Prime Minister Diefenbaker wrote: "In these anxious moments I know how important and valued your counsel will be in those capitals where momentous decisions will be considered during the next few days. It seems to me that a supreme effort should be made to attempt to localise the disturbances in the Middle East which if allowed to flare up could engulf us all. I would welcome your views and am instructing the Canadian Delegation in New York to remain in constant touch with yours."



our own information. In effect, the United Nations were dealing with the situation and meeting with some success in their efforts to control it.

4. In Iraq, while we must all deeply regret the method of bringing about political changes by assassination, there appears to be little doubt that these changes are popular and the situation in Baghdad and elsewhere is calm and not very abnormal. The members of the new military council are far from being extremists or communists. Indeed some of them are said to be rather conservative. They represent Iraqi and Arab nationalism, hence their popularity.<sup>3</sup>

5. In these circumstances, any outside interference in Lebanon or Iraq would necessarily rouse nationalist passions, as it appears to be doing now. In Lebanon specially, it is very difficult to understand how the landing of US forces can help the cause of peace. If they take any active part, they are likely to come into conflict with nationalist forces and thus again be put completely in the wrong. In fact, the Commander-in-Chief of the Lebanese Army has himself protested against US landings. The position of the United Nations Observation Group as well as the United Nations itself has become a difficult and embarrassing one because of this intervention. That Group has already stated that they have taken adequate steps to watch the entire Syrian-Lebanese frontier. In view of this positive statement and the success that has already attended the efforts of the UN Observation Group, it seems very unfortunate that US intervention, however well-intentioned, should put an end to these hopeful processes and rouse fierce opposition from Arab nationalism everywhere.

6. As you know, the situation is dangerous in the extreme and we have arrived at a stage when every step taken appears to lead inevitably to a catastrophe which we have all feared so long and sought to avoid. I would earnestly plead that this process be reversed, even at this moment, and the American forces withdrawn from Lebanon. In view of the UN Observation Group's statement that they are in full control of the frontier with Syria, there need be no apprehension of any marked infiltration. This in itself can be an adequate reason for the withdrawal of the American forces.

7. I realise how difficult it is to retrace such steps when once taken. But the situation is so fraught with peril for humanity that I earnestly trust that the United States Government and their allied Governments will act wisely and with restraint at this hour of crisis. This will redound more to their credit than show of strength which can only rouse bitter antagonisms and conflicts.

3. Brig. Abdul Karim Kassim (1914-1963) and Col. Abdul Salem Arif (1921-1966) led the coup in Iraq. Both officers had socialist convictions.

8. Unless this is done, we may become helpless spectators of advancing and all consuming tragedy.<sup>4</sup>

With warm regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Referring to the Soviet proposal for a meeting of the Heads of Governments on the Middle East, Diefenbaker wrote on 22 July 1958 that he intended making a statement in the Canadian House of Commons on 21 July. He wrote that while recognising "the rather provocative tone of the recent Soviet communication," he would say that the problems of the Middle East should be on the agenda of any summit meeting which should be held as soon as possible. He intended to express the hope that no country would take any action which would further raise the international temperature. He wrote that he would instruct the Canadian Permanent Delegate to the North Atlantic Council to say at a meeting, to be held the next day, that "all members of NATO should exercise the greatest caution in national action which might involve the alliance as a whole."

## 6. Message to Josip Broz Tito<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message.<sup>2</sup> I was away from Delhi, but have hurried back because of the alarming developments that have taken place in the Middle Eastern region. I entirely agree with you that we are facing a most dangerous situation and might be on the brink of war. I think that the landing of American forces in Lebanon was most unfortunate and has let loose certain forces and tendencies which will be very difficult now to control. In any event, that form of intervention would have had serious consequences, but in view of the fact that the United Nations was dealing with the situation in Lebanon and meeting with some

1. New Delhi, 17 July 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Belgrade.
2. In his message of 16 July 1958, Tito wrote: "With regard to the critical situation that has resulted by landing of the American troops in Lebanon, I consider it to be indispensable necessity to make some move either in the form of a joint declaration of our two Governments, or more Governments of the countries that do not belong to the power blocs, or in some other form. I would appreciate it very much to hear your opinion in this matter. We consider the present situation to be extremely dangerous for the peace in the world."



success, this was peculiarly unfortunate. In fact, the situation in the Lebanon was improving then and there was some prospect of a settlement.

2. In Iraq the *coup d'etat* evidently represented the Arab nationalist movement and appears to be very popular among the people.

3. In the circumstances I feel that the only chance of retrieving a very difficult situation is for the American forces to withdraw from Lebanon, difficult as this may be. The United Nations Observation Group has already stated that they are now watching the entire frontier with Syria and thus there is little likelihood of infiltration on a large scale. As the prevention of such infiltration was the principal objective of the American forces, it can be said that the objective can be gained through the UN Observation Group and there is no longer any need for the American forces there which, if they remain, are likely to come into conflict with Lebanese forces.

4. I entirely agree with you that we should try our utmost to prevent this rapid deterioration and drift to war. I am conveying our feelings to the UK, USA and Canada and pressing for the withdrawal of the US forces. I feel that those separate approaches on an informal level are likely to have more effect than joint declarations. The objective of the separate approaches will, of course, be the same. In public also we can express ourselves. We are doing this though we try to use moderate language so as not to increase the passions that have already been let loose and which, if not restrained, will inevitably lead to war.

5. We should, of course, keep in constant and intimate touch with each other so that the steps we may take may be coordinated and help each other.

Warm regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 7. To Dwight D. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1958

Dear Mr President,

I am grateful to you for your message of July 16th,<sup>2</sup> which was handed to me last evening by Ambassador Bunker.<sup>3</sup> We have been greatly distressed at recent developments in the Middle Eastern regions and the awful threat of war that now hangs over the world.

In the Lebanon, we had hoped that a settlement was not far off. Indeed, reports that had reached us about the activities of the United Nations Observation Group confirmed the belief that the situation was well in hand and was indeed improving. This sudden deterioration has distressed us greatly.

I can well understand that the events in Baghdad must have come to you as a shock. We are opposed to political changes being brought about by violence and assassination. At the same time, it has been clear to us for a long time past that there was widespread discontent in Iraq against the then existing regime. It appears that the *coup d'etat*, though secretly organised, has been welcomed by the great majority of the people of Iraq, and life in Baghdad is returning to normality in spite of these grave disturbances. The dominant urge in the Arab countries, as indeed elsewhere in Asia and Africa, is that of nationalism and

1. JN Collection.

2. Eisenhower had written: "To permit legally constituted governments to be overthrown, one after another, through illegal and violent means and as a result of external interference could, in our view, lead only to a repetition of the tragic history of the 1930s when mankind stood idly by and watched nation after nation lose its independence until a global conflict was inevitably precipitated. It was in this context that the President and lawful government of Lebanon made their urgent request to us for armed assistance and in this context that I was convinced that despite the risks involved, both material risks and the risk of misunderstanding and misrepresentation of our nation, we had no honorable course save to respond affirmatively to the Lebanese request." He also wrote that the US had submitted a resolution to the Security Council which would provide "an effective basis for the United Nations taking over the grave responsibility which we have assumed." He expressed hope that India would "enlarge and extend its cooperation with the United Nations to the end of assisting Lebanon in maintaining its sovereign independence and integrity." He referred to Nehru's deep interest in world peace and order and wrote that he would be "grateful for any comment or counsel you might desire to offer as I prize very highly the relationship which enables us to discuss matters of such gravity with the utmost frankness."

3. Ellsworth Bunker, US Ambassador from 1956-61.



national freedom. This nationalist urge is often indisciplined and goes astray, but it still remains the basic factor to be reckoned with. Governments which are not in line with this urge have no popular support and are, therefore, unstable. The only way to reach stability is to allow the people of every country to settle their own problems without outside pressure or intervention.

During the last few years, there has been a continuing conflict and a "cold war" between some of the Arab countries. I believe that this has been accentuated by the Baghdad Pact, and each of these groups has tried to influence and undermine the other. Probably, our appraisal of the situation has been different from that of the United States. While outside influences have been at work both in Lebanon and Iraq, the real movements in both these countries rise from the people and represent their powerfully felt urges. In Lebanon the opposition wants to maintain the sovereign independence and integrity of their country, and the conflict is entirely an internal matter. Because of this, we have felt strongly that armed intervention cannot solve any problem, but is likely to aggravate it. We have regretted, therefore, the landing of the United States forces in Lebanon. This may involve them in conflict with the people of Lebanon and thus not only embarrass them, but also make it appear that they are opposed to the nationalist urges of the Lebanese people. The wider consequences of such intervention are also likely to be very serious, even though that intervention was meant to bring peace to the country.

The United Nations Observation Group has been functioning in the Lebanon with some success, and I have no doubt that their presence there has been a very helpful factor in controlling the situation. Indeed, it was our hope and belief that they might succeed in bringing about a settlement between rival groups there. The problem can only be settled by the Lebanese people themselves, though they may be influenced by others.

From day to day, and even hour to hour, the situation is deteriorating, and a terrible prospect of a major war is now before us. You, Mr President, have laboured for peace and, on more than one occasion, have averted the danger of war. I would earnestly appeal to you, at this critical moment, to stop this drift to war. You have said that the United States forces can withdraw as soon as the United Nations can act. The United Nations has been in charge of this situation for some time through its Observation Group, and we have been told that they are now in a position to keep watch over the entire frontier with Syria. The possibility of infiltration, therefore, is very limited, and the dangers which you fear can thus be avoided or controlled by the United Nations. Any other course would involve foreign forces coming into conflict with the Lebanese people. This would undoubtedly worsen the situation and rouse nationalist passions all over the Arab world and, indeed, in many other countries also.

In many of these Arab countries, as elsewhere, there are pulls in various directions, and there is a hunger for political freedom and economic advance. The conflict is often between reactionary and feudal classes and those who stand for this economic advance.

In Iraq, it is our information that some members of the new regime are very far from extreme in their policies. Indeed, they can well be called conservatives. But they are ardent nationalists. In the Lebanon also, those who have rebelled against the present Government are nationalists and, as you know, the chief question has been a change in the Presidentship. All these questions can be solved peacefully if the people are left to themselves. It is no longer possible to suppress for long the nationalist urge that fills these people. Intervention from outside has the opposite effect from what was intended, for nothing is more objected to by people than armed intervention.

I would, therefore, plead with you, Mr President, to avoid such intervention and, withdrawing the United States forces from Lebanon, allow the United Nations to deal with this situation in the way they have dealt with it, with some success, in the past.

With warm regards,

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 8. Message to U Nu<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message. Middle Eastern situation is undoubtedly dangerous and may lead to major war. I am convinced that the landing of United States forces in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan was wholly misconceived and likely to defeat purpose aimed at, apart from great risk of war. The situation in Lebanon was decidedly improving because of the activities of the United Nations Observation Group and there was some possibility of a settlement. All this has been knocked on the head by landing of American forces.

2. This was undoubtedly the result of the *coup d'état* in Baghdad. While we must regret killing of King Faisal and others there, the developments in Iraq were not surprising as the Government there and especially Prime Minister

1. New Delhi, 18 July 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian High Commissioner in Rangoon.

U Nu was the Prime Minister of Burma.



Nuri el-Said were exceedingly unpopular and their policy was disliked. The new regime there appears to be popular both with the army and the people and, from all accounts, consists of sober and well-known nationalist leaders. Conditions in Baghdad appear to be fairly normal now.

3. These recent developments have undoubtedly been a severe blow to American and British policies in Middle-Eastern region. The Baghdad Pact is shattered. All this has come as a great shock to the United States and the United Kingdom. But the fault lies with them for following wrong policies and supporting feudal and reactionary regimes and opposing the great force of Arab nationalism.

4. The only way to stop the drift to war is for American forces and British forces to be withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan, leaving the United Nations Observation Group to continue to function in Lebanon, if necessary with added numbers. But we are entirely opposed to any police force being sent there on behalf of the United Nations. Unless these forces are withdrawn, the drift to war will be inevitable.

5. I have replied to President Tito that while I broadly agree with his appraisal of the situation and the necessity of the withdrawal of foreign forces, I think it is better for each country to take steps separately instead of issuing some kind of joint manifesto which seldom helps in a moment of crisis. We should certainly coordinate our activities and keep in touch with each other but should function separately.

6. We have expressed our views strongly but privately to Eisenhower, Macmillan and Diefenbaker of Canada. We have been in contact with the Soviet Union and Nasser as well as some other countries.

7. Although we have expressed ourselves strongly, we have done so in moderate language because we do not wish to add to the existing passions.

8. Indonesia has also suggested some kind of a joint statement by Colombo Powers. In a situation which changes from hour to hour, it is difficult to issue joint statements and still more difficult to have a meeting. But we can follow broadly the same policy as suggested above. Also our representatives at the United Nations should cooperate and keep in touch with each other.

Warm regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

## 9. To Atal Bihari Vajpayee<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 18, 1958

Dear Shri Vajpayee,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of July 17th. The international situation is indeed critical and dangerous. If real necessity arises, it may be desirable to arrange for the Lok Sabha to meet earlier than intended. In any event, that will take some time. I think that it will be better to wait to see the developments during the next few days.

As for a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Consultative Committee, I suppose that many of its members are absent from Delhi. It may be possible, of course, to get those who are present in Delhi to meet. I think that it will be better in this matter also to await developments. So far as our policy is concerned, it is quite clear, and it is in line with that of almost every Asian country and many countries elsewhere. It is based essentially on foreign forces not being sent to other countries.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Jan Sangh Member of the Lok Sabha from Balrampur, UP.

3. To similar suggestions by Venkatarao S. Naldurgker, Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Osmanabad, Bombay State, and Bhupesh Gupta, CPI Member of the Rajya Sabha from West Bengal, Nehru replied (not printed) on 20 July 1958 that an immediate summoning of Parliament would probably not be desirable. The situation was changing from day to day and if the necessity arose, he would certainly advise the President accordingly.



## 10. To Gamal Abdel Nasser<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 18, 1958

My dear President,

Thank you for your message<sup>2</sup> which your Ambassador<sup>3</sup> gave me yesterday.

Recent developments in the Middle Eastern regions and, more especially, the landing of foreign troops in Lebanon and later in Jordan have been matters of great concern to us and have distressed us greatly. I entirely agree with you that the situation is full of danger to world peace and we are convinced that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from these regions and the people of the countries concerned should be allowed to decide their problems for themselves. I have sent personal messages to the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom and Canada and the President of the United States on these lines and pleaded with them that these troops should be withdrawn.

We feel strongly on this question, but we feel also that at this crisis we should not do anything which might increase the passions which have been aroused. At the same time, we have to express ourselves firmly even though we do so courteously.

I earnestly hope that wiser counsels will prevail and that the world will be spared the terrible fate of a major war.

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Cairo.
2. President Nasser of the United Arab Republic wrote in his message that Nehru must have got the news of the direct and entirely unjustified Western intervention in the Middle East, especially through the armed forces of the USA. He stated that he did not need "to emphasise the implications and dangers for world peace which such intervention entails and that you will be doing everything you deem appropriate as a warning and a measure in relation to this most ominous situation." He informed Nehru that he was sending simultaneous messages in this connection to President A. Soekarno of Indonesia and Prime Minister Chou En-lai of China.
3. Omar Abu Rishah.

## 11. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 1753 July 17.<sup>2</sup>

I cut short my tour and returned to Delhi yesterday. Gave interviews to US, Soviet and UAR Ambassadors and UK High Commissioner. Sent replies to messages received from Macmillan, Diefenbaker, Tito and later to Eisenhower and Nasser.

2. I have said little in public except to express my grave concern at armed intervention in Lebanon (and now Jordan). Even in my above-mentioned messages, I have tried to express myself moderately because our object is to influence and not to condemn. But I am clear in my mind that American and British action in sending troops is completely wrong and unjustifiable. Further that it will lead to disastrous results. It will certainly not serve the purposes aimed at by US and UK Governments and it may well end in a major war.

3. I do not think this armed intervention has any legal justification or can be brought within the Charter of the UN. It is in fact a bypassing of the UN, more especially in Lebanon where the UN Observation Groups were actually functioning with success. Above all, it is a challenge to Arab nationalism.

4. It is extraordinary how these Governments refuse to profit by experience and commit mistake after mistake. They support feudal regimes in Western Asia and then express surprise when people of those countries resist or upset those regimes. They base their policy on the Baghdad Pact and now that policy is in ruins. Will they never know how people feel in Asia?

1. New Delhi, 18 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit informed Nehru that she attended the House of Commons debate the previous evening (16 July). There was "the same tension on both sides although not yet the same vehemence which characterised the Suez crisis days" and the debate was also conducted in a more sober manner and without many interruptions. Labour Party leader Hugh Gaitskell stated that although American action in Lebanon had a very genuine legal basis it was certainly unwise and likely to be unfruitful. She informed Nehru that in the Labour Party there was a general agreement that they should warn the Government of the undesirability of British military intervention in Jordan or Iraq but "despite persistent questionings during the debate Macmillan refused to abjure possibility of British military intervention in Jordan. There was a lengthy Cabinet meeting lasting till early hours of morning and Selwyn Lloyd has flown to meet Dulles." Vijaya Lakshmi wrote that she had been told by some 'Labour backbenchers' that "if there were British military intervention in Middle East they would divide the House which might once again lead to dividing the country as at the time of Suez invasion. They also dread risk of enlargement of conflict." However, the British forces landed in Jordan on 17 July.



5. It is essential that if peace is to be preserved, American forces should be withdrawn from Lebanon and British forces from Jordan. We have pleaded for this. If this withdrawal does not take place fairly soon, there is bound to be rapid deterioration ending in war. Both American forces and British forces will find themselves entangled in embarrassing situations having to fight the people of the country which they are supposed to protect.

6. According to our information, the new Iraq Government consists of sober and rather conservative people, but of course they are strong nationalists and were entirely opposed to Nuri-el-Said. We shall certainly recognise it, though we shall do so a little later. Meanwhile, we shall keep in informal contact with it through our representative in Baghdad. Although position of UN Observation Group in Lebanon has been made difficult, we do not want to take any step to break it up till all possibilities of peaceful settlement are exhausted. This really means withdrawal of American forces for which Hammarskjold also is working. Opinion in India of all parties and in press is wholly opposed to Western armed intervention in Lebanon and Jordan.

7. This is for your personal information but you can make our position clear informally to such people as you think proper.

## 12. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 1765 July 17th.<sup>2</sup> I have already made it clear to you that we do not accept at all policy being pursued by United States or UK in Middle East. We are convinced that their forces must be withdrawn from Lebanon and

1. New Delhi, 18 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. In her telegram, Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit reported that the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations in the UK Government, Alexander (Alec) Douglas-Home, had given her an advance copy of Macmillan's statement in Parliament regarding troops sent to Jordan. He also showed her Jordan's King Hussein's message saying that Parliament was associated with his request. Douglas-Home laid great emphasis on this and assured her that the role of British troops was strictly limited to guarding the airport and seat of Government in Amman and would not be permitted to exceed it. He also informed Mrs Pandit that "they had received information from the most reliable sources that a coup had been due to take place in Jordan today if British troops had not landed. The American Air Force had also been sweeping over the area. These two things, Home said, had averted the coup." Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit wrote that the UK Government was determined to lay blame for happenings in Iraq squarely on Nasser. She informed Nehru that Home mentioned US and UK's willingness to withdraw from their respective positions if the UN would send an emergency force to the area.

Jordan if peace is to be preserved. We are also opposed to any police force being sent there on behalf of United Nations. We support however continuance of UN Observation Group in Lebanon which may be enlarged as suggested in Observation Group's latest report endorsed by Hammarskjöld.

2. We have received information from a fairly reliable source that British forces sent to Jordan are intended for action against Iraq. Purpose of American landings in Lebanon is also to provide airfield and port facilities for such larger military operations eastward. If any such thing occurs, then war on a big scale is inevitable. Practically every Asian country will disapprove strongly of such aggression and sympathise with Iraq under its new regime. I think that you should make this perfectly clear to British Government.

3. We have not formally recognised new Iraq regime because we do not like acting in a hurry in such matters. But we have every intention of recognising it in due time. If any untoward development takes place, we may have to recognise it even earlier.

4. Soviet Government is of course taking full advantage of what is heaven-sent opportunity to them to put United States and United Kingdom in the wrong and carry goodwill not only of Arab countries, but of the whole of Asia. It would be extreme folly for Western countries to continue blindly in their present policy. Crux of the problem is withdrawal of American and British forces.

### 13. Cable to R. K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 191 of July 17th.<sup>2</sup> This morning my reply to Nasser's message was sent to you for delivery. This was rather a formal reply. I am elaborating

1. New Delhi, 18 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. The Minister for Presidential Affairs in the UAR, Ali Sabry, told Ambassador R.K. Nehru that the situation was grave and the "Soviet Union has decided to take active steps if American troops are not withdrawn from Lebanon." Sabry explained that world opinion and in particular the Arab opinion had been aroused as a result of the American action and the "Soviet Union might consider this a suitable opportunity for some kind of military intervention. Our impression is that view has gained ground in Soviet circles that conflict with USA is becoming inevitable." Sabry said that the UAR would give military support to Iraq in case of any intervention and the Soviet Union had recognised Iraq and would not tolerate intervention. Sabry said that the situation in Iraq was normal and recognition of the new Government, which was in full control, would help stabilise the situation still further and reduce danger of foreign intervention. He also said that Iraq had withdrawn from the Hashemite Union but King Hussein of Jordan still regarded himself as Head of both States.



this reply for your information to serve you to explain our position further to Nasser if you see him.

2. What Sabry told you appear to be a correct appraisal of the situation. On the whole I am inclined to think that a wide body of world opinion has disapproved of American forces landing in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan and there is mounting pressure on both these countries to withdraw their forces. This is likely unless some unfortunate development takes place making it very difficult for either of these countries to resile from their present position. Hence, while we should be firm about our position and demands, the door should be left open for withdrawal of forces by United States and England.

3. I am convinced that these foreign forces must withdraw and there can be no solution possible while they are in Lebanon and Jordan. I think also that we cannot approve of a proposal for the United Nations to send a police force to these areas. The UN Observation Group can and should continue. If necessary, it might be added to. But it cannot change its nature by becoming a police force. Also it cannot function adequately if foreign forces are present in those areas. We are against any withdrawal of the UN Observation Group at this stage because that would mean a break and would immediately worsen the situation. Indeed that would make it more difficult for the United States forces to withdraw. For the present, therefore, we are watching developments and laying repeated stress in our messages to UK and USA as well as other countries on the withdrawal of their forces.

4. As you know, it is not our habit to use strong language in condemnation of other countries even though we might feel strongly. That prevents any other approach and makes a way out difficult. Therefore, while we feel strongly about this foreign intervention and are doing all that we can in regard to it, this has been done without public condemnation, although our broad views have been expressed in public. The point always is as to whether we are anxious to attain a certain objective or merely take advantage of a certain position to corner and humiliate the other party. We avoid this because such has been our teaching under Gandhiji. Also for practical reasons this shuts doors to settlement and graceful withdrawal. This of course is not the normal attitude either of the Communist countries or of the United States which believe in full-blooded condemnation.

5. While we regret certain unfortunate incidents in connection with the Baghdad *coup d'etat*, we are clear that this change is in right direction and that present regime there is popular and representative of the people. We have every intention of recognising it, but it seems to us unbecoming to rush in within a few days of the change. In fact we have not even been asked yet formally for such recognition. We have instructed our representative in Baghdad informally

to keep in full touch with the present Government there.

6. There are proposals for a special session of the UN General Assembly. It is clear that neither the American resolution nor the Soviet one will get a two-thirds majority there. The main purpose of going there would be for each party to abuse the other. For the present, therefore, we are not anxious to have this special session<sup>3</sup> and we want to await developments in the Security Council. If necessity arises we may reconsider this position later.

7. At present the principal hope is that under various pressures some arrangements may be arrived at in the Security Council or outside, leading to withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

8. It is clear that recent developments have shattered United States' and UK's policy in Western Asia. Baghdad Pact is in tatters. This is a tremendous blow to the Western powers. They brought it on themselves by their foolish policies of supporting feudal and reactionary elements. This collapse of their policies in that region is good from the point of view of the Arab countries and peace and progress in that region. But advantage can only be taken of this if peace prevails and major conflicts are avoided. Therefore every effort should be made not to drive the Western powers into a corner making it very difficult for them to withdraw from their present untenable positions. While holding firmly to our position, we should make it as easy as possible for such withdrawal. That would obviously be a great gain for Arab nationalism and Asia and Africa. If that gain comes without leaving trails of enmity and bitterness behind, all the better. It would be unfortunate if this situation is spoiled by the cold war between the two hostile blocs, each trying to over-reach the other regardless of the countries of Western Asia.

9. The situation is very difficult and changing from hour to hour and there may not be much time for finesse. Nevertheless all our tact and wisdom are required at this moment to avoid a terrible catastrophe and at the same time to profit by recent developments.

10. This is our general approach. You may use it as background knowledge in any talk you may have with Nasser. Give my greetings to him.

3. The special session of the UN General Assembly met on 8 August and from 13 to 20 August 1958.



## 14. On Vacating Indian Families from Beirut<sup>1</sup>

I am sending you copies of telegrams I have issued tonight.

2. I do not particularly fancy the proposal made by Jansen<sup>2</sup> for Indian families to vacate dependants from Beirut.<sup>3</sup> I do not wish to come in the way if they are frightened, but I dislike people getting frightened or running away from remote possibility of danger.<sup>4</sup> I would have suggested their staying on for some days at least to watch developments.

1. Note to Secretary General N.R. Pillai, 18 July 1958. File No. 9(33)-WANA/58, Vol. III, Sr. No. 79/C, MEA.
2. G.H. Jansen joined Indian Information Service in 1951 and retired as Press Attache in Beirut in the early sixties.
3. Jansen had cabled from Beirut on 17 July 1958 that his conversation with British Charge d' Affaires revealed that "troops being promised to Jordan intended for action against Iraq. Purpose of American landing here to provide airfield and port facilities for larger military operations eastward." He said that the Turks might participate by 'action' against Syria. "Seem ensured that Russians would not intervene directly", however, Jansen advised Indian families to evacuate dependants after discussing with Dayal.
4. Also see *ante*, p. 460.

## 15. Message to S.W.R.D. Bandaranaike<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your personal message<sup>2</sup> which was handed in this morning by your Acting High Commissioner.

2. I do not think it is feasible to issue joint statement as suggested by Indonesian Government in regard to Iraq situation. This situation changes from day to day and hour to hour. By the time we agree to joint declaration it may be out of date. But it is certainly desirable for us to follow similar policies and to keep in touch with each other.

3. Governing factor of situation in Middle East is landing of US forces in Lebanon and British forces in Jordan. We consider this wrong and misconceived and likely to have dangerous consequences. Reasons given for such landing

1. New Delhi, 19 July 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian High Commissioner in Colombo.
2. Bandaranaike wanted to know Nehru's views about the Indonesian Government's suggestion to issue a joint statement by uncommitted nations of the Colombo Powers regarding the 'Iraqi situation' and the situation in general.

are wholly inadequate. In Lebanon UN Observation Group was actually dealing with situation and meeting with success. There was possibility of settlement when suddenly US forces were landed. We are firmly of opinion that foreign forces should be withdrawn both from Lebanon and Jordan. If they continue, drift to war is inevitable. UN Observation Group can, however, continue its activities in Lebanon, if necessary with its numbers increased.

4. *Coup d'état* in Iraq was not surprising in view of repressive regime there previously. It has undoubtedly been welcomed in Iraq and present regime is popular. Life in Baghdad is more or less normal. This regime satisfies tests for recognition, but it seems to us proper for some interval to elapse before this is done. We propose to recognise it somewhat later.

5. Developments in Iraq were great blow to United States and United Kingdom and shattered their policies in Middle East. The fault lies with UK and USA for following wrong policies and supporting feudal and reactionary regimes and opposing great forces of Arab nationalism.

6. We have expressed our views strongly though confidentially to Eisenhower, Macmillan, Diefenbaker, Tito and Nasser. We have also been in contact with Soviet Union, U Nu and have replied to Indonesia. We have made our broad policy public also though we have refrained from condemnation.

7. We would welcome Ceylon to pursue similar policy and press for withdrawal of foreign forces from Lebanon and Jordan. We should also endeavour to cooperate in the UN on these issues. In this matter, Secretary-General of UN is himself working for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Middle East. The situation is a dangerous and explosive one and we have to keep alert.

Kind regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru



## 16. To Nikita Khrushchev<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
20 July 1958

Dear Mr Prime Minister,

I have just received the text of the letter you have addressed to me.<sup>2</sup> In view of the urgency and vital importance of the contents of your letter, I am immediately sending this reply.

I am grateful to you for the letter you have sent. I entirely agree with you that we are living through one of the most serious crises in the history of mankind and that, at this moment of peril, it is the duty of governments as well as others to approach these questions with wisdom and calmness, and not to take any action which might worsen this situation and provoke a world conflagration. Whatever the views of governments might be in regard to other matters, reason and even self-interest drive to the conclusion that the maintenance of peace is essential for all of us and that war must be avoided. This means that the approach to this and like questions must not be through military strength and pressures, but by calm negotiation and the firm determination that peace must be maintained.

You are aware, Mr Prime Minister, of our firm conviction that armed intervention by a foreign power in any country is most undesirable and that foreign power should be withdrawn from the countries where they have entered. This is not only in accordance with justice and the freedom of the countries concerned, but also avoids international complications which may lead to a catastrophe. Therefore, we have urged the Governments of the USA and Great Britain to withdraw their forces from Lebanon and Jordan.

We would welcome a peaceful approach by negotiation through the United Nations or its Security Council or otherwise, with a view to helping the United Nations to take steps to end the conflict in the Near and Middle Eastern region.

1. JN Collection. Also published in newspapers on 21 July 1958.
2. Khrushchev's message of 19 July 1958, which was also broadcast on the Moscow Radio, stated the Soviet Government's position on the Middle and Near East. Khrushchev wrote that "the most sensible solution would be immediate withdrawal of troops of USA and Great Britain from territories of Lebanon and Jordan." He stated that "history bears out that any local war can easily get converted into a world conflagration." He suggested that the Heads of Governments of USSR, USA, Great Britain, France and India and the Secretary General of the UNO should meet on 22 July and work out concrete recommendations for cessation of conflict in Near and Middle East. The Security Council should then "consider them with participation of Arab States".

We are always prepared to offer our services for this purpose whenever they are asked for and needed.

I am grateful to you for your kind invitation to India to join in the conference of the Heads of Governments suggested by you. If there is agreement about the holding of such a conference, it should not be difficult to fix a suitable venue and an early date. We shall gladly offer our services to it in the cause of peace, if they are needed.

I understand that the Conference suggested by you is different and separate from the proposal for a high level or summit conference which has been under discussion for some time. The present proposal is made for the limited purpose of dealing with the critical situation that has arisen in the Middle Eastern region.<sup>3</sup>

With warm regards,

Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Initially, there was a proposal by Khrushchev for a meeting between himself, Eisenhower, Macmillan, General de Gaulle and Nehru, to open at Geneva on 22 July with the participation of Hammarskjöld, the UN Secretary General. A subsequent proposal by Macmillan—accepted by Khrushchev and supported by Eisenhower— was that the Heads of Government should participate at a special meeting of the Security Council on Middle East. The Security Council decided on 7 August to hold a special emergency session of the UN General Assembly the next day.

## 17. Message to the Prime Ministers of Burma, Indonesia and Ceylon<sup>1</sup>

Situation in Middle East continues to be very critical and landing of British forces in Libya<sup>2</sup> has added to tension. Khrushchev sent me letter proposing

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1958. JN Collection. It was sent through the respective Ambassadors. Prime Minister U Nu of Burma had sought Nehru's advice on 18 July 1958 on Tito's suggestion about some urgent action by non-bloc countries but the situation was not very clear. U Nu wrote that his 'heavy preoccupations at home' would make it impossible for him to leave the country for any meeting such as that of the Colombo Powers.
2. The British Ministry of Defence announced on 19 July that the British 45th Marine Commando Unit consisting of about 400 men had landed at Tobruk in Libya as a precautionary measure in view of the disturbed situation in the Middle East and in conformity with the 1953 Anglo-Libyan Treaty. The 1st Battalion of the Royal Sussex Regiment disembarked at Benghazi on July 24 to relieve the commandos who had landed at Tobruk earlier and to reinforce British troops in Cyrenaica in north-east Libya.



conference of USA, USSR, UK, France and India on 22nd July in Geneva. I have replied saying that we would gladly offer our services if they are asked for. Both letters have been issued to the press and you will see them.

2. As both USA and USSR are proposing in Security Council that special session of General Assembly should be held immediately, probably special session will be held soon. We are not in Security Council but, if necessity arises, we shall support this idea of a special session.

3. Because of rumours that United Kingdom and USA might participate in or encourage attack on new regime in Iraq, we made it clear to both these Governments that any such step would be dangerous and would lead to a major war. We intended recognising new Iraq Government after normal procedures had been complied with which might take four or five days. But, if there was any aggressive move on the part of UK or USA against Iraq, we would immediately give recognition to the new Iraq Government. We have been assured on behalf of UK Government categorically that it is not their intention to attack Iraq or to encourage Jordan to do so. On behalf of USA same assurance has been given to us.

4. We are firmly of opinion that there can be no settlement of Middle Eastern problems unless foreign forces are withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan. Further that no police force should be sent there instead. UN Observation Group may continue there with such additions as may be necessary. Japanese Resolution in Security Council is largely on these lines. But there are some snags in it which should be remedied as these may well create trouble. Early withdrawal of foreign forces is essential to prevent situation from deteriorating still further. It is not possible for UN Observation Group to function in Lebanon if American forces continue there. This has been made clear by Observation Group.

5. I trust that you agree with the line we are taking up and that our representatives in UN will cooperate to this end.

## 18. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung<sup>1</sup>

I received a letter from Khrushchev today proposing immediate conference of some Heads of States to which India was also invited. I have replied to it. As both letters have been issued to the press, I am not giving any further details.

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1958. JN Collection. Ali Yavar Jung took over as Indian Ambassador to Yugoslavia and concurrently as Minister to Greece and Bulgaria in May 1958.

2. We have informed the new Iraqi Government that Government of India will have no difficulty in extending recognition to them but normal procedures regarding recognition should be gone through. This may take a few days. We have informed UK and USA Governments of this also.

3. Because of rumours that UK and USA might participate in or encourage attack on Iraq, we have informed them that if any such dangerous and highly objectionable step is taken, then we shall immediately announce our recognition of the new regime in Iraq without waiting for formalities. The British Government have categorically assured us that they have no intention of either moving into Iraq themselves or letting the King of Jordan to use presence of British troops to intervene himself in Iraq. Similar assurance has been given us by US Ambassador here.

4. As both US and USSR are proposing in Security Council that special session of General Assembly be held immediately, presumably special session will be held. We are not in the Security Council and if necessity arises, we shall support such proposal. Our approach will be governed by basic fact that foreign troops in Lebanon and Jordan must be withdrawn though UN Observation Group should continue with some additions if necessary. We are not prepared for any UN police force to be sent there.

5. Japanese Resolution in Security Council, though apparently on the lines mentioned above by us, has a number of snags which might well create difficulties. These should be cleared.<sup>2</sup>

6. It is obvious that Observation Group in Lebanon cannot function if foreign forces are there. We understand that this has been made perfectly clear by them to American authorities. Both US and UK have placed themselves in a difficult position from which now it is not easy to withdraw and yet there is no other way except withdrawal.

7. In view of developments during the last few days, it is unlikely that UK or USA will take any further precipitate action. Meanwhile opposition to their moves has grown not only in other countries but even in UK and USA.

8. You might convey this information to President Tito. Main purpose of this is that he should feel that we are consulting him and keeping in touch with

2. On 18 July, nine Security Council members supported a Japanese resolution calling for additional measures to be taken in order to uphold the integrity and political independence of Lebanon. The resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union on the ground that it amounted to "tacit moral sanction" for the continued presence of the US and British forces in Lebanon and Jordan. The Soviet representative in the Security Council, A. Sobolev, said that the resolution did not specify the measures which the Secretary General was to take.



him at this hour of crisis. We should like to have his own reactions to developing events so as to help us to understand the position in all its aspects.

## 19. Cable to R. K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 194 July 19th.<sup>2</sup>

2. Japanese Resolution in Security Council, though apparently on right lines, has many snags which would create difficulties. These should be removed. Observation Team cannot function till American forces withdraw. We understand that this has been made clear by the Observation Team to the American authorities in Lebanon who sought their cooperation.

3. US as well as UK have got in a net of their own making and do not know how to extricate themselves. Meanwhile opposition to and criticism of their actions is mounting up not only in other countries but in the UK and USA also.

4. Although landing of British forces in Libya is another dangerous development, I imagine that owing to various happenings it is difficult for the

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. R.K. Nehru had written about his talk with Ali Sabry and Nasser's visit to Moscow and Damascus. According to Sabry, the Japanese resolution seemed to offer the best solution provided changes in the Observation Team were made quickly and were followed by American withdrawal. He said that internal situation in Iraq was stable and larger conflict could be avoided if there was no foreign intervention but the presence of British troops was dangerous as the real intention of the British were not known.

UK or the USA to take any precipitate action in the near future. Probably the passage of time will make it even more difficult, but of course the position continues to be exceedingly dangerous.<sup>3</sup>

3. In a telegram on 22 July 1958, R.K. Nehru reported to the Prime Minister about his talk with Nasser on 21 July, who had returned from Moscow on the same day. Nasser appreciated the need for calmness and said that the revolution in Iraq was a major gain for the Arab countries and for Asia and Africa. In Nasser's view it was "not in the interest of the Arab countries to become a battle ground for the great powers or to jeopardise the gain by some provocative step." Nasser also said that he had advised the Iraqi Government to pursue a moderate policy and not to give any provocation to the West. Nasser emphasised that Asian and Arab countries should not delay recognition of Iraq. Nasser viewed the American move as "a first step to attack Iraq." It was clear to him that "attack on Iraq was direct threat to UAR as it would be followed by some sort of excuse for attack on Syria." To prevent any attack on Arab countries by the Western Powers Nasser had sought the help of USSR. He said: "I was driven to ask for Russian military help in the event of an attack on us by Western Powers. We do not want our countries to become a battle ground but our future is at stake. Situation during Suez crisis was different and I never asked for Russian help then. However, now that both USA and UK seem to be threatening us we have been obliged to ask for assurance of military help from Soviet Russia." And Nasser told R.K. Nehru that Khrushchev gave him assurance of military help should the Western Powers attack Iraq and UAR. Khrushchev also told Nasser that he would explore every possibility of bringing about a peaceful settlement before any other move was made.

## 20. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

I received letter from Khrushchev today about holding immediately a conference of some Heads of States including India. I have sent reply to it. As these letters are appearing in the Press, I need not give further details.

2. We have informed the new Iraqi regime that Government of India will have no difficulty in extending recognition to them, but normal procedures will have to be gone through. This will take some days. Meanwhile, informal and friendly contact is being maintained with them.

3. As there was persistent belief that UK Government's forces in Jordan were meant for attacking Iraq and USA would cooperate in this, we brought this to the notice of Malcolm Macdonald here. We told him that this would be

1. New Delhi, 20 July 1958. JN Collection.



exceedingly dangerous. If any such step was taken, we would immediately recognise Iraqi regime without waiting even for formalities which otherwise would take some days. We have been assured categorically on behalf of British Government that they have no intention of either moving into Iraq themselves or letting the King of Jordan use the presence of British troops to intervene himself in Iraq. Similar assurances have been given us informally by the US Ambassador also.

4. I have received a message from Macmillan which contains laboured justification about sending British forces to Jordan and US forces to Lebanon. There appears to be no need for me to reply to this.<sup>2</sup>

5. Meanwhile, landing of British forces in Libya has not eased situation. In fact, it is difficult to understand all this unless there is some aggressive policy behind it.

6. We are convinced that there can be no beginning of a settlement in the Middle East till American and British forces are withdrawn. We are against any UN police force being sent there, though the Observation Group should continue with additions if necessary. Both US and UK have got caught in a net of their own making. I can well understand their difficulties now. But these difficulties will increase greatly unless they withdraw soon. If there is delay in this, the situation will progressively worsen and drift to war.

2. Justifying the presence of the British and US forces in Jordan and Lebanon, Macmillan wrote that the decision to go to the help of the King and Government of Jordan was taken with great reluctance and after much consideration, and the US action in Lebanon was taken equally reluctantly. He quoted from his speech in the House of Commons on 17 July that "we would have been far better pleased if all this could be left, as perhaps it may ultimately be, we trust, to the protecting hand of the United Nations." He also wrote that the UN was not so organised as to enable immediate action "to protect governments threatened from outside. "While recognising the importance and legitimacy of the feelings of Arab nationalists, he stated that the democratic processes in these countries were quite new and "those who shout about Arab nationalism are not by any means necessarily the people who have the interests of the Arab peoples most at heart." Regarding the new Government of Iraq, he observed that their public statements had not been altogether unreasonable. As for the summit meeting proposed by the Soviet Union, Macmillan's opinion was that it should be "reasonably prepared and likely to be effective in at least some measure."

## 21. Cable to Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 1801 of 21st July.<sup>2</sup> Later this morning Macdonald gave me a message from Home<sup>3</sup> in which he repeated, on behalf of Macmillan, what he told you. I am not sending any written reply to Home, but I have spoken as follows to Macdonald.

2. We are anxious to help in every way in finding a peaceful solution to problems that have arisen. It was because of this that I indicated to Khrushchev that if our presence was needed and agreed to for proposed high level meeting, I would attend.

3. I entirely agree that it would not be proper to by-pass United Nations and that any settlement must go through Security Council or General Assembly. This appears to be implicit in Khrushchev's message where it was stated that any recommendations of high level meeting would be placed before the Security Council. In my reply to Khrushchev I laid stress on this.

4. While decisions should be reached through Security Council or General Assembly it seems to me that formal approaches through those organs lead to formal speeches and make agreement difficult. For this reason informal high level meetings appear to hold out better promise of some agreement which can then be discussed in Security Council or General Assembly.

5. Our approach in this matter is flexible and if others agree to a certain procedure we shall endeavour to adapt ourselves to it. It is clear that no discussions can yield fruit unless both the Soviet Union and the United States are represented, apart from other countries. There may be difficulties in Khrushchev attending Security Council meeting because of presence of Nationalist China.

1. New Delhi, 22 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. Lord Douglas-Home, the Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations, assured Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit on 21 July that "under no circumstances would UK attack Iraq" but "if Kuwait area is threatened we should be compelled to step in. We could not allow our interest there to be jeopardised." Britain depended on Kuwait for 50% of her oil. To Mrs Pandit's query about large-scale military build up in Beirut, Home replied that this was the usual American way of doing things and "UK Government deplored it." He pointed out that two convoys, carrying arms beneath vegetables, were captured near the Syrian border within the previous 24 hours. He thought that a UN police force might be effective in stopping infiltration but not an enlarged Observation Group. Home conveyed the desire of both Macmillan and Eisenhower that at the special session of Security Council meeting Nehru should himself be present.

3. Alec Douglas-Home.



6. I have already accepted Khrushchev's proposal subject to others agreeing. I can hardly accept other proposals at the same time unless I know that the Soviet Union is agreeing to it. I shall, therefore, look forward to detailed UK proposal and the reaction of other countries to it. We shall try our best to be helpful to any proposal for a meeting which is agreed to by others.

## 22. To Satya Narayan Sinha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 22, 1958

My dear Satya Narayan,<sup>2</sup>

Quite a number of MPs have written to me repeatedly asking me to advise the President to summon Parliament to consider the serious international situation.<sup>3</sup> I do not think this is needed or desirable at present. But I have been thinking that we might convene a meeting of the Consultative Committee for External Affairs. I found from your office that only about 25 Members out of about 60 are here. However, we convene a meeting and announce it in the Press, so that if other Members wish to come, they can do so. I suggest that this meeting might be convened for Thursday, the 31st July, at 10 a.m. in the Conference Room of External Affairs. This will give a week's time, and notices can be sent to all the Members. In addition, the meeting can be announced in the Press.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of State for Parliamentary Affairs.

3. See *ante*, p. 473.

4. At the 90-minute meeting of the Consultative Committee of Parliament on External Affairs, consisting of representatives of all parties in Parliament, the West Asian crisis was reviewed. P. Subbaroyan, J.B. Kripalani, S.A. Dange, N.G. Goray, Nath Pai, T.K. Choudhary, Frank Anthony, Jaipal Singh, V.K. Krishna Menon were among the MPs, about 50 in number, who attended the meeting.

### 23. Message to Djuanda Kartawidjaja<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your message<sup>2</sup> which your Ambassador<sup>3</sup> has handed to me today. I entirely agree with you that the new Iraq regime is popular and well established. We have today informed them of our recognition of this new regime.

2. There was grave danger of major war in the event of any attack by the US or the UK on the new regime in Iraq. We have been given an unequivocal assurance by the UK Government that they will not attack Iraq and they have also told King Hussein that this must not be done. The United States have also given some kind of an assurance to this effect. This somewhat lessens the danger of war in near future. But it is obvious that grave danger will continue so long as foreign forces are present in the Lebanon or Jordan.

3. Soviet Union's proposal for a summit conference has not been accepted by Western Powers. I doubt, therefore, if any such summit conference will take place.

4. I am not clear what we can achieve at present by a conference of non-aligned countries. Most of these countries have expressed their views on similar lines about Middle Eastern situation, and I take it that those who have not so far recognised Iraq will do so. All that we can do when we meet is to repeat what we have said separately. Public approaches at a moment of crisis are not as helpful as private approaches to the countries involved and, as I mentioned previously to you, the situation changes hour by hour.

1. New Delhi, 23 July 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Embassy in Jakarta.

Djuanda Kartawidjaja was Prime Minister and Minister of Defence of Indonesia.

2. In a message dated 22 July 1958, Djuanda wrote that Indonesia's recognition of Iraq was based on the following considerations: (i) the new regime was popular and well established; (ii) to prevent further extension of dispatch of US-British troops towards Iraq; (iii) Nasser's message that Khrushchev might regard "the occupation of Iraq as a casus belli for World War III"; and (iv) to strengthen the ties achieved at the Bandung Conference and to reduce the tension among Asian-African countries. Djuanda agreed with Tito that the non-aligned countries should meet at the earliest at Delhi or Colombo to make a collective appeal to the Big Powers. He also supported the Soviet proposal for a summit conference and India's participation in it.

3. R.H. Abdul Kadar.



## 24. Cable to Ali Yavar Jung<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 81 of July 23.<sup>2</sup> Indonesian Ambassador also saw me yesterday and made same suggestion about holding conference of unaligned States. I pointed out that such a conference would not be feasible at present, and the situation is changing from hour to hour. Most of these unaligned States had given expression to similar views in regard to Middle Eastern situation. By meeting together they could only repeat them. Such a conference would be rather unreal when real decisions are taken elsewhere.

2. Further, there is talk now of some kind of a high level conference in New York. As Khrushchev appears to have made up his mind to attend it anyhow, this conference may well take place.

3. Therefore, I entirely agree with Marshal Tito that this is no suitable time to convene the kind of conference suggested by President Soekarno.

1. New Delhi, 24 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Ali Yavar Jung conveyed to Nehru that President Soekarno of Indonesia had sent a message to President Tito of Yugoslavia suggesting "a conference of uncommitted states immediately at New Delhi to consider Middle East disturbance." Tito told the Indonesian Ambassador that three avenues were being used for "settling the Middle East situation namely Security Council, General Assembly and special summit talks." Tito thought therefore that the suggested meeting would be unnecessary and give the impression that a third force was being created.

## 25. Cable to K. P. S. Menon<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 65 G of July 24 forwarding Khrushchev's letter of 23rd July.<sup>2</sup> This has also appeared on the teleprinter.

2. I have, as you know, made my own position quite clear in my last reply to Khrushchev,<sup>3</sup> and I can do no more than repeat what I have already said. Such repetition however might be misconstrued as displaying undue anxiety on our part to receive an invitation, more particularly as Eisenhower in his reply to Khrushchev has been pointedly silent in regard to India being invited. I

1. New Delhi, 24 July 1958. JN Collection. Menon was the Indian Ambassador to the Soviet Union.
2. See the next item.
3. See *ante*, pp. 482-483.

do not propose therefore to send an immediate reply to Khrushchev. Some slight delay during which other developments may take place might help.

3. This is for your information.

## 26. To K. P. S. Menon<sup>1</sup>

Please refer to my telegram Primin 21118 July 24th.<sup>2</sup>

2. Please convey my thanks to Mr Khrushchev for his message of July 23rd.<sup>3</sup> I have already stated in my earlier message that I shall be glad to participate in the conference of Heads of Governments if my presence serves the cause of peace and is desired by all concerned. That position remains even though it is rather inconvenient for me to go to New York in the near future when our Parliament is going to meet. It is not yet clear when and on what conditions proposed meeting is going to be held in New York. I presume that invitations will be issued on behalf of the United Nations or the Security Council.

3. While therefore I shall make every effort to attend such a meeting I should like to know the conditions under which India is invited before I can send a formal reply to the invitation. For this reason I am disinclined to say anything further in public at this stage lest it might be misconstrued as undue anxiety on our part to receive an invitation. I am sure the Soviet Government will appreciate this position.

1. New Delhi, 25 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. See the preceding item.

3. Khrushchev wrote that he had received messages from Eisenhower, de Gaulle and Macmillan expressing the desire to hold a meeting of the Heads of Government to consider the situation in the Middle East. He added that the recommendations of the meeting would be placed before the Security Council to reach an agreement and not to record disagreement by means of the vote. He further wrote that it was advisable to invite India to attend the meeting and wanted to know India's view regarding the date of the meeting of the Security Council.



## 27. Position of the US on the West Asian Crisis<sup>1</sup>

The United States Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me this afternoon and gave me the attached letter from President Eisenhower.<sup>3</sup> I asked him to thank the President for his message.

2. The Ambassador mentioned the Japanese resolution which had been vetoed by the Soviet Union in the Security Council.<sup>4</sup> He said that if that resolution had been passed, conditions would have been much better and the American forces would have been preparing to go back.

3. I told him that we have been agreeable to the UN Observer Group continuing there and being added to if necessary. But we were opposed to any kind of armed police force being sent there even on the part of the United Nations. We were opposed to this on principle, but even from a strictly practical point of view this would have the reverse effect to that intended. If such a police force was meant to help President Chamoun, it would really play into the hands of the opposition and make President Chamoun's position even more difficult and unpopular.

4. I asked the Ambassador what exactly was meant by the third paragraph on page 2 of the President's letter where the following sentence occurs—

Thus the United States forces can be withdrawn and with an adequate United Nations presence the Lebanese people under their democratic institutions and with freedom from external interference, will be able to resolve their political problems by themselves.

I added that, so far as we were concerned, we were fully of opinion that Lebanon should continue as a separate and independent entity, and my own impression was that this was the belief of almost every important group in Lebanon. Even the opposition there believed in that. They were objecting only to President Chamoun and some of his policies. But, I asked, what exactly was the meaning of "an adequate United Nations presence."

1. Note to Secretary General N.R. Pillai, Foreign Secretary S. Dutt and Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, 26 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Ellsworth Bunker.
3. Eisenhower had written that the United States Government did not seek in any manner to intervene in internal political decisions of the Lebanese people, and that United States would withdraw its forces immediately upon the request of the President of Lebanon and his Cabinet or when the United Nations was in a position to effectively ensure the independence and integrity of Lebanon.
4. See *ante*, p. 485.

5. The Ambassador said that the United States, by supporting the Japanese resolution, had given up the idea of police force and would be content with an adequate number of observers, guards, etc., which the UN might send. He mentioned to me what the UN Observation Group had themselves asked for and calculated that this would amount in all probably to nearly a thousand persons, although they would be unarmed.

6. There was some talk about the situation in Iraq, and he thanked me for information being given to him previously about our recognising the new regime in Iraq. He said that that appeared to him a reasonable course to adopt. He did not quite know what his Government was going to do in this matter, but the new Iraq Government seemed to have full control over the country.

7. Then there was some reference to the coming conference and he hoped that I would be able to go. I told him that I was placed in a difficulty. Nobody seemed to know where and when this conference would take place, and the middle of August was a difficult time for me to be away. Our Parliament was meeting on the 11th of August and on the 15th was our Independence Day. I had not missed this day ever since Independence, eleven years ago and, as he knew, I addressed the people from the ramparts of the Red Fort on that day.



## 28. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi,  
29th July, 1958

My dear High Commissioner,

I have just received your letter of the 25th July with which you have sent a note by K. Zilliacus.<sup>2</sup> I have read this note<sup>3</sup> and should you meet Zilliacus you can tell him so.

As a matter of fact, the situation is exceedingly fluid and changes from day to day. I am by no means sure that there will be a summit conference. If there is such a conference, I do not know where it will be held and when.

I have stated that if our presence is needed, I shall be prepared to go. But that will depend on the principal parties wanting us and also on any conditions that might be attached.<sup>4</sup>

This is a particularly inconvenient time for me to leave India. Our internal problems grow more and more difficult. Our Parliament is meeting from the

1. JN Collection.

2. Konni Zilliacus (1894-1967); British Labour leader; served in the First World War; Intelligence Officer, British Military Mission, Siberia; 1917-19, Member of Information Section, League of Nations Secretariat, 1919-39; Ministry of Information, 1939-45; expelled from Labour Party in May 1949 for persistent opposition to Government foreign policy; readmitted in February 1952 and was elected to Parliament in 1955; author of *The League of Nations*, *The League of the Protocol and the Empire*, *The Origin and Structure and Working of the League of Nations*.

3. Emphasising the importance of India's participation in the proposed summit conference, Zilliacus wrote that India, the greatest of the "uncommitted" countries and a leading member of both the British Commonwealth and the Afro-Asian group, could best draw the attention of the world to the consequences of the proposed summit meeting. It meant winding up the Anglo-American occupation of Lebanon and Jordan; coming to terms with Pan-Arab nationalism on lines consistent with the complementary economic interests of the West and the Middle East, and with Israel's right to security from fear; the scrapping of the Baghdad Pact and the Eisenhower Doctrine; and implementation of the obligations of the UN Charter.

4. Interestingly on 31 July 1958, the Tory MP Lord Altrincham (John E.P. Grigg) wrote in *National and English Review* that Nehru was Britain's "most reliable guide" in all matters relating to the former subject peoples of Asia. He added: "The tendency has been to go West rather than East. It was to Washington that the Foreign Secretary rushed off for consultation, not to Delhi.... It must never be forgotten that Nehru's India is the strongest bastion of democracy in Asia, and that this is due to Nehru's policy of so-called neutralism."

11th August and the 15th of August is our Independence Day when I am supposed to address the vast crowd from the ramparts of Red Fort here. I have done so now for eleven years and I would not like to miss this occasion this year. Nevertheless, if there is a real worth while conference and we are invited, I shall go there.

If the conference is in New York, then I shall inevitably have to pass through London. In view of the pressure on my time here, I may not be able to spend more than a few hours in London on my way to New York.

As at present advised, I want to go with the smallest party—our Foreign Secretary Dutt and one or two others.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 29. Cable to R. K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 210 of July 29 has only reached us now after two days presumably because it was not marked immediate.<sup>2</sup>

2. In view of further developments, holding of summit conference probably somewhere in Europe appears likely, though we cannot be sure till the last moment. We entirely agree that presence of UAR representative is essential, but as we are not sponsors of this conference, we do not wish to make any suggestion in regard to it. Most of the sponsors appear to agree to presence of Arab representatives.

3. In view of decision probably taken in London at so-called Baghdad Council meeting, recognition of Iraq Republic by UK and USA is highly likely. There is thus no danger now of any kind of attack on Iraq.

4. Election of General Chehab as President of Lebanon<sup>3</sup> will presumably help towards some settlement there and is likely to lead to withdrawal of American forces.

1. New Delhi, 31 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. R.K. Nehru had written that the UAR Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mahmoud Fawzi, told him that Arab representation was essential in the summit meeting as "we cannot agree to Great Powers discussing our affairs behind our backs." He also told R.K. Nehru that the UAR Government was not in favour of talk taking place in New York and Geneva or even Canada would be a better venue.

3. Fouad Chehab assumed Presidentship of Lebanon on 23 September 1958.



5. At any summit conference, withdrawal of foreign forces should of course be primary issue.<sup>4</sup> Probably it will be proposed to make Lebanon and Jordan and possibly also Iraq and Persian Gulf Sheikdoms as neutral countries. The idea of dragging any of them into the Western bloc has failed. Also Western countries will attach great importance to assurance of oil supplies.

6. It is also probable that the question of Israel might be raised there. It may be suggested that status quo should be assured and there should be no aggression by any country. Question of arms supplies to any of these countries might also be raised. I should like to know Egyptian reaction to such proposals.

7. As for President Soekarno's proposal for a preliminary meeting of some countries, I entirely agree that this is not the time for it. I have informed Marshal Tito accordingly, as also President Soekarno. If such a conference is at all held, it will be difficult to decide as to who should be invited to it.<sup>5</sup>

4. Fawzi said that withdrawal of troops or some concrete steps for their withdrawal were essential, otherwise talks would get bogged down in mutual recriminations. He added that no signs of withdrawal were seen; in fact more landings were taking place.

5. Fawzi wanted to know India's reaction to Soekarno's suggestion for a preliminary meeting of some Asian countries. See also *ante*, p. 492.

### 30. To Josip Broz Tito<sup>1</sup>

My dear Mr President,

Thank you for your message which your Ambassador gave me on the evening of the 29th July.<sup>2</sup>

1. New Delhi, 31 July 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Belgrade.

2. Tito said in his message of 26 July that he agreed with Nehru that it would be wiser for every country to act separately in the circumstances and to use all possibilities at her command to help relax the existing tensions. He wrote that the basic thing was to check the spread of this danger and eventual aggression against the new Republic of Iraq. He added that India's recognition was a powerful element in this direction. He agreed with Nehru that the UN forces should not be sent to Lebanon and Jordan, and the number of the Observers could be increased. Tito also agreed with Khrushchev's proposal for a summit meeting and the suggestion by the Western Powers to hold such a meeting in the Security Council with Khrushchev's amendment to invite India and the representatives of the Arab countries. He stated that it would be difficult to believe that the Anglo-British forces would be speedily withdrawn from Lebanon and Jordan but it would be necessary to decide on the withdrawal of troops within a shorter period of time. He added that if no essential agreements could be arrived at, the only other chance was the convening of an extraordinary session of the UN General Assembly.

2. Since you sent that message, the situation in Western Asia has changed somewhat for the better. Turkey, Iran and Pakistan are recognising the new Republic of Iraq. It is obvious that this is the result of a common decision taken at the recent so-called Baghdad Pact meeting in London. The United Kingdom and the USA will soon also recognise Iraq.

3. There is thus no danger now of aggression against the new Republic of Iraq. It is also likely that United States forces in Lebanon might be withdrawn from that country fairly soon. Situation in Lebanon may settle down after election of new President. But the future of British forces in Jordan is not yet clear, though I have no doubt that they will have to be withdrawn.

4. It seems likely that the proposed summit meeting will yet be held, probably in Europe. We can hardly expect this meeting to solve all the problems of Middle Eastern region but it may help in indicating some steps towards their solution and generally ease the situation.

5. For the present, therefore, the question of having an extraordinary session of the General Assembly of the UN does not arise.

6. As regards the suggestion made by President Soekarno, I agree with you that such a meeting will not be feasible at present.<sup>3</sup> This idea has been put forward in various forms on several occasions recently. Some have suggested a second Bandung Conference. Others have proposed a meeting of the so-called Colombo Powers. Whenever it may be considered desirable to hold such a meeting, the difficult question as to who should be invited to it will have to be faced.

7. It is a matter of great satisfaction to me that you Mr President and we are in agreement in our appraisal of the present situation and in the steps that should be taken to ease it.<sup>4</sup>

I sent my sincere regards to you and to Madame Broz.

3. Regarding Soekarno's proposal for a meeting of the leaders of Indonesia, Burma, India, UAR and Yugoslavia, Tito wrote that it would spontaneously give the impression of rallying of a third block with no positive effect. He also wrote that in principle, he had nothing against such a meeting "when this situation passes and calms itself down."
4. In a message to Ali Yavar Jung, Nehru wrote (not printed) on 3 August 1958: "Marshal Tito has referred again to a message from President Soekarno about holding the conference of Indonesia, Burma, India, UAR and Yugoslavia. I have already said and I agree with Marshal Tito that this will not be feasible in the near future. We have to await developments. I also agree that we must not give an impression of trying to form a third group."



### 31. Cable to R. K. Nehru<sup>1</sup>

Your telegram 213 August 3rd.<sup>2</sup>

2. The proposal to hold summit conference is encountering great difficulties. Possibly, some conference will still be held but likely to be different from original proposals. I doubt very much if I shall attend.

3. I agree that discussion about Israel should be avoided there and that too many controversial issues should not be considered at this stage. Although Arab countries cannot agree to stabilising status quo, question may arise if it is possible to give assurance by parties concerned that attempt to change present borders by military action will not be made by all concerned.

4. I do not like the word "neutralisation". So far as India is concerned, we have always used the word "non-alignment" with military blocs and non-participation in military alliances.

1. New Delhi, 4 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. R.K. Nehru had written that Mahmoud Fawzi agreed with him that the prospects for a meeting had improved though there might be last minute hitches. He said that as a principle non-interference should be adhered to. R.K. Nehru told him that "we do not like the word 'neutralisation'...we want all Arab States to be free from outside interference." Fawzi also said that no Arab State "at present" could agree to any kind of assurance of status quo with regard to Israel and it would be better to avoid discussions on Israel.

### 32. Cable to K. P. S. Menon<sup>1</sup>

Soviet Charge d'Affaires handed to me this morning a long message from Mr Khrushchev. This deals with the situation in the Middle East and repeats what has been said previously by the Soviet Government about the aggression and intervention of the USA and Britain in Lebanon and Jordan with a view at first to attack Iraq.

The message ends with a request that the Government of India will support the demand of the withdrawal of foreign troops in Lebanon and Jordan. Please inform Khrushchev that I am grateful for his message. The Government of India's policy all along has been that there should be no foreign intervention in Western Asia and that the foreign troops in Lebanon and Jordan should be withdrawn. We shall press for this in the UN General Assembly.

1. New Delhi, 10 August 1958. JN Collection.

### 33. India and the Arab Crisis<sup>1</sup>

Mr Deputy-Speaker,<sup>2</sup> Sir, I am glad of this opportunity to make a statement in regard to the situation in West Asia. A very large number of questions and notices have been addressed to me in regard to this situation, and instead of trying to answer each question separately, it would be perhaps a little better if I dealt with it by a statement.<sup>3</sup>

The facts are generally known; nevertheless, I would like to give a factual account of what has happened in the past few months. The House may remember that on the 18th February last, replying to the debate on the President's Address in the course of the Budget session, I indicated some of the developments which had taken place in West Asia.<sup>4</sup> Since then grave and even ominous events have occurred in that part of the world. For some time, there had been rumblings in Lebanon. The Opposition there did not agree with the policy being pursued by the Government of the day under President Chamoun.<sup>5</sup> The question arose—President Chamoun's continuance or not in the Presidentship. His term normally expires on the 24th September. But he let it be known that he desired to stand again, although that involved a change in the Constitution. That is, he wanted the Constitution to be changed, so that he might stand again for the Presidentship. This was not at all agreeable to the Opposition there. They started a big agitation against it. Thereafter, a very prominent editor of a newspaper at Beirut, which favoured the Opposition was killed and I think this was the spark that lit the fire of violence on a relatively big scale leading to this conflict between the Government and the opposition there.<sup>6</sup>

1. Statement in the Lok Sabha on the situation in the Middle East, New Delhi, 14 August 1958. From *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols. 857-870.
2. Hukam Singh.
3. N.R. Munisamy, Congress Member from Vellore, in a calling attention notice requested the Prime Minister to make a statement on the situation in the Middle East.
4. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 56-57.
5. The discontent against the pro-West policies of President Chamoun had been brewing in Lebanon. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 630-633.
6. The disturbances began after the murder on 8 May 1958 of Nasib al-Matni, a newspaper proprietor and editor in Beirut. In Tripoli—a nationalist stronghold in North Lebanon—various opposition groups called for an immediate general strike in protest against the murder of al Matni leading to clashes with the police on 9 May in which 40 people were injured. On 10 and 11 May, Tripoli witnessed serious rioting; disorder spread on 12 May to Beirut and bomb explosions occurred in different parts of the country.



This continued for some time. Behind it was really a basic difference in policy between that of President Chamoun and the Opposition. But the actual matter at issue became one of President Chamoun continuing in office or not as President.

Then, on the 22nd May, 1958, the Government of Lebanon complained to the Security Council:

In respect of a situation arising from the intervention of the United Arab Republic in the internal affairs of Lebanon, the continuance of which is likely to endanger the maintenance of international peace and security.

The complaint, mentioned among other things, the infiltration of armed bands from Syria into Lebanon and the supply of arms from Syria. As a result of this complaint, the Security Council on the 11th June, 1958, adopted unanimously a Swedish resolution deciding to:

dispatch urgently an observation group to proceed to Lebanon so as to ensure that there is no illegal infiltration of personnel or supply of arms or other material across the Lebanese borders.

This resolution also authorised the Secretary General to take necessary steps for organising the Group. Pursuant to this, the Group was finally constituted in Beirut by the 19th June and was composed of Mr Galo Plaza of Ecuador as Chairman,<sup>7</sup> Major General Odd Bull of Norway as Executive Member<sup>8</sup> and Shri Rajeshwar Dayal of India as member.<sup>9</sup> The Group established with the help of a number of military officers several observation stations and sub-stations. The Group submitted its first report on the 3rd July. It was clear from this report that whatever might have happened in the past, the Group had found no evidence of any significant infiltration into the Lebanon from the Syrian side during its stay there.

7. Galo Plaza (1906-1987); Ecuadore an politician and statesman, Minister of War of Ecuador, 1938; Ecuador's Ambassador to the US, 1944; President of Ecuador, 1948-52; Chairman, UN Observation Group in Lebanon, 1958 and UN BASIC Committee in Congo, 1960; UN Mediator in Cyprus, 1964-65; Secretary General of the Organisation of American States (OAS) 1968-75.
8. Odd Bull (1907-1991); Norwegian Air Force Officer and UN official; Chief of Air Staff, 1960-63; Chief of Staff of the UN Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO) between 1963 and 1970.
9. Rajeshwar Dayal was Indian Ambassador to Yugoslavia and Greece from 1954 to 1958 before joining the UN Observation Group.

The Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr Hammarskjöld, who had been to the Lebanon shortly before, stated on 3rd July that to his knowledge, there was no foundation for the statement made that there had been massive infiltration into the Lebanon.

The presence of the UN Observer Group had a salutary effect on the situation in Lebanon and in the second week of July, there were indications that some kind of settlement between the Government of Lebanon and the Opposition there might be reached. Then something happened. That was the *coup d'état* in Iraq on the 14th July which resulted in a new Government coming into power in Baghdad. Because of this *coup d'état*, as is known, the King,<sup>10</sup> the Crown Prince<sup>11</sup> and the Prime Minister Nuri el-Said were killed. There were also deplorable acts of violence by the crowd. But by and large, the new Government of Iraq avoided excesses and was soon in full control of the whole of Iraq and maintained law and order. It was evident that this new Government was popular.

Immediately after this *coup d'état* at Baghdad, events moved swiftly. On the 15th July, i.e., the next day, 2,000 United States marines landed in Lebanon in order, it was stated, to protect American lives and to encourage defence of Lebanese sovereignty and integrity.<sup>12</sup> It was said that the forces had been landed in response to an urgent plea received from President Chamoun of Lebanon. Mr Selwyn Lloyd, the British Foreign Secretary stated that his Government fully supported the US action in landing troops in Lebanon.

A meeting of the Security Council was immediately called to discuss the situation resulting from these developments. Since then, of course, many more troops had been sent. It might be noted that these troops were sent to the Lebanon really when the situation inside Lebanon was settling down. It was obvious that it was sent not because of the situation in Lebanon but because of the *coup d'état* in Iraq and the possible consequences from it that were feared.

A day later, i.e., on the 16th July, the United Nations Observer Corps in Lebanon submitted an interim report in which the Group said that it was "able to report to the Security Council that it has as of 15th July access to all parts of the frontier." That is to say, previously it was stated that the Observation Group's

10. King Faisal II became King of Iraq in 1939 at the age of three.

11. Crown Prince Abdul Illah was the maternal uncle of King Faisal and regent of Iraq for 14 years during the King's minority.

12. The landing was supported by the entire US Sixth Fleet, most of whose 70 ships were concentrated in the East Mediterranean. About 50 of the warships were concentrated off the Lebanese coast, apart from sea borne landing, troops and equipment were flown to the Lebanon from North Carolina.



report was not very helpful, because the entire frontier was not under observation. What is the good of their saying that through half the frontier nothing had happened? Something might have happened through the other half. From the 15th, they were in touch with the whole frontier and therefore, they were in a fairly satisfactory position to observe any movement across the frontier.

On the 17th July, British paratroops landed at Amman from bases in Cyprus and Mr Macmillan told the British House of Commons that these troops had been sent in response to a request from King Hussein.<sup>13</sup> On the same day, Jordan complained to the Security Council about the interference in its domestic affairs by the United Arab Republic.

I might mention that during these days, I received a large number of messages from various Heads of States and others, from Mr Macmillan, Mr Diefenbaker of Canada, President Eisenhower, President Nasser, Mr Bandaranaike, Prime Minister U Nu, Prime Minister of Indonesia and others.<sup>14</sup> These messages as well as the information supplied by our Missions abroad kept us fully and continually informed of the serious situation and also indicated the line of thinking of various Governments. It was evident that the situation was a very grave one and might lead to military operations on a large scale and indeed to a major war. During these days, occasionally one had the feeling that we were on the brink of a war.

On the 19th July, I received a message from Mr Khrushchev suggesting that there should be an immediate meeting of the Heads of Governments of the United States of America, United Kingdom, USSR, France and India, to which the Secretary General of the United Nations should also be invited and that this meeting should endeavour to find some solution. I accepted this proposal and said in reply that I would be prepared to attend such a meeting if our presence was required by all concerned and if we felt convinced that we could make any useful contribution.<sup>15</sup> Some of the replies that Mr Khrushchev received from other Heads of Governments were not wholly favourable to his proposal. But, nevertheless, it appeared that a so-called summit meeting was likely to take place at an early date.

13. On 17 July 1958, 300 British paratroopers were airlifted to Amman. A further detachment of 2000 men of the parachute brigade were sent on 18 July 1958.

14. For Nehru's replies to these messages, see *ante*, pp. 463-481.

15. See *ante*, pp. 482-483.

Meanwhile, the Security Council was engaged in discussing a Japanese resolution which requested the Secretary General:

To make arrangements forthwith for such measures, in addition to those envisaged in the resolution of the 11th June, 1958, as he may consider necessary in the light of the present circumstances with a view to enabling the United Nations to fulfil the general purposes established in that resolution and which will, in accordance with the Charter, serve to ensure the territorial and political independence of Lebanon so as to make possible the withdrawal of the United States forces from the Lebanon.

There were some aspects of this resolution which we did not like although the explanation made by the Japanese representative in the Security Council cleared up some of our doubts.<sup>16</sup> But in any event the Resolution was finally not passed by the Security Council which adjourned until the outcome of the proposal made by Mr Khrushchev was known. The correspondence of Mr Khrushchev with the Heads of Governments of the USA, UK and France has already been published. The idea of summit conference gradually faded out and it became apparent by the 5th August that there was no possibility of such a high level conference in the near future.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, the Powers concerned agreed to meet immediately in the Security Council for recommending the convening of a special emergency session of the General Assembly. This session met 24 hours later on the 8th August and decided to adjourn until the 13th August, i.e., yesterday. India was represented there by our Permanent Representative, Shri Arthur Lall.

Now, the proceedings of this special session are going on and reports have come of the speech delivered by President Eisenhower in which he made certain

16. The resolution, moved on 21 July, was supported by all the members of the Security Council except the Soviet Union.

17. The Security Council meeting decided on 7 August 1958 by a unanimous vote to commence an emergency session of the United Nations General Assembly on the Middle East situation. The General Assembly met in an emergency session on 8 August but decided to adjourn the session till 13 August to enable the Foreign Ministers of other countries to attend. The debate then lasted from 13 to 20 August 1958.



proposals.<sup>18</sup> Reports have come also of some proposals that are being put forward by the Soviet Government and other powers there. It is rather difficult for me at this stage to comment on this partly because we have not got full information as to what is happening there and we should like to have that information and time to consider these various proposals before we send our instructions to our representative or comment on them otherwise.

I might mention, however, that on the 8th August the United Nations Secretary General made a statement before the General Assembly in which he suggested that the United Nations might continue to play some part in these areas and might so adopt its role both in Jordan and in Lebanon as to help in the search for a satisfactory solution. Here also, what the Secretary General has said has to be carefully considered before we can express any firm opinion and although we have seen something about what he has said, we have not yet had the full report about it.

Here, I would like to say that our country, as the House knows very well, does not approve of military alliances and carries out a policy of non-alignment. We would welcome every country to do that, but it is quite another thing to tell a country that you must have enforced neutrality. Anything enforced is not good. Even a good thing becomes bad if it is enforced in that particular way. Therefore any approach of compulsion that way and some kind of supervision is likely not to be accepted by the people of that area.

Now, on the 23rd July, the Government of India recognised the new Government of Iraq. Before that and since, chiefly after, a very large number of countries have recognised this new Government of Iraq, including all the Great Powers. Nearly all have recognised.

The situation in the Lebanon has undergone some changes but continues to be rather obscure. A new President—General Chehab—has been elected.

18. In his speech on 13 August 1958 at the special session of the United Nations General Assembly, Eisenhower referred to the situation in Lebanon and Jordan, and urged the creation of a standby UN peace force. Stating clearly the US position on the Middle East, he said that the "people of the Arab nations of the Near East clearly possess the right of determining and exercising their own destiny." However "only on the basis of progressing economies can truly independent Governments sustain themselves." To achieve these, he proposed: (i) that consultations be immediately undertaken by the Secretary General with the Arab nations of the Near East to establish an Arab Development Institution on a regional basis; (ii) that these consultations consider the composition and possible functions of a regional Arab Development Institution with a view to accelerate progress in industry, agriculture, water supply, health and education; and (iii) other nations and private organisations, willing to support this organisation, should also be consulted at an appropriate time.

The old President, however, continues and has announced his intention to complete his term which ends on the 24th September although his Government is reported to have offered its resignation. This has created certain difficulty because the Opposition is not prepared to function normally under the present President—President Chamoun. Further, the Opposition is opposed to President Chamoun sending his own representative to the United Nations' special emergency session of the General Assembly because they say that he will not represent, according to them, the views of the people of Lebanon and would only represent President Chamoun. So, all these difficulties have arisen there. In fact, so far as I know nobody has yet gone to the General Assembly session from Lebanon. On the Government side they have not yet sent somebody because they have not made up their mind and on the Opposition side they wanted to send somebody but he did not get the visa.

Now, the American authorities have announced that they would withdraw their troops from the Lebanon as soon as the Government of Lebanon asks them to do so. Only yesterday it has been announced that they have withdrawn a small part of their troops from there, but the major part still remains. In Jordan it is not clear in what circumstances the British Government would withdraw their troops though they have announced their intention of doing so some time in the future.

Our general views in regard to this position in Western Asia have been frequently stated and are certainly well-known to this House. Our approach is not inimical to any country there. It is friendly to all countries, but inevitably our sympathies are with the Arab countries there and with Arab nationalism which represents today the urge of the people there. Also, according to our general policy and as well as our particular views on this situation in Western Asia we do not accept that foreign troops should be used in any territory in this area in the circumstances prevailing there. We are convinced that there can be no settlement and no return to normality till foreign troops are removed. We have therefore, and so far as we can, pressed and continue to press for the withdrawal of these troops at the earliest possible opportunity. We have also made it clear that in our view the United Nations should not send any kind of police or armed forces in Lebanon or in Jordan because that has been suggested sometimes. If it is suggested that the United Nations Observer Group should continue for some time or should even increase its personnel we would be prepared to consider such a proposal favourably, but any such proposal can only have a chance of success if it is accepted by the Arab countries concerned.

Sometimes it is stated that these countries apparently should be treated like tender infants and should be under the guardianship of bigger countries. Well, whether they are tender or they are infants I do not know, but it is quite clear



that they do not like this offer of guardianship and patronage. In fact, such suggestions are resented by them.

Now, as I said, the position has been discussed in the General Assembly and I do not know what the outcome may be, but it must be remembered that there is a certain relaxation of tension because it is always better when people are talking than when they are not talking and are preparing for war. There has been that relaxation, but the whole position is full of danger and will continue to be dangerous and explosive so long as foreign forces remain there.

We can consider these events in Western Asia in isolation but that will not help us to understand them well. One has to take to some extent a historic view of developments. For hundreds of years these countries in Western Asia were under Turkish domination. They came out of it at the end of First World War in 1918.

The Western Powers decided what they liked without really caring very much about the wishes of the people. Probably there was no organised way for the people to express their views and so things were made worse. New nations were created—where they were viable they were very much better—and the contacts of the Western Powers were with the rulers of their own creation or, chiefly, with the landed gentry of those areas. There were few contacts with the people. The whole period between the two World Wars was one when Arab nationalism was trying to push out this foreign domination and gradually making some way in that direction. Then came the war and the post-war period, when much has happened, as the House knows, in various countries of the Middle East.

Now the major fact is the growth of Arab nationalism in a very powerful, resurgent way. Egypt took the lead in this matter and under the wise leadership of President Nasser has played a very important part, and Nasser, in fact, became the most prominent symbol of the Arab nationalism. And this fact, which is patent, was neither liked nor appreciated by many powers and an attempt was made to split up the Arab countries, to split, in fact, Arab nationalism. And the House may remember various talks about building up the Northern Tier Defence and about the Baghdad Pact. Whatever the motives of the Baghdad Pact may be—the motives were supposed to be to protect these countries from any attack or invasion from the Soviet Union and to give these countries some kind of security and peace—as a matter of fact, the result was far from security. All the troubles of these countries increased. The Arab countries were divided. At any rate, the Governments were divided—some in the Baghdad Pact and some outside it. And while the Governments were divided and they carried on a cold war against each other, the people almost in every Arab country were powerfully affected by this tie of Arab nationalism.

Thus, in the countries associated with the Baghdad Pact there was a divergence, a hiatus between the Government of the country and the people, the people looking more and more towards Arab nationalism and the Government looking in another direction and rather ranged against this spirit of Arab nationalism. How big this hiatus was can be seen from the *coup d'etat* in Baghdad which surprised everyone. I believe it surprised even the people in Iraq and Egypt, and the surprise is not essentially that it took place but the speed with which it took place and the complete success which attended it. It shows how utterly divorced from public opinion the Government of Iraq was. When some change was made the relief was tremendous all over Iraq and people flocked to the side of the new Government. So this attempt at not recognising the spirit of Arab nationalism, trying to come in the way and obstructing it, that really achieved the opposite effect; it encouraged nationalism as this kind of thing will do.

It was said that some kind of Arab Empire is being built up, which is dangerous. I do not know about the future, but I see no empire, much less an Arab Empire. But, certainly, all this has resulted in the Arab nations coming nearer to one another and will no doubt bring about a great deal of cooperation between them.

The theory, as I said, of vacuum was advanced, as if the removal of the influence of some great powers must necessarily be filled in by some other powers and, therefore, they should not go. It is an extraordinary appraisal of the situation which did not recognise the effect of this Arab nationalism which had become such a dominant force.

Now, much reference has been made to indirect aggression. Well, indirect aggression is inherently, essentially and inevitably a part of the cold war technique. In fact, there is no indirect aggression if we have no cold war. The world is full of indirect aggression, full of attempts, though not in a military way in other ways, at influencing other countries, trying and sometimes creating or upsetting situations in other countries. In the same way, ever since the Baghdad Pact came in there was this tussle between the countries, the Arab and other countries of the Baghdad Pact and the Arab countries outside the Baghdad Pact. There was no doubt this tussle and each side wanted to injure the interests of the other side. But this talk of indirect aggression really sows ignorance of the basic issues there. Therefore, it is confusing.

Now, during these days we have expressed our views with moderation and have endeavoured to avoid any action or utterance which might add to the tension. We have no desire in this matter, as in any other, to be involved in the cold war. Where our services are required we shall always be prepared to offer them if we feel that they will do some good. We are convinced, however, that



any effective solution must be based on the recognition of the dominant urge and force of this area, that is, Arab nationalism. Thus, any settlement must have the goodwill and cooperation of the Arab nations. The need for oil by the Western European countries is patent, and while it is vital for them there should be no difficulty in arriving at a friendly arrangement which ensures this supply of oil. The presence of foreign forces of any kind in these areas will be a constant irritant leading to trouble. If I may say so, peace in this area, as indeed anywhere else, will come if this area is removed from the orbit of the cold war and adopts the five principles of the *Panchsheel*. Every one of these Arab countries has tremendous problems of development to face. If the threat of war is removed from them, they will apply themselves to these problems and become a source of strength to the forces of peace.

Now, there is one other aspect of this problem which cannot be ignored, and that is the continuing element of danger in the relations between the Arab countries and Israel. Ever since Israel came into existence, it has been a source of constant irritation to the Arab countries. The invasion by Israel of Egypt two years ago is fresh in our memory. Apart from this, there is the big problem of the refugees, the old Palestine refugees. The Arab countries have looked upon Israel as an outpost from which their freedom might at any time be threatened.

Israel on the other hand fears the Arab countries which surround it. There can be no real peace in this area till this difficult problem is settled in some satisfactory way. Naturally, any real settlement can only be with the goodwill of the countries of these areas and by removing fears. There can be no settlement by war which, if it occurs, may well become a major war.

I have referred to the dangers inherent in this situation as between the Arab countries and Israel, and the forces behind them sometimes also. I should like to make it quite clear that I do not suggest that any attempt should, or can be, made to deal with this problem now. I am certain that this question should not be raised at this stage; it will have to wait for some time. Only when the other problems of Western Asia have advanced towards a solution and present-day passions have cooled somewhat, can this difficult problem be tackled. It is not for me to suggest when this position may arise and how it should be tackled; that is for the countries concerned.

During the past few weeks I have received many suggestions from friendly Governments with whom we are intimately connected. In their anxiety to maintain peace and advance the cause of freedom of Asian and African countries they have made several proposals to us for limited conferences or joint statements and the like. While I share their anxiety and appreciate their proposals, it seemed to me that in a situation like the one we are passing through, any limited action of the kind suggested would not be helpful: it is the Powers

principally involved in these disputes that have to be brought into the area of discussion. I am, however, grateful to all these Governments and countries which have made these friendly suggestions. It may be that in the future a situation might arise when some of the suggestions would be more feasible than they are at present.

I should like to say here that we have been very well served, during these past critical weeks, by our representatives abroad, more especially by our representatives in Beirut and Baghdad where all these difficult situations were developing.

### 34. To Abdul Karim Kassim<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 29, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup>

I am happy to receive your letter from your Ambassador, Mr Hussein Jamil.<sup>3</sup> We welcome Mr Jamil as the first Ambassador of the Republic of Iraq to India.

I reciprocate your greetings and good wishes. We have followed the recent developments in your country with close interest and you can rest assured of our full support and cooperation in the discharge of the great tasks that lie ahead of you and your colleagues in the new Republic of Iraq. I have no doubt that the friendly relations which exist between our two countries will grow stronger in the years to come.

I have also much pleasure in introducing to you our new Ambassador to your country, Shri Inder Sen Chopra.<sup>4</sup> Shri Chopra is a senior member of our Foreign Service and has our full confidence. I am asking him to convey my personal greetings and good wishes to Your Excellency.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Abdul Karim Kassim (1914-1963); nationalist Iraqi Army general who seized power in a coup in 1958, wherein the Iraqi monarchy was eliminated; he ruled the country as Prime Minister of Iraq until his downfall and death in 1963.
3. (1909-2002); served as judge in the early 1930s; founded the pro-democracy al-Ahali group, 1932; co-founder of the National Democratic Party; minister of justice, 1949; entered Parliament as a member of National United Front, 1954; minister of Information, 1958; Iraq's Ambassador to India, 1958-59.
4. Before taking over as Ambassador to Iraq, he was the Indian Ambassador to Sweden.



### III. BILATERAL RELATIONS

#### (i) Pakistan

##### (a) Border Issues

#### 1. To B.P. Chaliha<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 23, 1958

My dear Chaliha,<sup>2</sup>

When you were here last,<sup>3</sup> I had a brief talk with you about the Pakistan border incidents.<sup>4</sup> These are no doubt troublesome and mischievous, and adequate steps should be taken about them. But the result of enquiries made by us both through Intelligence and through our army people, has been that the reports previously received were much exaggerated and, sometimes, not quite true. On one occasion at least, when we stated that firing was started from the Pakistan side, our latest information is that it started on our side, and then the Pakistanis indulged in firing. I mention this so that we should be a little careful in examining the reports that we get from local officers who are apt to be excited.

The fact of the matter is that, annoying and mischievous as the Pakistan activities are on the border, there is no question of danger from any larger point of view. East Pakistan is weak, and according to our information, their armed forces there are limited and not up to much. In fact, the Pakistanis there are frightened of India, and they react as a person who is full of fear often does. We have taken adequate measures but, obviously, one cannot stop misbehaviour on the other side.

1. JN Collection.
2. Chief Minister of Assam.
3. B.P. Chaliha was in New Delhi for three days from 17 July for consultation with K.D. Malaviya over the proposed oil refinery in Assam.
4. Sporadic firing had been reported across Sylhet-Cachar border and in the Surma sector on the East Pakistan-Assam border. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, pp. 510 & 670-671 and Vol. 42, pp. 615-616.

One of our disadvantages is that Karimganj is near the border, and any person firing in that direction can do a lot of mischief and frighten people.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 2. To Firoz Khan Noon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 26, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 18th July, 1958,<sup>3</sup> which was delivered by your High Commissioner<sup>4</sup> in New Delhi on the 22nd July.

I appreciate the assurance you have given in your letter that the people and the Government of Pakistan are most anxious to maintain peaceful and cordial relations with the Government and the people of India. Further, that you would do everything possible on your side to ensure that there is no recurrence of undesirable incidents in the future. That indeed is the only attitude that either Pakistan or India can adopt to the other country. Any other attitude would be foolish in the extreme and harmful to both. So far as we are concerned, we have stated, times without number, publicly in Parliament and elsewhere, and privately in our communications to the Pakistan Government, that we are anxious to maintain peaceful and cooperative relations with Pakistan. It is true that there are differences between our two Governments in regard to a number of matters, and that all our efforts to settle these questions peacefully have met thus far with little success. Nevertheless, I am convinced that insofar as the people of Pakistan and the people of India are concerned, there is no basic hostility between them, and the unfortunate memories of the tragic incidents which followed Partition, have almost faded away. There is a natural and

1. File No. 15-205/58-UKAF, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Pakistan.

3. Noon had enclosed a copy of the note based on the findings of the Commissioner of Bahawalpur and Multan Divisions, Atta Mohammed Leghari, who carried out a joint enquiry in collaboration with the Commissioner of Jullundur Division, Gian Singh Kahlon, into the Amruka Minor Canal incident in Fazilka of June 1958 killing seven Indians. This note was in reply to the *aides-memoire* dated 5 and 7 June 1958 sent by the Indian Ministry of External Affairs.

4. Mian Ziauddin.



understandable desire in both countries to put an end to the tensions and apprehensions that unfortunately exist and embitter our relations. In spite of this, however, incidents occur. Whether these are due to encouragement from higher officers or merely to trigger-happy men on the frontier, I do not know. Whatever they may be due to, the consequences are most unfortunate. It is obvious that we cannot settle any of our problems in this way, and that indeed those problems become more difficult of solution if approached in this manner. It is absurd for either country to try to gain a few yards of territory on the border by trying to frighten the border guards or police on the other side. It is, therefore, a matter of high importance that both our Governments should issue the most stringent instructions that this kind of thing will not be tolerated and that anyone found guilty of doing this will be punished.

While I appreciate what you have written about your desire to maintain peaceful relations with India, I confess I have a feeling that the rest of your letter, dealing with the Fazilka incident, does not bear out that wish.<sup>5</sup> Of the many unfortunate incidents that have happened on our frontier, this Fazilka incident was a particularly glaring one, and I should have thought that there could be no doubt as to what happened.

I do not wish to argue this matter in this letter. Separately, we are sending a note to your Ministry of External Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, wherein this question is dealt with at some length. A copy of this note is attached to this letter also. This note gives long extracts from the report of the Commissioner, Jullundur Division, who participated in the joint enquiry.<sup>6</sup>

I would only add here that it is not only extraordinary, but beyond human credibility, that a number of our persons should be shot down and then we should be accused of having started the firing. To my knowledge, no one has stated that anyone was injured on the Pakistan side.

I earnestly trust that you will be good enough to consider this matter more fully. I am sure that if you do so, you will find that there is truth and justice in what we have said, and that this will lead you to take the necessary action, suggested by us, in this matter.

I hope with you that the forthcoming meeting between the Secretaries will produce fruitful results. But I confess that the attitude that your Government

5. Noon had written that it was a pity that the Commissioners failed to submit a joint report. He mentioned that "the 'ex parte' statements made by the Government of India...immediately after the event...possibly made the position of the Commissioner of Jullundur Division somewhat difficult."
6. The joint enquiry was conducted from 9 to 11 June 1958 and the Commissioners submitted their reports to their respective Governments. The extracts in the MEA *aides-memoire* were from Kahlon's report.

has taken about the Fazilka incident disheartens and distresses <sup>7</sup> and diminishes the hope I have that the meeting of the Secretaries will be helpful.<sup>8</sup>

I may add that we are not accusing the Pakistan Government of having ordered firing at Fazilka. This is an incident in which people at the border, according to us, misbehaved.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. At the joint enquiry, the *aide memoire* of 7 June 1958 stated the Indian case. The note from Pakistan dated 22 July 1958 said that the "enquiry clearly shows that the death of seven persons of P.A.P. (India) was due to defensive firing by the Pakistan border police in reply to fire opened on them by the Indian P.A.P." The note also mentioned that having given "due consideration to the evidence produced before the two Commissioners and to the Report of the Commissioner, Bahawalpur and Multan Divisions, the Government of Pakistan are convinced that the Indian allegations against the Pakistan border forces are incorrect."
8. M.J. Desai, Commonwealth Secretary in the Indian Ministry of External Affairs, and M.S.A. Baig, Foreign Secretary in the Pakistan Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations, held discussions in Karachi from 30 August to 2 September 1958.

### 3. To Firoz Khan Noon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 10, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

Thank you for your message of the 8th August,<sup>2</sup> which your Acting High Commissioner in New Delhi<sup>3</sup> delivered to our Commonwealth Secretary<sup>4</sup> on the morning of the 9th. I was away from Delhi then.

1. JN Collection.
2. Noon had complained that in March 1958 the Indian forces opened fire on Pakistani nationals on Surma river, and later in Piyain river and Patharia forest sector. He further wrote that "a baseless claim was also improvised to the right bank of Amruka Minor and resulted in serious trouble. More recently, heavy concentrations of Indian troops have been taking place on Assam-East Pakistan border..."
3. Mian Abdul Aziz.
4. M. J. Desai.



As you have been away in London, from where presumably your message has been sent, I presume that you have not been fully aware of the facts of the various incidents that have occurred on the eastern border during the last week.<sup>5</sup> These facts have been mentioned in detail in various notes presented by us to your Acting High Commissioner, and have also been stated at length in the discussions between your Acting High Commissioner and our Commonwealth Secretary. I shall not, therefore, repeat them here. But, should you so wish it, I am prepared to send you another account of them.

These incidents have pained me greatly, not only because of their nature, but also because of the unfortunate effect they must necessarily have on Indo-Pakistan relations. Indeed, they have aroused strong feelings in our country. A new session of Parliament is meeting tomorrow, and I have already received large numbers of questions and notices under various rules for statements or for a discussion in Parliament on these border incidents.<sup>6</sup> I have been anxious, as I had thought you were also, to settle all border problems so as to avoid anything in the nature of an incident. Unfortunately, instead of going towards a settlement, there has been continuous trouble there and, according to my information and belief, the authorities in East Pakistan have behaved repeatedly in an aggressive manner and, indeed, are continuing to do so from day to day. Daily, we receive reports of aggressive activities from the Pakistan side resulting in loss of life of our people as well as considerable damage to property on our side. We have issued instructions to our local authorities on that border to behave with restraint and to try to settle these border problems as they arise. But you will appreciate that it is not possible for our people there to be silent witnesses to this aggression. They have, therefore, sometimes had to take measures in self-defence. These have been on a very small and restricted scale because we are anxious to avoid a continuation and an intensification of these border conflicts. To add to all this extraordinary and aggressive behaviour on the part of East Pakistan authorities, the border between East Pakistan and Tripura State has been sealed in violation of the existing agreement regarding

5. Noon wrote that Indian armed forces had occupied Lakshmpur village and three points in the Patharia forest after 25 July. He stated that as a result of this forcible occupation of Pakistan territory, preceded by heavy concentration of Indian troops along its border and Indian Home Minister's "hostile statement of August 1," the Government of East Pakistan fearing further trouble closed its border with Tripura State earlier in the week. Noon also referred to the casualties on both sides in a clash on 7 August near Lakshmpur.
6. Nehru spoke in the Lok Sabha on 11 August and in the Rajya Sabha on 18 August 1958 on these border incidents. See *post*, pp. 520-523.

in-transit arrangements between the Governments of India and Pakistan.<sup>7</sup> This step, as you will no doubt appreciate, is a serious matter, not only involving a violation of an agreement, but causing great harm to our people and our trade.

In your message, reference is made to some speeches made by our Home Minister, and indeed it is stated that partly because of the Home Minister's statements, this border between Tripura State and East Pakistan was closed. Whatever the Home Minister might have said, this action of the East Pakistan Government appears to me to be wholly without justification. As a matter of fact, I had seen relevant extracts from our Home Minister's speeches. These were taken from the verbatim reports of those speeches which were in English. I am enclosing these verbatim extracts for your information. The Home Minister, as you will no doubt observe, spoke with considerable restraint and made repeated appeals for a peaceful and neighbourly approach to these problems. He was addressing a meeting of our Eastern Zonal Council held at Shillong, and the members of the Zonal Council had been seriously perturbed and concerned at these repeated border incursions on the part of Pakistan.<sup>8</sup>

You have asked me to issue orders to our people to withdraw immediately from the vicinity of Lakshmipur. The various notes sent by our Ministry of External Affairs to your Government will show how your local authorities have taken forcible possession of the area of Lakhimpur in violation of the 1949 Agreement between the Governments of Tripura and East Pakistan that exchange of areas should take place after demarcation of the sector is completed.

Our people have been observing this agreement scrupulously and have never made any incursion into Pakistan territory.

It is for your Government to take action to stop this aggressive action on the part of the East Pakistan authorities and, more particularly and immediately, to restore the in-transit arrangements for traffic to Tripura across East Pakistan in accordance with the existing agreement between our two Governments.

I must confess that I am much disturbed at this continuing border trouble. I am writing to you in sorrow and some distress that in spite of our repeated

7. The reference is to Indo-Pakistan Agreement of December 1948. See also *ante*, p. 427.

8. Speaking at the Eastern Zonal Council at Shillong on 2 August 1958, Home Minister G.B. Pant said: "The recent ugly incidents at Sylhet-Kachar border call for strengthening of security measures to guard against attempts at infiltration or violation of the border." Pant also said at a meeting of Congress workers at Gauhati on 1 August 1958 that the continued border "outrages" by Pakistan could not be tolerated any longer. He stated that, "as a result of 'wanton shooting' by Pakistani forces across the border, the economy of the people of the border areas has been seriously dislocated. We cannot tolerate it." He added that "the sovereignty of India cannot be allowed to be disturbed in any way. We cannot afford to keep our people in constant danger."



assurances to each other to maintain peaceful and cordial relations, these disturbances and upsets should take place. It is obvious that this kind of thing does not solve any problem; it only embitters our relations and makes solutions more difficult. Neither India nor Pakistan can react favourably to threats, or be coerced by them into any action. Their only consequence is to bedevil our relations still further and to cause suffering to the unhappy people who live on the border. In this atmosphere, it is difficult to conceive that the meeting of our Secretaries will achieve any substantial result.

I would, therefore, request you with all earnestness to order the stoppage of this aggressive action on the part of East Pakistan and to have the border between Tripura and East Pakistan opened.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. To Firoz Khan Noon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 17, 1958

My dear Prime Minister,

Your Acting High Commissioner in New Delhi delivered your message addressed to me yesterday afternoon.<sup>2</sup> This, I was informed, was to be substituted for your previous message which had been delivered to us on the 14th August.

I do not think it will serve any useful purpose for me to reply in any detail to the various points you have raised in your letter. The version of occurrences on our Eastern border which has been supplied to you, is different from the information at our disposal. We have already sent full accounts about these

1. File No. 15-205/58-UKAF, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Firoz Khan Noon wrote on 16 August 1958 that the origin of the recent firings was due to extensive deployment of Indian forces on East Pakistan-Assam border and a series of aggressive moves by them. He alleged that the forcible occupation of Lakshmipur on 30 July followed by Pandit Pant's speech on 1 August and the Indian occupation of three points in Patharia forest left no choice for the East Pakistan Government but to seal the East Pakistan-Tripura border. He wrote: "Now that status quo has been restored at Lakshmipur, I have ordered unsealing of East Pakistan-Tripura border." Referring to Nehru's statement in Lok Sabha on 11 August 1958, Noon wrote that he would be most happy to meet Nehru and discuss border problems at a time and place mutually convenient.

regrettable incidents to your Government, and I have also ventured to draw your attention to them. I regret that I have failed to convince you even in regard to some facts which appear to me self-evident.

I shall gladly meet you to discuss these border problems. I would have thought, however, that the better course would be for the Secretaries to meet first and discuss these matters in some detail and then, somewhat later, for us to meet. I would, therefore, recommend this course to you, which appears to me more likely to yield results. If, however, you feel that we should meet even before the Secretaries do so, I shall agree to that also.

I shall be grateful if you will take the trouble to come to Delhi for this meeting. Our Parliament is sitting here from day to day, considering matters of importance which require my presence. It is difficult, therefore, for me to go away from Delhi in the near future. I shall remain in Delhi except for the next weekend.

You will be welcome whenever you choose to come here, and I hope you will honour us by being our guest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Border Incidents in Assam-Tripura Area<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: Mr Chairman,<sup>2</sup> Members of this House have been much concerned about recent happenings on our eastern border with Pakistan and many questions have been addressed to me on the subject. This anxiety is natural. Continuous firing across the border should not be a normal occurrence, indeed it should not be even an abnormal occurrence between the countries concerned. Even if there are some border disputes, it is the usual practice of civilised countries to settle them in a peaceful way by negotiation. Aggressive action and repeated firings across the border cannot settle the dispute; these can only create bitterness and upset the life of the people living in the border areas. Occasionally people are hit and killed or get wounded, villages on the border have to be evacuated and economic life in the area is completely disorganised. Apart from the actual damage caused, such action naturally leads to apprehensions as to what the aim of the action is.

1. Statement in the Rajya Sabha on the incidents on the Indo-Pakistan border, New Delhi, 18 August 1958. *Rajya Sabha Debates*, Vol. XXII, cols. 76-80.

2. Vice-President S. Radhakrishnan.



So far as the Government of India is concerned, we are anxious to settle all these disputes by peaceful negotiation. These are not what might be called major political disputes and usually the argument is about small areas. If the approach is cooperative there should be no difficulty in settling them and in having the border clearly demarcated to avoid any controversy in the future. A part of this border has been demarcated but there has been delay in continuing this process. We have not been responsible for this delay.

When this process of demarcation started, it was agreed that whatever changes of territory have to be made, as a result of the demarcation, these exchanges should take place on an agreed date. Till then the status quo should continue. Pakistan has repeatedly violated this agreement.

While we are anxious and eager to settle these border disputes peacefully, it is obvious that we cannot permit forcible attempts on the part of Pakistan to change the status quo. Where, therefore, there has been any aggression or firing across the border, we have had to give orders for that place to be defended.

There are four areas in this eastern border where there has been trouble;

(1) The Surma sector: This extends twelve to thirteen miles between the Cachar District of Assam and the Sylhet District of East Pakistan. On the night of the 6/7th August, Pakistani forces began firing towards Indian posts and villages across the Surma river on a fairly wide scale. At first, our police forces stationed there did not retaliate, but, as the firing continued, they returned the fire. Ever since then, there has been intermittent firing over this stretch of the Surma sector. The casualties on our side, to the best of our knowledge, have been two killed and some persons wounded. There are vague reports of another person having been killed. We are not sure. We do not know what the casualties on the Pakistan side have been. The people living over this stretch of territory on our side of the border have not only suffered damage, but have had their life disorganised. Some villages have had to be evacuated.

According to our understanding, the boundary falls on the left bank of the river Surma, the whole river lying within India. Pakistan disputes this. Pending a settlement of the dispute, certain *de facto* arrangements were agreed to by the Deputy Commissioners of Cachar and Sylhet in 1954. Under these arrangements, Pakistani civilians, but not officials or armed personnel, were allowed certain transit facilities on the river which, according to us, is Indian territory. Pakistan has repudiated these arrangements.

In this sector there is a village called Tugergram or Harigram belonging to India in the loop of the Kushiara river. On the night of 6/7th August, Pakistani forces, taking advantage of their over-land connection, entered this village and occupied it. There has never been any dispute about this village in the past.

(2) Tripura Border: On the same night, that is, 6/7th August, Pakistani

forces surprised a small Indian police picket situated in the Indian part of the Lakhimpur village on the border and killed two, injured two and captured three of our policemen. This part of the Lakhimpur village has been in Indian possession, although, as a result of recent demarcation of the boundary in the area, it will ultimately go to Pakistan.

It will be noticed that the action taken both in the Surma sector and on the Tripura border was coordinated and took place in the course of the same night, 6/7th August.

(3) Sealing of Border: Two days earlier, on the 4th August, the East Pakistan Government sealed the Tripura-East Pakistan border without consulting Indian authorities. This was a breach of the agreement made by Pakistan with India according to which Pakistan agreed to allow goods and passengers to proceed from India to Tripura. This sudden closure, without previous intimation, led to great inconvenience and loss to the people of Tripura. We consider this a serious violation of an agreement between India and Pakistan.

(4) Khasi Jaintia Hills Border: A few days ago I made a statement in the Lok Sabha giving an account of these eastern border troubles.<sup>3</sup> Since then a fresh development has taken place. From the 11th August onwards we received information that Pakistani forces were being moved towards our border opposite our small town of Dawki. On the 12th August, Pakistan closed the Khasi Jaintia Hills border with Sylhet, presumably to cover these troop movements. We drew the attention of the Pakistan Government to these developments and hoped that they were not part of any aggressive design. On the 13th August, Pakistani forces started firing on Dawki town.<sup>4</sup> This was entirely unprovoked and it must be remembered, that there has been no dispute about Dawki. The status quo in this area is governed by agreements concluded in November 1951 and January 1952. According to these agreements forces on one side could not go across the river to the other side, but both sides could ply freely on the river. The Pakistan Government has recently repudiated these agreements and Pakistani forces have been from time to time, firing on Indian boats plying on the river.

Our Government have been in correspondence with the Pakistan Government about these border troubles. I have also been in correspondence directly with the Prime Minister of Pakistan. I am afraid this correspondence has not thus far led to any helpful result. What appears to me self-evident is not

3. On 11 August 1958. See *Lok Sabha Debates* (Second Series), Vol. XVIII, cols. 120-127.

4. There were firings across the border at Dawki earlier also. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 414.



accepted by the Prime Minister of Pakistan, and his version of what took place seems to me incorrect.

It had been proposed to have a meeting at Secretaries' level in Karachi on 23rd August to consider these border problems. We have now been informed that this meeting will have to be postponed for about a week as the Foreign Secretary of Pakistan is still in New York.<sup>5</sup>

Day before yesterday I received a letter from the Prime Minister of Pakistan, who has been in London and is expected to reach Karachi today. In this letter, the Prime Minister informed me that he had issued orders to open the East Pakistan-Tripura border.

I had said in the Lok Sabha last week that I would be prepared to meet the Prime Minister of Pakistan to discuss the border disputes, should he so wish. He has now informed me that he would like to meet me at a time and place mutually convenient, in order to discuss these border problems. He has suggested that this meeting should precede the meeting of the Secretaries. I have sent him a reply expressing my readiness to meet him for this purpose and suggesting Delhi as the venue of such a meeting. I have, however, pointed out that it would be more hopeful if the Secretaries met at the first instance and discussed these problems thoroughly. Later the Prime Ministers could meet. But I have added that, should he still wish that the Prime Ministers' meeting take place before the Secretaries' meeting, I would agree to that also.

5. M.S.A. Baig was in New York to attend the special session of the UN General Assembly.

## 6. Message to Firoz Khan Noon<sup>1</sup>

I am glad that you will be coming here for talks about the border situation. I hope you will kindly let me know the time of your arrival and how long you will be able to stay here, so that we can draw up our programme for meetings, etc., accordingly, as our Parliament will be meeting from day to day then and sometimes I have to be present there if any important matter is being discussed or at Question Hour.

2. I shall also be glad to have some indication of the party accompanying you. All of you, I hope, will be our guests in Delhi.

1. New Delhi, 22 August 1958. JN Collection. The message was sent through C.C. Desai, Indian High Commissioner in Karachi.

3. I earnestly hope that the conflicts on our borders will soon be settled satisfactorily. As both you and I have said, it is absurd for two great countries to function in this way and cause suffering to innocent people. Our border falls into three categories:

- (i) recognised international border where there is no question or doubt as to the exact demarcation of the border.
- (ii) the ceasefire line in Jammu & Kashmir State.
- (iii) The border according to the Radcliffe Award.

4. The first two are clear and there can be no present dispute about them. In regard to (iii), sometimes some confusion has arisen or there is a minor dispute. It is this area that has especially to be considered by us so as to put an end to these disputes. Even if we cannot settle every dispute at our meeting, we can lay down the procedure for settling them and meanwhile state firmly that the status quo will be maintained.

5. In any event, surely we must stop the intermittent firing that goes on even now. I cannot understand why this should continue as it does no good to anybody. If firing takes place on one side, the other side replies to it. In particular, I would draw your attention to the firing taking place from the Pakistan side towards Dawki,<sup>2</sup> Karimganj<sup>3</sup> and other territories about which there can be no shadow of doubt that they are Indian territory.

6. I would, therefore, earnestly suggest to you that both the Government of Pakistan and the Government of India should issue orders immediately for a complete stoppage of this firing at the border. This is not only desirable in itself, but it will help in creating a better atmosphere for our meeting. I trust you agree.<sup>4</sup>

2. See the preceding item.

3. There was intermittent firing in the Karimganj area from 11 May to 23 May 1958.

4. Noon agreed to Nehru's suggestions in a telegram on 23 August 1958.



## 7. Problem Areas on the Eastern Border<sup>1</sup>

I have read your note and agree with it. There are one or two matters, however, which are not quite clear to me.

Page 2-3, Lakshmipur village. I take it that it is proposed to accept the present position, that is to say that Pakistan continues to occupy the part it recently seized. The undertaking required from them is that no further attempt will be made by them to seize additional territory there.

Page 4. It is suggested that according to the agreement exchange of areas consequent on demarcation will be made on an agreed date. This again will be subject, I take it, to the forcible transfer of Lakhimpur which has already been made. We have no intention to reverse that at this stage.

Is it necessary for us to wait for the full demarcation before we fix a date for exchange of areas? This full demarcation is likely to take a long time and thus the exchange of territory will be greatly delayed. It is better to avoid these delays. On the other hand, it is not right that an exchange takes place where it is favourable to Pakistan while they delay the other exchange. Perhaps we need not wait for the full area to be demarcated before an agreed exchange, but take it in patches.

Page 5 (d). I think that we should ask the survey parties to make recommendations, as suggested.

Normally it seems to me that where a river comes between the two countries, the boundary should be the middle of the river. It is not very logical or feasible to have the boundary on one side or the other of the river when that side is in the possession of the other party.

Page 5 V (i). It is stated at the end of the page that the exchange of areas in accordance with the Bagge Award on disputes I and II giving Pakistan a net area of 13.21 sq. miles, has already been ordered. What does this mean? Does it mean that it has been decided upon but not given effect to?

Page 6, Tukergram. It would obviously be desirable to straighten out the international boundary and leave Tukergram in possession of Pakistan. The boundary will thus be in midstream of Kushiara river. But we cannot agree to this by itself. We must have something in exchange for this.

Patharia Forest. You are the best judge of this. The point always to remember is that a clear and straight boundary is better than odd bulges which create trouble.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, 26 August 1958. JN Collection.

This applies to Baroibari village in Assam also.

The exchange of the Cooch-Bihar enclaves<sup>2</sup> stands really on a separate footing entirely. It is not strictly a boundary matter. As we have agreed, we should accept this exchange. In view, however, that this exchange gives Pakistan 8.5 sq. miles of excess area, we should try to counter-balance it somewhere else in connection with the boundary disputes.

2. For Nehru's note on these enclaves, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 617-618.

## (b) Canal Waters

### 1. Bhakra Dam Administration<sup>1</sup>

I hope that full care will be taken that as a consequence of what we do to the left tunnel of the Bhakra Dam, there will be no reduction in the supply of water to Pakistan.<sup>2</sup> We have given an assurance to this effect and we must honour it fully. This must be made absolutely clear to the Punjab engineers so that there may be no possibility of error.

Having fixed this up clearly with all concerned, a press note should be issued in advance.

1. Note to Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, the Minister of Irrigation and Power, 1 July 1958. File No. F-31 (2)-CWD/58, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section) 1958. The note was on the operation of the Bhakra Reservoir during 1958-59 and 1959-60.
2. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim had forwarded a note from N.D. Gulhati, Chief Engineer (Special) and ex-officio Joint Secretary to the Government of India in charge of technical and secretarial work relating to the Canal Waters dispute. He stated that the Bhakra Dam Administration was planning to close the left diversion tunnel in June 1958 to begin storing water behind the Bhakra Dam which might adversely affect the water supply to Pakistan. At the behest of Gulhati, it was decided to close the left tunnel later on 4 July 1958 in order not to disturb the supplies required for delivery to Pakistan's Sutlej Valley Canals. By then the Beas river would rise sufficiently to take care of the full requirements of Pakistan independently of the Sutlej.



## 2. To Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 19, 1958

My dear Hafizji,  
Your letter of the 19th July.<sup>2</sup>

If Shri Visveswarayya desires to have a talk with some of our engineers in regard to the canal waters dispute with Pakistan, you should certainly send one or two of your officers to him for the purpose. I am afraid Shri Visveswarayya is a bit too old now for practical problems and is apt to think along some old grooves of thought, but there is no doubt about his eminence and we should certainly do him courtesy and send an engineer or two to him to have a talk with him on this subject.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. F.18(4)-CWD/58, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T.Section), 1958. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim had written about the suggestion of Mirza Ismail, former Dewan of Mysore State and former Prime Minister of Jaipur and Hyderabad States, that M. Visveswarayya, the most eminent and respected engineer of India had expressed a desire to make some suggestions on the canal waters dispute between India and Pakistan. Ibrahim asked Nehru if one or two officers could be sent to Visveswarayya for this purpose.

### 3. The Pakistan Plan<sup>1</sup>

I have read Shri Gulhati's note and the summary record of the discussions in London.<sup>2</sup> I agree with you that these papers should be considered at an early date at a meeting of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet, to which representatives of the Ministry of Irrigation and Power should be invited. Such a meeting should be held, I think, in about a week's time or so.

2. I do not understand why our engineers should want several months to consider this plan or their alternative schemes.<sup>3</sup> Surely, they have been considering this entire question of canal waters for many long years and have got all the data and facts before them. I should have thought at the most a few weeks were necessary for a consideration of the Pakistan plan or to put forward any alternative plan of ours. No one wants a detailed project plan at this stage. In any event, I think it would be very unfortunate if we are not ready to deal with this matter by the middle of October, which is two months from now.

3. Apart from the other various questions that arise in regard to the new proposals of Pakistan, there are two aspects which raise definite political issues. These are the construction of the Mangla Dam and the dam on the river Punch at Rajdhani near Mirpur. Both of these places are within Jammu and Kashmir

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, 6 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. During the discussions in London, Pakistan presented its plan on 7 July 1958, as agreed to in the Rome meeting in April 1958. Copies of the plan were given to the Indian team of negotiators on 16 July. In a note to Nehru on 6 August 1958, Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai listed following points in the summary of discussion in London between the representatives of the World Bank and the Pakistan Delegation on the Indus waters question: (i) The Pakistan plan envisaged in addition to the Mangla Dam, a dam on the Punch river at Rajdhani near Mirpur in Pakistan-occupied-Kashmir; (ii) in addition to the exaggerated costs of the link canals, there was a provision for a total storage of 6 million acre feet for replacement against a corresponding benefit to India of 2.5 to 3 million acre feet in the period of low river supplies; (iii) the Bank's approach was to give up the principles mentioned in its earlier proposal of February 1954 [See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 25, pp. 344-345]; (iv) the approach was to apply steamroller tactics on the ground that the US assistance was not likely to be forthcoming unless a settlement on the basis of this plan was arrived at quickly. The Bank proposed to act as arbitrator. Desai commented that "our only interest should be to limit our contribution to the benefits we are likely to receive on the basis of the most economic plan of replacement works that we consider feasible."
3. M.J. Desai had written that Gulhati proposed to take several months to prepare alternative plans while the Bank authorities were keen on settling the matter in October in Delhi.



territory, though they are occupied by Pakistan forces at present. Thus, we have to consider this political aspect also.

4. Copies of Shri Gulhati's note and the summary record of the discussions in London should be circulated to all the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet.

#### 4. Approach to Canal Waters<sup>1</sup>

In our attempt to get a final settlement with Pakistan about canal waters, we have been obsessed by the thought that unless we can use all the present supply of waters from the Sutlej, etc., ourselves, we shall not be able to give enough water to the Rajasthan canals. There is no other prospect of getting water and the need of Rajasthan canals is patent. Because of this, we have in effect offered to pay large sums of money to Pakistan so that they can build their alternative supplies. In spite of this the argument has gone on indefinitely and at considerable cost to us and no settlement is in evidence.

2. While it may be said that Pakistan has, by presenting its latest proposals, advanced a step, in effect this does not promise any kind of a settlement which we can accept. The money involved is on an extravagant scale but, what is even more difficult for us to entertain is our admitting Pakistan's right to construct reservoirs, etc., on Kashmir territory which happens to be held by them now. If we cannot admit this, not only some of their schemes but some of our proposed alternative schemes fall to the ground.

3. If we lay great stress on this political aspect, this will not be appreciated by either the Bank authorities or almost any other country. They will say that we are being obstreperous and intransigent and the fault of not arriving at a settlement is ours.

4. We shall get a bad name and at the same time no settlement and these talks will go on and on indefinitely.

5. It is better, therefore, for us to face this problem squarely and not get any further entangled in it. Even if we arrive at some kind of a temporary settlement with Pakistan, this will be full of snags and would trouble us for years, while Pakistan builds its dams, reservoirs and link canals and we on our side do the same. There will be constant controversies and conflicts and perhaps references to the World Bank and we shall be dragged hither and thither. Even

1. Note, 16 August 1958. File No. F.38 (1)-CWD/51, Vol. XXI, Ministry of Irrigation (I.T. Section), 1958. Also available in JN Collection.

the distant prospect of our getting our share of the water after a few years will not counter-balance all these dangers and difficulties that will constantly pursue us. No one knows what further controversies might arise. If Pakistan continues in the mood she is in today, one may take it for granted that these controversies will arise and there will be constant trouble. Thus the possibility of a real settlement emerging after a few years is remote indeed and we shall be tied up with all kinds of assurances and undertakings with the World Bank sitting in judgement on us.

6. Is it not possible then for us to get out of this tangle and think afresh and act in a different and simpler way, even though that might mean our taking a risk about our future water supply? I think it is worthwhile. Much may happen in the next five or six years to Pakistan, to us, to our relations and to the world situation. It may become much easier for us to deal with Pakistan in a cooperative way and, in any event, even if that is not so, it is better for us to get out of this tangle here and now even at the cost I have mentioned.

7. The simple proposal that I put forward before the members of the Foreign Affairs Committee the other day was this: The whole argument is about our continuing to supply Pakistan with the same quantity of water that she has been getting in the past—the historical supplies, as they are called. Because we wanted to discontinue this or lessen this, various schemes were considered for which we offered to pay. I do not know how much this water is, but let us call it 10X.

8. The whole argument ends if we say to Pakistan that we promise to continue this supply of water to Pakistan, that is, 10X, in future and shall not stop or reduce it unilaterally. That is, we will not reduce it except in future by mutual agreement. This is all that Pakistan has claimed and all argument should end there. There is then no question of three rivers being given to Pakistan and three to us. Pakistan can do what it likes with its own territory and we can do what we like, provided we supply them with that water.

9. What is the loss to us? This will be 10X and the effect of this will no doubt be a grave one for the Rajasthan canals. That kind of crisis will come some years later. We shall take the risk. But I was told that if we construct the Marhu Canal we can get 5X water from there. In this way we can reduce our loss to 5X. How far we can so arrange our Bhakra reservoir to get over this difficulty, I do not know. But I take the risk because anything else involves far greater risk and a danger of our getting into hopeless tangle and yet getting nothing out of it.

10. An alternative approach, though rather similar to the one just described is as follows: We tell Pakistan that as the present proposals, for a variety of reasons, are not acceptable to us and we feel that this kind of interminable



argument does good to nobody, we are proposing an entirely different and a much simpler line of approach. The whole crux of the question has been that we should replace any water reduced from the historical supplies to Pakistan. By their link canals they have replaced or can replace 5X. We are prepared to pay them the cost of these link canals, that is, I understand, 24 crores, and we are prepared to continue supplying them 5X. We give this assurance that we will not reduce this unilaterally. If, in future, some agreement is arrived at between the two countries, well and good.

11. This means our paying Pakistan 24 crores and having a liability of supplying them 5X. We can, if we so choose, build the Marhu Canal and get 5X, or make any other arrangement we like in our own territory. Again, Pakistan can do what it chooses in its territory and we shall do what we choose in ours.

12. If either of these approaches is made, it will be simpler. It will not require very much complicated calculations which are challenged and on which there is seldom agreement. The result of either of these approaches would be for us to get the initiative and put forward the proposal which is eminently reasonable and which anybody can understand. I think that Pakistan will not at all be happy over this, but I do not quite see how they can basically object to it except that they might say that they cannot trust us in the future. What guarantees have they that we will keep our word? The Bank people might also say that this will depend on good faith. If there is no good faith on either side, then whatever the settlement arrived at can be broken.

13. The great advantage of the approaches I now suggest will be to disentangle this knot in which we have got tied up and put us right before any reasonable person. If we succeed in this, we have resolved one of the biggest questions between India and Pakistan and thereby checkmate Pakistan even in regard to other questions. Also, we do not commit ourselves the slightest in regard to Pakistan occupied territory of Kashmir State. Indeed we continue to stake our claim on it.

14. I should like the Irrigation and Power Ministry or rather their engineers to work these proposals out in some detail. That does not mean very accurate calculations but the broad aspects only. We can then meet together soon and consider this problem from this new point of view.

15. Mr Gulhati will of course, at the same time, draw up his criticisms of the recent Pakistan proposals. In any event these have to be shown up for what they are.

## 5. Delay in Formulating Alternate Schemes<sup>1</sup>

I am rather surprised to have this reply from the Irrigation and Power Ministry. I have referred in my note above to some suggestions that I made at the last meeting of the Cabinet Committee. Subsequently, I wrote a long note on this, which was sent to Commonwealth Secretary and the Irrigation and Power Ministry, as also to some members of the Foreign Affairs Committee of the Cabinet.<sup>2</sup> That note contained a different approach to this problem, and I wanted the I. & P. Ministry to give thought to this new approach and let me have a note as to the consequences of such an approach. I was under the impression that this did not require any complicated calculations, but that it could be prepared in a few days.

2. Even as regards the alternative scheme to which reference is made, I am still unable to understand how the broad features of this scheme, without minute details, cannot be prepared in a few weeks at the most.

3. In some form or other, this question is going to come up before us for discussion in October next. We may not be ready with the detailed alternative scheme, but we must be clear in our minds as to what we are going to say or put forward. We cannot take refuge by saying that we want four or five months to consider this matter.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to Principal Private Secretary Kesho Ram, 31 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. See the preceding item.
3. See *ante*, p. 528.



(c) Other Issues

**1. The Case of Jamal Mian<sup>1</sup>**

Shri C.C. Desai<sup>2</sup> saw me today and, in the course of his talk with me, mentioned the case of Jamal Mian of Firangi Mahal, Lucknow, who has gone to Pakistan and adopted Pakistan nationality.<sup>3</sup> His wife and family, however, live in Lucknow and continue to be Indian nationals. Shri C.C. Desai told me that there are frequent difficulties about Jamal Mian coming to India or his wife and family getting passports to Pakistan. I believe the UP Government is very sticky on this subject.

2. I do not see the point of refusing passports and visas to people of this type. Jamal Mian is, of course, a Pakistani and, even before he became a Pakistan national, all his sympathies were with Pakistan. He was a leading Muslim Leaguer in the pre-Partition days. I know all that. But, what exactly is the point of preventing him from visiting his family or preventing his family from visiting him? I do not fancy this kind of petty behaviour which has wider reactions against us.

3. I do not know if any such case of passports or visas is pending. But I should like you to note that passports should be issued to the family to visit Pakistan, should they ask for them.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, New Delhi, 26 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Indian High Commissioner to Pakistan.
3. For an earlier reference, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39. p. 645, Vol. 40, pp. 331-332 and Vol. 41, p. 467.

## 2. To B.C. Roy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 18, 1958

My dear Bidhan,

You will have seen that there is a possibility of my meeting the Prime Minister of Pakistan in Delhi some time this month.<sup>2</sup> The object of our meeting is to consider border problems.

It has struck me that we might take some further step in regard to the enclaves of Indian territory in Pakistan and Pakistan territory in India. This question has been discussed many times but no decision was arrived at.<sup>3</sup> As far as I remember, the area of our enclaves in Pakistan is somewhat greater than that of Pakistan enclaves in India. Therefore, when a proposal for an exchange was made, the West Bengal Government said that they should be compensated for this extra acreage somewhere else. The Pakistan Government did not agree, and there the matter stands.

While we may have some justification for demanding this extra area, which is not very great, I should like you to consider whether the present situation is at all desirable from our point of view. So far as Pakistan enclaves in India are concerned, your Government does not profit by them at all. I suppose they pay no taxes to anybody and they may well be a source of annoyance to your Government from various points of view.

So far as Indian enclaves in Pakistan are concerned, I am told that most of the Hindus there have migrated to West Bengal. There also we cannot collect any taxes. What Pakistan does there, I do not know.

Does it do us any good to hold out on this issue for the sake of a few thousand acres of land? We do not profit by it at all. I think it will be desirable for us to agree to exchange these enclaves with Pakistan as they are, that is, without any further demand of territory. I do not at all like these little bits of Pakistan territory in the heart of India. To put an end to them would be a greater gain for us than some tiny patch of territory.

Please consider this matter and let me know your views soon.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Prime Minister of Pakistan Firoz Khan Noon was in New Delhi from 9 to 11 September 1958.

3. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 617-618.



(ii) China

1. To Apa B. Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 11, 1958

My dear Apa,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of July 7th. I shall return to you some of the copies with my autograph, but I do not want you to send any copies at present to any person in Tibet.

Our relations with China are not as good as they have been in the past, chiefly because they think that we are conniving at the activities of Tibetan émigrés in Darjeeling, Kalimpong, etc.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, I rather doubt now that I shall be going to Tibet at all.<sup>4</sup>

In this connection, I should like you to be particularly careful in dealing with Tibetan émigrés. I have an idea that you have been, perhaps, not very careful in the past. This applies not only to you but to the members of your staff.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. Apa B. Pant Collection, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Political Officer in Sikkim.
3. For Nehru's comments on Tibetan emigres, see *ante*, pp. 385-386.
4. Nehru was expected to visit Tibet at the invitation of Dalai Lama [see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 672] and then proceed to Bhutan. But the formal visit to Lhasa did not materialise. However, on his way to Bhutan from Gangtok in Sikkim, Nehru passed through the Tibetan Plateau at Yatung on 18 September 1958. On his way back from Bhutan, he again passed through Tibet on 29 September 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 659.

## 2. Chinese Sovereignty and Tibetan Autonomy<sup>1</sup>

Here is the letter and manifesto about which reference was made in the *Daily Telegraph* of London. I do not think it is necessary for us to acknowledge it.

2. In the manifesto, some kind of a scrappy historical narrative is given. It is odd that no reference is made in it to the Younghusband Expedition to Tibet.<sup>2</sup> In 1908, it is said that there was a Chinese invasion and a massacre of Tibetans. This must be after the Younghusband Expedition. The Chinese Government then, as far as I remember, was very weak, and the British had considerable influence in Tibet.

3. To say that no Chinese had been allowed to go to Tibet without express permission is hardly correct. It is true that Tibet enjoyed some kind of an autonomy, but Chiang Kai-shek used to send from time to time his envoys there as a symbol of China's sovereignty. I remember one of them going there at the time of the installation of the Dalai Lama. On his way back, he came to see me in Allahabad.<sup>3</sup>

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 7 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 441-442.

3. General Wu Zhongxin attended the installation of the fourteenth Dalai Lama in February 1940 and also met Nehru in Allahabad. See *Selected Works* (first series), Vol. 11, p. 468.



### 3. A Repetition of Inaccurate Maps<sup>1</sup>

I do not think that we should allow this matter to pass without some kind of protest. To ignore this repetition of inaccurate maps showing large parts of India in China is, in a sense, to accept them. Anyhow it weakens our case to some extent.

We need not make a formal protest but, as suggested, Shri Acharya<sup>2</sup> should have a talk with the Chinese Counsellor and hand him an *aide-memoire* or, if you prefer it, an unofficial note. In the course of the talk it should be mentioned that I referred this matter to Premier Chou En-lai on more than one occasion, that is, when I visited China<sup>3</sup> and also I think when Premier Chou En-lai came to India. His answer was that present maps were based on old maps and the Chinese Government had no time to correct them.<sup>4</sup> As the People's Republic of China has now been functioning for many years and new maps have been repeatedly printed and published, it is surprising that these corrections have not been made. We hope that they will be made soon.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 12 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. B.K. Acharya was the Joint Secretary in the Ministry of External Affairs.
3. Nehru visited China from 19 October to 30 October 1954. For Nehru's record of talks with the Chinese Prime Minister Chou En-lai in Peking, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 27, pp. 11-31.
4. Between 28 November 1956 and 30 January 1957, Chou En-lai was in India from 28 November to 9 December 1956; from 30 December 1956 to 1 January 1957; on 24 and 25 January; and on 30 January he reached Santiniketan via Calcutta. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 599-601 and 614-615. For Nehru's talks with Chou En-lai, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 36, pp. 583-619 and 623-638.

## (iii) Nepal

**1. Medicines against Cholera<sup>1</sup>**

Please see my letter to our Ambassador in Kathmandu.<sup>2</sup> I think we ought to be able to get some medicines and disinfectants<sup>3</sup> from the Red Cross Society here. They keep a stock for emergencies. Could you please ask Shri Acharya to get in touch immediately with the Secretary of the Red Cross<sup>4</sup> or with Rajkumari Amrit Kaur<sup>5</sup> if she is in Delhi? She is I think at present.

2. Normally, I suppose, any such gift would be sent to the government of the country concerned but I doubt if that will be utilised properly. I think it would be better to send it to our Ambassador. I do not know what agency he has to deal with this and he will no doubt have to give it to the Government and utilise their machinery. But it will be better to send it even so through our Ambassador.

3. There is not much left in the Prime Minister's Fund. I can, of course, send Shri Bhagwan Sahay Rs 2,000 or so if that is of any help.

4. After enquiry from the Red Cross, a telegram might be sent to the Ambassador.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 3 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. India's Ambassador to Nepal Bhagwan Sahay in a telegram to Nehru had stated his requirement for money for purchasing medicines against cholera and disinfectants. Nehru wrote (not printed) to him on 3 August saying that the Prime Minister's Relief Fund was gradually disappearing owing to the help and relief in floods-affected areas. Since medicines against cholera and disinfectants were not available in Kathmandu, Nehru enquired: "what then would you do with the money?"
3. These medicine were required as there was an outbreak of cholera in Kathmandu. In July and August 1958, 271 and 872 cases were reported of which 68 and 136 respectively were fatal.
4. Major General C.K. Lakshmanan.
5. Member, Rajya Sabha and also the Chairman of the Indian Red Cross Society.



## 2. To Sri Prakasa<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 7, 1958

My dear Prakasa,<sup>2</sup>

The King of Nepal<sup>3</sup> has been visiting foreign countries, chiefly the Soviet Union<sup>4</sup> and some West European countries.<sup>5</sup> From there he went to Africa. He is coming back by ocean ship from Aden and reaching Bombay on the 13th of August.

We had naturally sent word to him that we would be happy if he would be our guest at Raj Bhavan in Bombay during his stay there. He intends staying for a week there, leaving for Calcutta by air. He has, however, replied that he has made arrangements to stay privately at the Hotel Ambassador in Bombay. In Calcutta also he is staying privately and does not want to stay at Raj Bhavan.

In any event, you should go to receive him at the pier when he arrives.

The King of Nepal and his Government have behaved rather strangely. Sometimes they appear to be very friendly to us; at other times they are distant to the point of discourtesy. Before leaving for the USSR, he came to Delhi<sup>6</sup> and naturally I offered him such help as we could give him through our Missions abroad in the Capital cities which he visited. He thanked me and all that. We informed our Missions abroad, but as a matter of fact, he treated our Ambassadors and others with scant courtesy. Evidently he and his Government want to show off that they are very very independent and not at all relying on India. It is a kind of inferiority complex.

However, we should show him our normal courtesies. As his visit is a private one, no guard of honour, etc., is necessary, but you should receive him at the pier and informally tell him that you are at his service and would be glad if he wishes to avail himself of any facilities that our Government can offer. But do not thrust yourself too much on him.

1. JN Collection.

2. Governor of Bombay.

3. Mahendra Bir Bikram Shah.

4. At the Soviet Government's invitation, King Mahendra and Queen Ratna of Nepal paid a three-week state visit to the Soviet Union beginning 4 June 1958.

5. After the Soviet Union, the King and Queen visited Finland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Belgium, France, Switzerland, Italy, Kenya, Pakistan and India before returning to Kathmandu on 31 August.

6. King Mahendra and Queen Ratna were in Delhi on 2 and 3 June on their way to Moscow. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 666-667.

I suppose you will be able to find out easily the time of his ship's arrival at Bombay on the 13th August. The ship is *M.V. Asia* from Aden.<sup>7</sup>

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. As Sri Prakasa informed Nehru on 8 August that he had gone to Nagpur, Nehru asked him on 9 August 1958 to send his representative to receive the King and apologise for his absence. Nehru also informed Sri Prakasa that the King would stop at Karachi for a day and then come by air to Bombay.

### 3. To Padmaja Naidu<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 7, 1958

My dear Padmaja,<sup>2</sup>

The King of Nepal is returning after his European tour. He is coming by ocean ship from Aden to Bombay reaching Bombay on the 13th August. He will spend a week in Bombay and leave by air on the 20th August for Calcutta. He will stay in Calcutta for a day or two and leave by air for Darjeeling on the 22nd August and stay at Darjeeling for six days, that is, till the 28th August, and then leave by air for Kathmandu.

We have naturally offered him our hospitality in Bombay, Calcutta and Darjeeling at the Raj Bhavans. But he has informed us that he has made his private arrangements. He will stay at the Nepalese Consulate in Calcutta and at the Mount Everest Hotel in Darjeeling.

You should receive him at the airport when he reaches Dum Dum on the 20th August.

I might inform you that the behaviour of the King and his Government has for many months past been rather peculiar. Sometimes they are very friendly and almost effusive; at other times they are not only distant but almost discourteous. In Nepal there are some groups which are always carrying on some anti-India propaganda and accusing the Government of being under our influence. I suppose the King and his Government want to show off that they

1. Padmaja Naidu Papers, NMML. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Governor of West Bengal.



are very independent of us even to the extent of being discourteous to us. For this reason I do not want you or anyone to go out of your way for the King, but, of course, we have to be courteous and you should receive him at the airport. You can tell him that you would be glad to be of any help to him in Calcutta or in Darjeeling.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawahar

(iv) USA

## 1. To John Sherman Cooper<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 9, 1958

My dear Senator,<sup>2</sup>

I have been wanting for some time to write to you. But, for almost the first time, I took the unusual course of taking a holiday and went out to the mountains. It was not a very long holiday and it consisted of two spells of eleven days each and included a trek to a high mountain pass.<sup>3</sup>

I came back some days ago and have been trying to cope with the work that had accumulated and at last I am writing to you. You know how sorry we were when your mission to Delhi came to a rather sudden end.<sup>4</sup> We realised that the President had adequate reasons to press you to return, but still we were sorry. Your stay in India had helped in bringing about a greater understanding between India and the United States and we were anxious that this process should continue. We knew that we had the privilege of your friendship and understanding and that you would no doubt continue to help us in many ways.

1. JN Collection.
2. American lawyer and politician; Republican Senator from Kentucky at this time.
3. Nehru was holidaying in Manali from 21 to 31 May 1958 and again from 10 to 23 June 1958. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 816-840.
4. John Sherman Cooper was the Ambassador to India and Nepal from February 1955 to April 1956.

We watched, therefore, your activities with pleasure and gratitude. We realised that in your present position you were able to make our ideals, our policies and our problems known to your people and, more particularly, to members of the Congress. That was a gain for us. What made us particularly happy was the initiative you took, together with your colleague Senator Kennedy,<sup>5</sup> in moving an amendment to the Foreign Aid Bill in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.<sup>6</sup> Need I tell you how very much this has been appreciated in India and how gratified we were that the Senate Foreign Relations Committee unanimously accepted your amendment which was subsequently accepted by the Senate by a majority, and thus special recognition was given to the need to assist India to complete her second economic five year plan. The reaction to this was widespread here among our colleagues, in the press and among the people generally and I should like to express our deep gratitude to you.

I am sure that B.K. Nehru, who is now in Washington, has given you a full picture of our economic situation and the difficulties, particularly of foreign exchange,<sup>7</sup> which immediately face us. I have no doubt that we shall ultimately overcome these difficulties. We are husbanding our own resources to the maximum extent possible but I fear that this may not be enough. In the past we have received generous assistance from your country. I hope that the interest which your Government and your people have taken in our plans for economic development will continue and with the assistance of the USA and that of other friendly countries we shall be able to carry through the Plan on which rest the hopes of millions in India.

With my kind regards to you and Mrs Cooper.

I am,  
Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. John Fitzgerald Kennedy, Democratic Senator from Massachusetts.
6. Senators John F. Kennedy and John Sherman Cooper moved an amendment to the Mutual Security Bill of 1958, regarding aid to India, in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The Committee approved the amendment as a statement of policy to demonstrate American support for India's efforts and to let the Executive Branch know that "the Congress approves of steps to aid India."
7. B.K. Nehru, the Secretary for Economic Affairs in the Finance Ministry, was in Washington in July 1958 to discuss India's foreign exchange position.



## 2. American Troops at Singapore<sup>1</sup>

I am glad you had this talk with the UK High Commissioner.<sup>2</sup>

2. A significant piece of news came a day or two ago. This was about the landing of American troops at Singapore. *The Washington Post* of August 17th has published a dispatch which says: "Serious consideration is being given within the Navy Department to the creation of an Indian Ocean Fleet to provide a mobile stabilising force able to act quickly in another Lebanon type situation." Further, it says: "Such a force could go a long way toward filling the power vacuum that now exists in the Indian Ocean and be able to come to the aid of any American allies or friends who might want assistance against direct or indirect aggression". All this indicates a more direct and positive policy on the part of the United States to interfere, if need arises, in the Indo-China States.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, 20 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. Desai wrote in a note on 20 August 1958 that the UK High Commissioner Malcolm Macdonald told him on 19 August that the "aim of the HMG's foreign policy in South East Asia was to maintain and promote peace and the independence and the non-alignment of the small sovereign states in South East Asia."

### 3. To Dwight D. Eisenhower<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

27 August 1958

My dear Mr President,

I am grateful to you for your letter of August 21.<sup>2</sup> I appreciate your courtesy in sending me a copy of your statement of August 22 in regard to the suspension of nuclear weapon tests.<sup>3</sup> As you are no doubt aware, these nuclear tests have troubled us greatly because of the considerable risks involved and the possibility of affecting injuriously not only the health of the present generation but of future generations to come. I am very happy that you have ordered their suspension and I earnestly hope that there will be no renewal of them by any country. I trust also that this suspension will be the first stage in an effective process of all-round disarmament.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Ambassador in Washington.
2. Referring to his letter of 15 December 1957 on disarmament [See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 40, pp. 581 and 602], Eisenhower wrote that the US was ready to continue its efforts to seek a meaningful disarmament agreement that would promote trust, security and understanding. He expressed the hope to build on the possibilities that had been opened by the successful conclusion of the Geneva meeting of experts. He sent Nehru a copy of his statement to be announced the next day.
3. The East-West conference of scientific experts on methods of detecting violations of any international agreement to suspend nuclear tests was held in Geneva from 1 July to 21 August 1958. Following this, the British and the United States Governments offered conditional suspension of their tests of nuclear weapons for a starting period of one year. According to Eisenhower's statement "If this (expert's report) is accepted in principle by the other nations which have tested nuclear weapons, then in order to facilitate the detailed negotiations, the United States is prepared, unless testing is resumed by the Soviet Union, to withhold further testing on its part of atomic and hydrogen weapons for a period of one year from the beginning of the negotiations." See also *ante*, p. 81.



#### 4. To Emanuel Celler<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 31, 1958

My dear Mr Celler,<sup>2</sup>

I am grateful to you for your letter of August 20th, which I have read with much pleasure. It was good of you to write to me on this occasion and to convey your good wishes. We cherish high regard for you and know what a good friend you have been to India during these past years. In the difficult tasks that we face in India, it is heartening to have your friendship and goodwill.

We have indeed very difficult problems to face. But when I look back upon the last eleven years since we attained Independence and I think of all the problems and difficulties that have confronted us during these years, and how we managed to overcome them, the present or the future does not frighten me. Indeed, most of our present-day problems might be said to be of our own creation. That is to say, they are the result of our attempts at rapid progress.

There are some things, however, which certainly are not of our making and which have troubled us greatly. For three years running, we have had to face natural calamities, floods and droughts, on a very big scale. This affected our production of foodgrains and thus hit our people in their weakest spot. Till this year, in spite of these floods and drought, we were making considerable progress on the food front. But this third year of drought and floods has hit our people very hard both directly and indirectly, directly because food is most important for a predominantly agricultural country; indirectly because a succession of bad seasons dries up our resources and thus comes in the way of our industrial development.

However, we have faced all this and I have a feeling that we shall soon turn the corner and go ahead at a faster pace. The next two years probably are difficult. After that, the work we have put in will bear fruit.

I am grateful to the United States for the assistance they have given us in various ways at a time when we needed it most. To you, I would like to express my special gratitude for your consistent friendship and goodwill.

Sincerely yours,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Chairman of the Judiciary Committee, US House of Representatives.

## (v) Other Countries

1. To Ali Yavar Jung<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 1, 1958

My dear Ali,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of June 27, 1958, with which you have sent a letter from Madame Djilas.<sup>3</sup>

As you yourself say, it is very difficult for anyone of us to interfere in this matter. This would have been difficult at any time, but, just at present, with the fierce controversy going on between Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union and other East European countries, it is still more difficult for us to interfere in any way.<sup>4</sup>

You might be interested to know that Jayaprakash Narayan, who is in London now, met me before he went to Europe. In telling me about his tour programme, he mentioned that he wanted to go to Yugoslavia also but he was unhappy at the fate of Djilas.<sup>5</sup> Because of this he was at first not quite sure if he should go to Yugoslavia. He wondered whether, if he wants, he would be allowed to see Djilas. I advised him to go to Yugoslavia although I told him that an interview with Djilas in prison was very unlikely.

In today's papers a statement appears from Jayaprakash Narayan in condemnation of the execution of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues in Hungary. While such a condemnation was to be expected from him, and many

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador to Yugoslavia.

3. Wife of Djilas Milovan, the Yugoslav politician and writer who was in prison at this time.

4. An English translation of his book *The New Class*, in which Djilas strongly criticised the communist system, was published in New York during August and attracted attention in Britain and the US. This book was written during the period between his first trial wherein he was charged with "propaganda against the state" in January 1955, when he was given a suspended sentence of 18 months' imprisonment and his second trial on the same charge in December 1956 when he was sentenced to three years of imprisonment. The book was banned in Yugoslavia on 7 September 1958. On 5 October, he was condemned to seven years' imprisonment in addition to the three-year sentence.

5. Djilas Milovan (1911-1995); Yugoslav politician and writer; convicted for criticising the communist system; imprisoned in 1956 and was granted amnesty in 1966 and released; works include *The New Class* (1957), which was banned in Yugoslavia, and *Conversations with Stalin* (1962).



of us agree with that, the language of Jayaprakash Narayan's statement goes much beyond this in his attack of the Soviet Union.<sup>6</sup> It is offensive in the extreme and no good can result from it. It will anger the Soviet people very much. I have heard several stories of Soviet reactions whenever the Nagy execution is mentioned. They get very angry and excited and say that this was the business of the Hungarian Government. This can only be partly true. I am mentioning this to show how passions have been roused and we have to be a little careful in expressing ourselves with some restraint if we are to achieve anything.

Jayaprakash Narayan has praised Tito in his statement.<sup>7</sup> I am sure that he will now visit Yugoslavia and if he goes there, I am almost sure that he will mention Djilas's case to President Tito.<sup>8</sup>

I would not advise you to interfere in this matter. But perhaps if you have the opportunity for an informal talk with some important functionary, (not the President), you might casually mention that propaganda is being carried on in other countries about the difficult conditions in the prison in which Djilas is kept especially in winter, etc. It is entirely for you to decide if some such casual reference is desirable or not.

If Jayaprakash Narayan goes to Yugoslavia, you will of course meet him and give him the normal courtesies and facilities, etc. He is very unrestrained in his language and you should avoid getting entangled in any way with any statement that he might make.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. In his statement to the Press on 30 June 1958 in London, Jayaprakash Narayan had said: "The situation in the Russian Empire must be desperate indeed to require recourse to such desperate measures. The Russians have deliberately taken the risk of stirring the conscience of mankind against them."
7. Praising Tito, the statement said: "In all this tragic-comic drama, the figure of Marshal Tito emerges again as a colossus. He has been and remains the unshakable symbol of independence and equality of Communist nations and an undying inspiration to the Communists of Eastern Europe."
8. Jayaprakash Narayan arrived in Zagreb on 10 August 1958 on a brief study tour of the Yugoslav system. However, he could not meet Tito who was holidaying at Brioni.

## 2. Yugoslav and Soviet Relations<sup>1</sup>

The Soviet Charge d'Affaires came to see me this afternoon. He began by saying that he had been asked by his Government to explain to me their relations with Yugoslavia and how they had recently deteriorated. He gave me no paper or aide memoire. I am, therefore, writing this note from memory.

2. He said that he did not propose to go into the ideological differences between the two countries. If, however, I was interested in them, he would send me the correspondence which had appeared in the Press (presumably in Moscow).

3. The real reason for the deterioration of these relations was the pretensions of and the attitude taken up by the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia.<sup>2</sup> They had put forward a wrong viewpoint which created dissensions in the socialist camp. They had indulged in distortions. They had praised the policy of the United States and maligned the USSR.

4. They had treated the foreign policies of the USSR and the USA as if they were on the same level, although it was well known that the Soviet Union had worked hard for peace and for national freedom, while the policy of the USA was the very antithesis of this and was one of war-mongering and encouraging colonialism.

5. The Soviet policy was clear at the time of the Suez crisis, when the Soviet Union opposed the imperialist adventurists and stood for national freedom. There was the Eisenhower Doctrine which showed what the US policy was. Then there was Lebanon.

6. In spite of all this past and present record, the Yugoslav Government had distorted Soviet policy and even thrown doubts about Soviet sincerity in helping under-developed nations. The Soviet Union had extended help to various under-developed nations in an unselfish way, without any profit to themselves. The Soviet [Union] had helped Yugoslavia in a big way when they had come together two years ago.<sup>3</sup> They had written off an old debt, large fresh credits

1. Note, 3 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. The Seventh Congress of the Youth League of Communists, held at Ljubljana from 22 to 26 April 1958, was boycotted by almost all other communist parties. The Congress reaffirmed the Yugoslav Government's policy of ideological and political independence. At the Conference, Tito spoke about "Stalin's inflexible and unnecessary menacing policy" leading the Western powers to make a "show of force." This led to an intensive propaganda campaign against Yugoslavia in other communist countries.

3. Under the Soviet-Yugoslav economic agreements of 12 January 1956 and 3 August 1956, Yugoslavia received \$110,000,000 and \$175,000,000.



had been promised for an aluminium factory. The Democratic Republic of Germany (East Germany) also gave a credit of 300 million roubles to Yugoslavia.

7. At the Seventh Congress of the League of Communist Youth of Yugoslavia, all this was rather minimised and reference was made to these arrangements being to the mutual advantage of the Soviet [Union] and Yugoslavia. At the same time, the help from the United States was praised.<sup>4</sup>

8. Last May, the Soviet Union proposed a postponement of the Soviet credit. There was no intention to revise the agreement. There were some proposals for barter and exchange of goods, etc., etc. The Yugoslav Government not only refused to accept these proposals, but also refused to have negotiations on the subject. Instead they condemned the Soviet [Government] and defamed it.

9. It is obvious that the assertions made by the Yugoslav Government against the Soviet [Government], and more particularly about the insincerity of the Soviet [Union] in giving help to under-developed countries, have no basis. The Soviet [Government] has helped many countries, for instance India, United Arab Republic, Indonesia, etc., without any conditions and unselfishly. These countries know that help has been given in a genuine feeling of friendship.

10. The Soviet Government does not want relations with Yugoslavia to grow worse, as they feel this will injure the cause of peace. In spite of what has happened, the Soviet Government will continue to take steps to promote better relations between the two countries and even between the two Parties.

11. This was the substance of what the Charge d' Affaires told me. I replied that I was grateful to the Soviet Government for explaining their viewpoint to us in this matter. So far as the controversy about ideology was concerned, that was none of our business. Our main concern was that these controversies or any other development should not lead to a heightening of world tensions. We were anxious, as we knew the Soviet Government was anxious, to promote the cause of peace and of lessening of international tensions. Therefore, it was this aspect that concerned us most. I was glad to learn from him that the Soviet Government does not want its relations with Yugoslavia to deteriorate further and, in fact, that the Soviet [Union] will continue to take steps to promote better relations between the two countries.

4. Tito reiterated in a speech to the newly-elected federal assembly on 19 April that "political, economic and cultural relations with the USSR were developing successfully and agreements had been concluded on Soviet economic aid to Yugoslav industry. He also said that Yugoslavia was grateful for the economic aid she had received from the United State of America.

12. As for the economic aid that the Soviet [Government] had given to India, we were grateful for it and we knew that this had no strings or conditions attached. It was a gesture of goodwill of the Soviet [Union], which we appreciated.

### 3. To Eric Williams<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
4th July, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of June 20, 1958, was delivered to me yesterday through the good offices of Mr Kamaluddin Mohammed.<sup>3</sup> This morning I had a long interview with him and with Mr Donald Granado.<sup>4</sup> They have been good enough to give me a number of papers which explain the present situation in Trinidad.<sup>5</sup> These papers include some of your speeches.

I have read many of these papers and my long talk with your Ministers has helped me to understand some of your problems and difficulties.

You have asked me to send you some copies of my speeches which might relate to the problem of foreign bases. I do not remember having dealt with this problem at any length in any of my speeches because it did not arise in India. I have referred to it on some occasions in the context of lessening tensions in the

1. JN Collection.
2. Eric Williams (1911-1981); Professor of Social Sciences in Harvard University; Founder of People's National Movement, 1956; first Chief Minister of Trinidad and Tobago; first Prime Minister of Trinidad and Tobago, 1959-81.
3. Kamaluddin Mohammed (1927-1986); Trinidadian politician; entered politics in 1952; Member of Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1956; Minister in various departments, Government of Trinidad and Tobago; Minister of Agriculture, Land and Fisheries at this time.
4. Donald Casimir Granado (1915- 1999); Member of Parliament of Trinidad and Tobago, 1956-63; Minister of Labour and Social Services, 1956-61 and of Health and Housing, 1961-63; Ambassador to Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil, France, Germany, Belgium, etc. and High Commissioner to Canada and the UK, 1963-71; Minister of Labour Cooperative Development of Trinidad.
5. On the eve of granting independence to its colonies in the Caribbeans, the British Government created the West Indies Federation in 1958. Its purpose was to bring the islands together under a common administrative infrastructure that was more viable than the separate individual islands. However, this Federation came to an end when first Jamaica and then Trinidad and Tobago withdrew from the Federation in 1961 and 1962 respectively.



world and have said that the removal of all foreign bases would help the cause of peace. Apart from this, a foreign base is inevitably in a measure an infringement on the sovereignty and independence of the country where the base is situated.

It may be said that great countries like the United Kingdom or Germany or other European countries have agreed to have foreign bases. Personally I do not like the idea of their having so agreed. But, in any event, their case is different. An independent country may come to any agreement with another independent country. In the case of a country which is or has been under colonial rule, the position is entirely different and the retention of foreign bases is an obvious sign of colonialism or lack of independence. It is also a sign of a particular aspect of foreign policy being thrust upon a country.

You may know that a year or two ago, the Ceylon Government raised the question of the British Naval base at Trincomalee. Ultimately a settlement was arrived at between them. I do not remember the details of it, but in the main the base has been removed, though some simple facilities will continue.<sup>6</sup>

I need not tell you that I can completely understand the stand you have taken in regard to foreign bases. Apart from this broad issue, it does seem to me very odd that the foreign base should be situated at the very spot which has been chosen as the capital of the Federation.

While your position appears to me to be very sound in law and fact, it is obviously desirable to deal with these matters in a friendly and cooperative way with the governments concerned. That does not mean weakening on any matter of principle. In fact, a friendly approach together with adherence to principles goes further than bitter controversies which leave a trail behind.

You will forgive me for writing this. I am not in a position really to give any advice about a matter which I have not studied. Indeed, in any event, I will not presume to do so. That is for you and your colleagues to judge. What I have written is really to explain our general approach to such problems whenever they occurred in our own areas.

I do not quite know what speeches I can send on this subject. Some of my old speeches have been published and I am giving published volumes to your two Ministers. I am also trying to find out if there are any special references in my speeches to the question of bases.

You refer to possibility of publishing my letters from prison. I do not quite know which book you particularly refer to. Long ago, I wrote a very small book for children called *Letters from a Father to his Daughter*. This was subsequently continued in a more ambitious book in the form of letters which

6. Until 1957, Trincomalee was an important base for the Royal British Navy and was home to many British people who were employed by the British Admiralty.

is called *Glimpses of World History*. This book runs to 900 pages or more. It was written in the middle thirties and much has happened since then.<sup>7</sup> Such books of mine as are available here I am having sent to you.

It has been a pleasure to meet your two colleagues here and as I have said above I have had a long and profitable conversation with them.

I wish it could be possible for me to pay a visit to Trinidad. I do not know when this chance may offer itself.<sup>8</sup>

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

7. *Glimpses of World History* was written by Jawaharlal Nehru in the form of letters from various prisons in India between October 1930 and August 1933 and first published in 1934.
8. Later, on 15 August 1958, Eric Williams sent a request through the Commissioner for India in the West Indies and British Guiana, N.V. Rajkumar, for the loan of the services of a Senior Indian Judge to serve on a Commission which would inquire "into the problems and prospects of the Trinidad Industry in the light of world conditions to which end the Government is having an expert study made of the Trinidad Industry."



#### 4. Trial of Istvan Bibo<sup>1</sup>

Please see the attached telegram from our Ambassador in Moscow. What he suggests is irregular, but I am inclined to agree with him that it is worthwhile our taking the step he suggests, that is, to speak to the Hungarian Minister on the lines suggested.<sup>2</sup>

1. Note to Secretary General N.R. Pillai, Foreign Secretary S. Dutt, and Joint Secretary (W), MEA, 18 July 1958. "Notes, Memoranda and Decisions of JN (September 1946—May 1961). The Hungarian Crisis, 1956." File No. 59/3/NGO/56-Vol. I & II, 59/5/NGO/57, 59/7/NGO/57. p. 4.
2. In a telegram dated 17 July 1958, K.P.S. Menon informed S. Dutt that Rahman from Budapest wired him about the secret trial of Istvan Bibo, a member of Imre Nagy's Cabinet, and the probability of death penalty for him. Rahman suggested that Dutt might tell the Hungarian Minister in India that Indian Legation in Budapest would be prepared to give "fullest testimony regarding Bibo's meetings with us soon after Revolution. This might be one of the charges against him. Our testimony would prove that Bibo's conduct was entirely honourable, non-subversive and conciliatory." K.P.S. Menon thought that Rahman's proposal was unusual but India's intimate interest might restrain local authorities from administering extreme penalty. On 9 August 1958, Gabor Kocsis, President of Hungarian Students' Association, also sent a telegram to Nehru stating that 1600 Hungarian refugee students in Austria "plead for your help in publicly protesting current barbaric trial and probably murder of Istvan Bibo, Hungary's greatest living statesman and Minister in Imre Nagy Cabinet."

#### 5. Accreditation to Peru<sup>1</sup>

I am agreeable to this proposal for concurrent accreditation to Peru.<sup>2</sup> But I must say that I attach more importance in this connection to Bolivia than to Peru. At present Argentina and Bolivia have what might be called more or less liberal and democratic governments, unlike many other countries in South America. It is considered probable that Chile moves also in that direction. I believe a Presidential election is going to take place in Chile. Much depends

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt and Special Secretary B.N. Chakravarty, 21 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. B.N. Chakravarty in a note of the same day had written about Indian Ambassador in Chile R.S. Mani's suggestion that he might be accredited concurrently to Peru. Chakravarty stated that the concurrent accreditation would involve a small additional expenditure on travelling allowance and some entertainment in Peru.

upon the result of that election.<sup>3</sup> If the liberal democrat candidate is elected, then it is possible that Argentina, Bolivia and Chile (the ABC countries) may come much closer together in the economic sphere.

Thus, Bolivia has a certain importance but that does not mean that Peru should be neglected. I think both Peru and Bolivia should be attached to our Embassy in Chile. The expenditure is not considerable.

3. Presidential election was held in Chile on 4 September 1958. Because none of the candidates obtained an absolute majority needed to win outright, a confirmation by Congress was carried out on 24 October to declare the winner.

## 6. To the King of Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
25th July, 1958

My dear Maharaja,<sup>2</sup>

I have received today the letter you have been good enough to send me through our Political Officer at Sikkim, Shri Apa Pant. I have read it with pleasure and I am grateful to you for the kind and friendly sentiments that you have expressed in it. We have very pleasant recollections of your visit to India.<sup>3</sup>

When Your Highness came to India, you were good enough to invite me to visit Bhutan. I told you then that I was myself anxious to pay a visit to Your Highness and to Bhutan. Unfortunately it has been difficult to arrange such a visit because the time required for it has not been easy to find. Nevertheless, I have always kept this in mind.

Your Highness's present invitation is, therefore, very welcome, even though I am not sure if I shall be able to avail myself of it. My proposed visit to Tibet has now been postponed. The Government of the People's Republic of China had previously forwarded to me the invitation of His Holiness the Dalai Lama and had themselves also invited me to go to Tibet. I had gladly accepted this invitation and was looking forward to visiting Tibet and meeting again His Holiness the Dalai Lama. I have, however, now received intimation from the

1. JN Collection.

2. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk.

3. The King and his wife Ashi Kesang Wangchuk visited India in January 1954 and participated in the Republic Day celebrations. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 24, pp. 592-595.



Chinese Government that for some reasons my visit to Tibet during the coming season will not be convenient or advisable, and that therefore it should be postponed. I have agreed to this.

I am, therefore, not going to Tibet now and the question of my visiting Bhutan on my way back from Lhasa does not arise. However, I am so eager to visit Your Highness's country and to meet you that I am thinking if it is possible for me to pay a special visit to Bhutan in the second half of September. My difficulty is that in view of the very serious international situation, it is difficult to make any firm programme for the future. But if it is possible for me to pay a visit to Your Highness and come back to Delhi within about ten days or so, I shall try to find the time for this. This will have to be in the second half of September as I have to be in Delhi early in October.<sup>4</sup>

At present my mind is heavily taken up by the international situation which has deteriorated greatly of late. It is possible that I may have to go out of India because of this.

Please again accept my grateful thanks for your kind invitation and all my good wishes to Your Highness and to the people of your country.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Nehru left New Delhi on 16 September for Bhutan and reached Paro on 21 September 1958 where he stayed for five days. He returned to Delhi on 2 October 1958.

## 7. Ethnic Violence in Cyprus<sup>1</sup>

The Greek Ambassador<sup>2</sup> came to see me this afternoon and gave me the attached memorandum.<sup>3</sup> I told him that we were much concerned about the situation in Cyprus<sup>4</sup> and we were convinced that measures of coercion on a large scale would not help in finding a settlement. Our general sympathies have been with the Greeks in Cyprus, but it is not our custom to interfere in others' problems.

2. He said he realised this. At the same time, he said that any action that we took would have a wider influence on other countries in Asia and elsewhere who would probably be guided by our attitude. Further, he said that what he would like India to do was to support the Greek cause when the matter came up in the United Nations, as it was bound to do.

3. I told him that all our sympathies were with the Greeks in Cyprus, but I did not know in what form this question may come up in the United Nations, and in what context. Unless I knew that, it was difficult for me to say how we would deal with it then. But, I repeated, whatever we decided would be governed largely by our sympathy with the Greeks in Cyprus.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt and Secretary General N.R. Pillai, New Delhi, 26 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nicolas Hadji Vassiliou.
3. The memorandum dated 26 July 1958 sent by the Greek Government stated that while the Greek Cypriot majority was engaged in its fight against the colonial domination, the Turkish Government was inciting violence against them with the sole purpose of proving that the Turkish element of the Island could not live with the Greek majority. The memorandum referred to a Reuter dispatch dated 20 July and published in the *Hindustan Times* of 24 July that Fazil Kutchuk, leader of the Cypriot-Turkish movement, who had been warned by the Turkish Government in time, had fled to Turkey. The memorandum expressed the hope that the Indian Government would not refrain from making efforts towards finding a solution to the Cyprus problem.
4. A fresh wave of violence started in Cyprus between Greek Cypriots and Turkish Cypriots from 9 June 1958. According to the official announcement, about 2000 Greeks and about 50 Turks were arrested.



## 8. To Dom Mintoff<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1958

Dear Mr Mintoff,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter dated 13th July, 1958. We have generally been in touch with the developments in Malta,<sup>3</sup> but I must confess that the detailed account of events leading to the declaration of a state of emergency by the Governor<sup>4</sup> and the subsequent arrests of some of your colleagues makes depressing reading.<sup>5</sup>

We ourselves passed through difficult and frustrating periods in our struggle for freedom. We had the good fortune of having Mahatma Gandhi to lead us. He taught us the values of non-violence and truth and above all the importance of right means to achieve the goal. It was because of his wise and able guidance that we were able, despite the long and arduous struggle, to achieve our independence without our joy at achieving freedom being marred by bitterness or frustration.

Because of our own experience of colonial rule and our long struggle to achieve freedom, we can very well appreciate the difficulties of people in colonial territories all over the world struggling for their freedom.

1. JN Collection.

2. Dom Mintoff (b. 1916); Secretary General, Malta Labour Party, 1935-45; Deputy leader of the party, 1945-47; Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Public Works and Reconstruction, 1947-49; leader of the Labour Party, 1949-84; Prime Minister of Malta, 1955-58 and 1971-84; elected to Parliament in 1987, 1992 and 1996.

3. Prime Minister Mintoff and his Cabinet resigned on 21 April on the question of Malta's future constitutional status and the amount of British financial aid to the island which had been a part of the British Empire since 1814. The resignation was accepted on 24 April 1958.

4. In a broadcast on 24 April, Mintoff accused the British Government of riding 'roughshod' over the Maltese people and withholding the promised financial aid. He said that on the issue of constitutional development, "the UK Government are in fact telling us that they will remain in Malta as long as they please, and they will make use of Malta in any way they deem fit." Mintoff announced that he and his colleagues no longer wanted to remain responsible for public peace and order. This was followed by demonstrations by dockyard workers and young people on 23 April and a complete general strike on 25 April during which incidents of arson and damage to government vehicles and buildings were reported. As a result, Governor of Malta Robert Laycock proclaimed a state of emergency "as a purely precautionary measure" on 29 April 1958.

5. Two Ministers of Mintoff's Cabinet, Agatha Barbara and Albert Hyzler, were arrested on 19 May on charges of intimidation during the general strike and sentenced to 32 days of imprisonment on 13 June.

The world is at present passing through a difficult period. Dark clouds of war loom threateningly over the horizon. Any wrong step can lead to catastrophic consequences for the whole world. We have, in our humble way, been striving in the cause of world peace. We hope that the parties concerned would follow the path of peaceful negotiations and avoid conflict which once it starts may well mean the annihilation of the bulk of the human race. We sincerely hope that, despite present difficulties, your negotiations with the British Government would ultimately be successful and the people of Malta will be able to devote all their energies to the task of ameliorating their social and economic condition, in full freedom and without let or hindrance from any outside authority.<sup>6</sup>

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

6. Malta became an independent within the Commonwealth of Nations on 21 September 1964.

## 9. To Fenner Brockway<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1958

Dear Fenner,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of the 28th July about the appeal which Dom Mintoff, the leader the Malta Labour Party, has addressed. I have received the appeal and I need hardly say that I sympathise with him. But I do not know what I can do in the matter. You suggest that the matter might be raised at the Commonwealth Economic Conference. If it is so raised and our opinion is asked, we can express sympathy for Malta. We can hardly raise this question, nor can we, with any propriety, ask the UK Government or any other Commonwealth Government to give a particular sum to Malta either as a loan or a gift. We ourselves are in very great financial difficulties and are trying to raise large loans and credits to meet our own liabilities. Obviously, we are not in a position to help anyone in this way, and to ask others to do it would be rather odd.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary of the Independent Labour Party and Labour Party Member of the House of Commons.



## 10. The Algerian Question<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult for us to advise the Algerian nationalists as to what policy they should adopt. In the event of their forming a provisional government,<sup>2</sup> this will no doubt bring matters to a head not only vis-à-vis France, but for some other countries. These other countries would have to decide about the recognition of such a provisional government. Recognition will practically mean breaking with France. I doubt if many countries would be prepared to do so. Possibly, the UAR might do so. Obviously we cannot do so. I do not myself see what particular advantage the nationalist movement in Algeria will gain at this stage by forming such a provisional government.

2. As for the summit conference, it is not yet clear whether it will be held or not and it is very doubtful if India will participate in it even if it is held. Should India participate, it will not be any easy matter for the Algerian question to be raised there. We ourselves have said publicly that the issues before the summit conference should be confined to West Asia. It may be that informally some other subjects are discussed. But if the question of Algeria is raised, General de Gaulle will, of course, take the strongest objection and might even walk out. He will certainly be supported by the USA and the UK.

3. As for the question of calling a conference of Asian-African countries, it is very difficult to say anything definite about it at this stage for obvious reasons which you know.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 2 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. The provisional government of the Algerian Republic was formed in Cairo in Egypt by the Front de Liberation Nationale (FLN) on 19 September 1958. Its first President was the moderate nationalist, Ferhat Abbas, who had for decades insisted on trying to peacefully reform the French colonial system, before finally despairing and joining the FLN's armed struggle. Headquartered in Tunis, the provisional government posted diplomats in most major world capitals to try to lobby governments and organise local support groups.

## 11. To Cheddi Jagan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 16, 1958

My dear Jagan,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 7th August which reached me a few days ago.<sup>3</sup> I am sorry for your lack of success in London. As you must know, we ourselves are trying to raise loans in a large way from various countries. This is a frustrating experience.

You ask for Professor Mahalanobis's services for a number of months. He is, of course, a man of very high ability, and I have no doubt he could give you good advice. But I do not myself see how he can leave his work in India for months at a time. We agree with some reluctance to his attending international conferences which now-a-days occur at frequent intervals. But these conferences obviously have their utility if we have to keep abreast of the times. Professor Mahalanobis is also in demand in various other places. In fact, I have been asking him to spend much more time in India. He is the Statistical Adviser to our Cabinet, the Head of the Central Statistical Organisation and the Head of the big Statistical Institute in Calcutta which is doing very good work for us as well as training numbers of people. In addition, he is a *de facto* Member of our Planning Commission and, more particularly, in charge of perspective planning. We are now on the verge of dealing with our Third Five Year Plan even though we are having difficulties with our Second. So you will see how difficult it is for us to spare him for these long periods.

I shall, however, have a talk with him and write to you again. I suppose that any attempt to draw up a Plan for the British Guiana will involve collecting

1. JN Collection.
2. Leader of the People's Progressive Party in Guiana and the Minister of Trade and Industry.
3. Cheddi Jagan had written that during two months of protracted discussions in London and Washington, he got "a good deal of sympathy but nothing tangible." He felt that British Guiana needed a bold and imaginative plan to attract and appeal to international attention and public opinion. He wrote that British Guiana could accommodate surplus population from the Caribbean islands, Mauritius, Fiji, etc., as it had land and natural resources in abundance. To prepare a sound short-term and long-term plan, he requested Nehru for the services of P.C. Mahalanobis as Economic Adviser and Consultant to British Guiana for a few months.



figures, statistics, etc. One can hardly plan without adequate information. I do not know how far you have proceeded in collecting the necessary information.

All good wishes to you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 12. To the King of Cambodia<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 20, 1958

Your Majesty,<sup>2</sup>

Your Prime Minister, Prince Norodom Sihanouk handed me your kind letter inviting me to visit your great and ancient country. I was deeply honoured and very happy to receive the invitation, not only because of the strong ties of friendship that exist between our two countries, but also because of the historic bonds dating back to almost the very dawn of history between Cambodia and India. Your generous invitation has, therefore, a deep significance for me.

I would very much like to avail myself of Your Majesty's gracious invitation and visit Cambodia again. We are, however, expecting a number of foreign visitors in Delhi between October and February. There are also some important international conferences scheduled to be held in Delhi this winter. I regret that I will not be able to leave Delhi this winter due to these commitments at home.

We were very happy to have H.R.H. Prince Sihanouk with us. H.R.H.'s visit though very short gave us an opportunity to exchange views on a wide range of matters of mutual interest to our two countries. The Prime Minister of Cambodia is always welcome in India and H.R.H. Prince Sihanouk is doubly welcome, both as Prime Minister of Cambodia and as a distinguished friend of India. The visit of His Royal Highness has further helped to strengthen the many bonds that exist between our two countries.<sup>3</sup>

Please accept, Your Majesty, the assurances of my profound respect,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Preah Bat Samdech Preah Norodom Suramarit (1896-1960); King of Cambodia, 1955-1960.

3. Prince Norodom Sihanouk was in Delhi on 11 and 12 August 1958.

## IV. GENERAL

1. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 1, 1958

Nan dear,

I have today received your letter of June 28th, 1958. This evening, Dr Duraiswami<sup>2</sup> came and showed me the note that Horace Evans<sup>3</sup> had written about me. As a matter of fact, this note was rather a good one. But for abundant caution, he had suggested that I should avoid high altitudes.<sup>4</sup>

I do not know what to tell you about your own condition and your doctor's advice or warning. We have, of course, to pay some attention to what the doctors tell us and take normal care. For instance, it is right that your diet should be simple and avoid the things that might be harmful. Further, that after lunch, you should rest. But, apart from such care, I feel that one should carry on one's normal activities and forget about oneself. Too much thinking of oneself really aggravates any trouble that one might have.

I am glad Lekha<sup>5</sup> and children are coming to you.

I had a letter from Edwina<sup>6</sup> about the Earl and Countess Harewood's visit to India in October.<sup>7</sup> I have informed her that they would be welcome. The President<sup>8</sup> has now written to me asking me to convey his personal invitation to them to stay at Rashtrapati Bhavan. I am informing Edwina of this.

1. JN Collection.
2. Dr P.K. Duraiswami of the Safdarjung Hospital, New Delhi.
3. Dr Horace Evans, Welsh physician of the British royal family.
4. The reference is to Horace Evans' advice to Nehru about not going above seven to eight thousand feet while Nehru was trekking in Manali. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 834-836.
5. Chandralekha Mehta; eldest daughter of Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit.
6. Edwina Mountbatten, wife of Lord Mountbatten.
7. George Henry Hubert Lascelles, the 7th Earl of Harewood was a music enthusiast and devoted most of his career to opera. Maria Donata Stein, the Countess of Harewood, was a famous operatic singer. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 725 and 871-872. They arrived in New Delhi on 23 October 1958.
8. Rajendra Prasad.



Indu is leaving Delhi on the 14th July morning. I suppose she will reach Brussels on the 15th.<sup>9</sup> She intends staying there till the 21st evening and then go to London. I have no idea what the rest of her programme is, except that she wants to be back in India by the end of the month.

For the last year and a half, Indu has been repeatedly invited to go to the United States on behalf of some organisations. More particularly, Mrs John Rockefeller<sup>10</sup> has been pressing her to go. I have liked the idea of her going and have encouraged her to do so. But, various difficulties arose, including financial. However, I think that she is now likely to visit the United States probably in October next. It is not her intention to undertake a lecture tour, though she may give little talks here and there, to groups. She will probably spend three or four weeks there and possibly might visit Mexico which she wants to see very much.

Your story of the incident at the Foreign Secretary's dinner to the Diplomatic Corps on the Queen's birthday, is significant. The misbehaviour of the Philippine Ambassador<sup>11</sup> is, I suppose, nothing to be surprised about. Malik's<sup>12</sup> irritation was also normal in the circumstances. But, this does indicate how very touchy the Russians are about this Imre Nagy execution.<sup>13</sup> K.P.S. Menon<sup>14</sup> has written to us also that when he mentioned this matter to Gromyko<sup>15</sup> rather casually and with due restraint, Gromyko reacted strongly. I am afraid the Russians have got a guilty conscience in this matter.

But, this often puts us in a difficulty and we have to be careful in what we say and how we say it. For my part, I have been deeply distressed by these Hungarian executions and the inevitable consequences. I have said in public that I have been greatly distressed. I have thus far said nothing more in public. Day after tomorrow, I am having a Press Conference and, no doubt, any number

9. Indira Gandhi, Vice President of the Indian Council for Child Welfare, left for Brussels on 14 July to attend the meetings of the Executive Board and General Council of the International Union for Child Welfare and also of the World Child Welfare Congress from 20 to 26 July 1958.

10. Mrs Blanchette Ferry Hooker, wife of John Rockefeller, contributed to the establishment of Asia Society in 1956 at New York.

11. Leon Maria Guerrero.

12. Yakov Alexandrovich Malik, the USSR Ambassador to the United Kingdom.

13. For details of Imre Nagy's execution, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 650-654.

14. Indian Ambassador to USSR.

15. Andrei Gromyko, the Foreign Minister of the USSR.

of questions will be put to me.<sup>16</sup> I shall try to exercise restraint, though at the same time I cannot be untrue to myself.

This morning, I saw a statement made by Jayaprakash Narayan in London about the Imre Nagy execution.<sup>17</sup> This statement was so completely unbalanced that I was pained to read it. Jayaprakash often reacts in this way, and he has got a particular animus against the Soviet Union. In this particular matter, he has allied himself almost completely with the American and like groups, which are carrying on propaganda against the Soviet Union.

You must have seen Jayaprakash and may see him again. I hope you will keep clear of these controversies, and yet, at the same time, be nice to him.

As you know, Morarji Desai will be going to London and, from there, to America.<sup>18</sup> His wife had an unfortunate accident a few days ago which, though not very serious, has still shaken her up very greatly. She was going in a car when owing to some road block, the car stopped very suddenly. She was thrown forward and hit the screen or something badly. There have been no fractures, but the shock was terrific, and she has pain especially in her spine. She is lying in the Willingdon Nursing Home.

I have been having a relatively quiet time in Delhi since my return from Manali. Many of our Ministers have been travelling, and I have been clearing up some arrears of work. Soon, however, work will become more intensive. Our position both in regard to food and foreign exchange is very disturbing. The only advantage is that people have begun to realise this and are now devoting themselves with much greater vigour to meet it. The gods have been terribly unkind to us in the matter of food. Last year's production was low because of huge damage in various ways. However, I have no doubt that we shall pull through, but it is going to be a hard job. Every week, we follow with a measure of anxiety the drawl from our sterling reserves. This week's report gave us a shock. Apparently, your High Commission had drawn a very large amount.

As you perhaps know, I have been selecting and arranging old letters for publication. I have nearly finished this job, and it will be handed to the publishers in the course of the next few days. The collection turned out to be bigger than I had intended, and will probably run to 600 pages or more. The letters deal largely with public matters. There are no letters from the family, except of

16. See *post*, pp. 585-601.

17. See *ante*, p. 546.

18. Morarji Desai, the Union Finance Minister, left New Delhi on 26 August 1958 on a visit to the UK, the USA and Canada.



course from father. There are quite a number from Bapu, and then there is a miscellaneous assortment from other people. The selection is really a pre-Independence one, though a few run into 1948.<sup>19</sup>

Yours,  
Jawahar

19. During his holiday in Manali, Nehru made a selection of letters from his old correspondence, arranged them for publication and prepared explanatory notes for *A Bunch of Old Letters* which was first published by Asia Publishing House in 1958. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 840-847.

## 2. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1958

My dear High Commissioner,

Your letter of July 1st about the alleged ring worn by the Rani of Jhansi which Mrs Kitty Stuart Hall offers to sell to us.<sup>2</sup>

I do not think that we should encourage any such deal. We are not anxious to get the ring. If once we start making an offer for it, then we shall get entangled in bargaining about the price which is not desirable. Therefore, I suggest that you might let the matter rest.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit informed Nehru that she had been approached by a Mrs Kitty Stuart Hall who claimed to be the owner of a ring worn by the Rani Lakshmibai of Jhansi and given to her great-uncle, the late John Napier Stuart, shortly before the Mutiny. The ring was on loan to the Indian section of the Museum at the Royal Military Academy, Sandhurst, at this time. Mrs Stuart Hall mentioned that three generations of her family had served in the Indian Army since 1781. She also mentioned that one of the British Residents in Kashmir, the late Colonel Sir Arthur Bannerman, and Lady Hardinge, the wife of the ex-Viceroy of India, were her cousins. Mrs Stuart Hall enquired from Mrs Pandit whether some prominent Indian or the Indian Government would be willing to buy this ring. She did not quote any price but offered to furnish all the known details of the circumstances in which the Rani of Jhansi gave this ring away.

### 3. To Arthur S. Lall<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 6, 1958

My dear Arthur,<sup>2</sup>

I had a fairly long talk today with G.L. Mehta who has recently returned here from Washington.<sup>3</sup> In the course of our talk, he mentioned one matter which surprised and distressed me. He said that during the whole of his term there and while you were our Permanent Representative at the United Nations, you never invited him either to the United Nations or to your own place of residence. In fact that you ignored him and practically made it clear that you did not approve of him.

This seems to me a very extraordinary behaviour. He was one of our senior Ambassadors, under whom you yourself had served as Consul-General<sup>4</sup> and who was frequently going to New York from Washington, and he is ignored in this way by our Representative at the United Nations. On many occasions I have laid stress on the necessity of our UN Delegation keeping intimate contacts with our Embassy in Washington. Far from keeping such contacts, it appears that there are practically no contacts. I really am quite unable to understand this.<sup>5</sup>

The Government of India is or ought to be a unified organism, much more so the various branches and offshoots of our External Affairs Ministry. If there is not full cooperation between them, work cannot be carried on with any success and an impression is created abroad that we pull in different directions.

There is another matter which is very much before us now and which troubles me. In view of our critical economic situation, we are making every effort to reduce our expenditure. All our Ministries here have to face this problem. External Affairs is again looking into it so as to reduce our expenditure wherever possible. I feel unhappy when I see conditions in India and then compare them to our expenditure in some places abroad. I have a feeling that our UN Delegation is not only rather over-staffed, but spends too much. I

1. JN Collection.

2. Permanent Representative of India at the UN, 1954-59.

3. G.L. Mehta, India's Ambassador to the USA from 1952 to 1958, left Washington for India on 5 May 1958.

4. Arthur Lall was the Consul General at New York, 1951-54.

5. Lall replied on 15 July 1958 that Ambassador Mehta never informed him that he was coming to New York. Lall explained that Mehta was always invited to attend the delegation meetings. He attended one meeting. Lall wrote that it was not in his nature to be "stand-offish or unappreciative" of people's feelings.



should like you to look into this matter. We have to remember always that we are a poor country and we do not compete with others in pomp and circumstance.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 4. Reorganising the Ministry of External Affairs<sup>1</sup>

As you know, there has been an argument going on between the External Affairs Ministry and the Finance Ministry in regard to some matters. Ultimately, at my request, the Finance Minister agreed to allow the present position to continue for some time to enable the Special Reorganisation Unit to carry on an investigation in the External Affairs Ministry. I had pointed out to the Finance Ministry that while a reduction in our staff was, in my opinion, both desirable and necessary, the right course to adopt was first to simplify methods of working and make them more efficient. A reduction would naturally then follow. To carry on as we have done and to have reduction, might perhaps have an upsetting effect. Therefore, I had told the Finance Minister that we proposed to look into this matter ourselves in the External Affairs Ministry even before the Special Unit started its enquiry.<sup>2</sup>

2. I am rather concerned about this matter and I want this to be taken up immediately. There should be no impression that we have got six months' respite and we can carry on till then as we are carrying on now. We have, therefore, to put forward our own proposals of reorganisation and simplification. We can ignore present rules in framing our proposals, and we should not for the moment consult Finance, Audit or Home. The only consideration we should give is to the efficiency of the work we do. If we can put forward a scheme which increases the efficiency of our work and lessens cross-references and noting and delays, then we can proceed to change any rule that comes in the way. We shall indeed be setting a good example to other Ministries.

1. Note to Secretary General N.R. Pillai, Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai and Special Secretary B.N. Chakravarty, 7 July 1958. File No. 1(1)-F.S.P. (N)/58, p. 3/Note, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Nehru had written (not printed) to Morarji Desai on 5 July 1958 about his instructions to the senior MEA officials to consider the question of reviewing and revising their methods of work so that unnecessary references, which not only absorbed time but engaged staff, might be reduced, thus resulting in greater efficiency.

3. The only consideration before us should be the work we do. Service considerations are secondary. Indeed, they ought not to be allowed to come in the way of efficiency of work. The Government of India is not a charitable organisation, although it is its duty to give security to those employed by it. This means also that the idea of automatic promotions, especially at the higher levels, must be dropped. No Army or efficient Civil Service can function with automatic promotions. When one reaches the higher ranges of the service, there should be the strictest tests and scrutiny applied. After all, only a relatively small number of persons can reach the top or near the top. We should take care that the best of them do it. If others are pushed ahead, it simply means that the better people are left out, and all our standards come down.

4. Another aspect which troubles me is the amount of time and energy and money that we spend merely in looking after the administration. The administration is important, but the administration is after all meant for the real work of the Ministry. If the administration consumes so much of our time in looking after itself, then, relatively speaking, the real work is not being looked after properly.

5. I think that there are too many grades necessitating too many references and noting. At least one grade should be abolished completely, and all unnecessary noting should also be put an end to.

6. I should like a note prepared for me showing what changes and additions have been made to our staff during the last five years, say, from 1953 onwards.<sup>3</sup> I suppose that like other Ministries, we have continued growing and, as we

3. After discussing this note with Secretary General N.R. Pillai, Foreign Secretary S. Dutt and Commonwealth Secretary M.J. Desai, Special Secretary B.N. Chakravarty prepared a note and sent it to Nehru on 17 July 1958 proposing several changes in the working of the MEA. Chakravarty suggested: (i) abolition of the posts of Section Officers and Assistants and start of noting at the Under Secretary's level; (ii) avoidance of multiplicity of notings by level jumpings, i.e., Under Secretaries submitting cases directly to Joint Secretaries and Deputy Secretaries to Secretaries, pin-pointing the responsibilities on individual officers; (iii) reduction in volume of correspondence by making precise rules clearly defining the powers of the Heads of Missions, the Ministry and of the Government, as also the D.O. correspondence from Missions to the officials in the Ministry; (iv) simplification of foreign allowance structure and avoid over-administration; (v) reduction in paper work in Administrative Divisions and redistribution of work for expeditious disposal of cases, making it possible to abolish either the post of sixth Joint Secretary or the Special Secretary. In another note dated 18 July 1958, B.N. Chakravarty informed Nehru that he wanted to "make an experiment with one Mission, to begin with, to consider the possibility of "simplifying the accounting procedure in our Missions abroad."



grow, we have created more and more work which is more or less unnecessary, leading to further expansion. Something has got to be done to this kind of movement. Please therefore let me have a simple statement showing the numbers employed in our Ministry in every grade, Division, Section, etc.

7. In considering efficiency and economy, we should ignore for the time being service considerations. This does not mean that I wish them to be ignored, but that I want to consider them separately. If reduction of staff is made, as I hope will be made, I do not want this to take the shape of actual retrenchment of anybody. Some other provision will have to be made for that. But I do not want our office to be cluttered up with people who are not required or who come in the way of others.

8. I was told that we have not yet framed our rules for the Foreign Service, etc. This is rather odd after ten years. I realise that Foreign Service rules are different from the Home Services. Still, to some extent, they follow the same pattern with variations. And then we have rules of other Foreign Services for comparison. We have also ten years' experience. Surely, it is time that we should make these rules.

9. Again, I am told that the procedure of rule-making is a very complicated matter requiring consultation with and the agreement of the Finance Ministry and Audit and, perhaps, the Home Ministry. No doubt, these other Ministries come into the picture and have to be consulted. But, there is no reason why we should not make our rules for our own consideration without any such consultation. We must be clear in our own minds and, then we can have a joint meeting with others. The one thing I wish to avoid is long charts and papers prepared and sent to other Ministries, where noting begins on them from the lowest level upwards. Therefore, we must prepare our schemes ourselves and see the full picture before we consult others. In drawing up the scheme, we should not hesitate to change any existing rule if we think that right. I think that this should not take long. The first step should be some principles to be laid down, which we can consider together, without going into details. The next would be giving some details.<sup>4</sup>

4. On 19 July 1958, Nehru commented in a note (not printed) that generally speaking, the suggestions appeared to be worthwhile but it was not clear what the ultimate result would be in regard to the reduction of staff. Some others also, apart from the sixth Joint Secretary or the Special Secretary, might not be necessary. Nehru expressed the hope that these proposals would lead to greater expediency and avoidance of delay. He also referred to the "large number of totally unnecessary telegrams" exchanged between the MEA and the Missions abroad dealing with postings and minor matters for which air mail could be used. Nehru asked Chakravarty to fix a date for a discussion with the Secretary General, Foreign Secretary and Commonwealth Secretary.

## 5. Meetings of International Bodies in India<sup>1</sup>

Please send a reply to the letter addressed to me from Budapest dated 2nd July, 1958, by Bruno Bernini<sup>2</sup> and Christian Echard<sup>3</sup> as follows:

Dear Sir,

The Prime Minister received your letter dated 2nd July 1958. He referred this letter to the Ministry of External Affairs to enquire what our practice has been in regard to meetings of international bodies in India, more especially those which have special political or ideological connections. He has been informed that we do not encourage meetings of such bodies in India.

If an exception is made to this rule, other similar applications would also have to be accepted.

Further, in view of the grave international situation, which is likely to last for some time, it is not considered desirable to have meetings of such international bodies in India.

Yours faithfully,

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 23 July 1958. JN Collection.
2. President, World Federation of Democratic Youth (1953-59) and member of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Youth Federation.
3. Secretary General, World Federation of Democratic Youth (1957-62) and member, National Bureau of the Communist Youth Union of France.

## 6. Judge an Officer by His Work<sup>1</sup>

I am quite clear that the system we have been following, even though it might have the backing of British practice, is unsuitable and even harmful.<sup>2</sup> I need not go into the reasons for it. It seems completely futile to prescribe the number of

1. Note to the Special Secretary, MEA, B.N. Chakravarty, 8 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. In a note on 8 August 1958, B.N. Chakravarty wrote that "the British allowances are much higher than ours and the amount involved being larger, a scrutiny may be worthwhile for them."



guests that should be entertained monthly or yearly or the cost per meal. All this, I suppose, will have to vary for different grades of officers. While numbers may count, it is the quality of guests that counts. What is the purpose of entertainment? I take it this is to get to know worthwhile people and to try to increase the understanding of our country and the prestige of our country. Secondly, to get to know what is happening in the other country and to be able to judge of political, economic and other forces at work there. Thirdly, to influence events through individuals in so far as is possible.<sup>3</sup>

All this has nothing to do with the number of guests (who may be quite unimportant persons) or the price per meal. A person may give a very full record of all this and fill in your forms, and yet be a failure. In fact it is the second-rate and third-rate person who will produce these records. The busy or sensitive person is too much occupied with work to deal with these petty matters. The only way to judge a person's work in this respect is through the reports we get from him and from others about him and the general reputation he has.

Therefore, I am quite clear that the procedure we suggested at the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting two days ago should be followed and our present practice should be given up. Our inspectors need not pry into these petty affairs.<sup>4</sup>

This does not mean that we are precluded from having an enquiry if we feel that a person has not kept upto the mark.

All this will lighten our administrative work and we can then concentrate on the important aspects of administration. It will also lighten the burden on the officer serving abroad.

We may require some kind of a certificate from the officer concerned as suggested in paragraph 5 of the British rules that you have sent.

So far as the Finance Ministry is concerned, you can just tell them that the Finance Minister himself has agreed to this practice. That is enough for them. If they still raise any objections, the matter should be referred to me and I shall speak to the Finance Minister.

3. In the Foreign Affairs Committee meeting on 6 August, Nehru mentioned about the criticism regarding Heads of Missions and other officers being asked to account for the entertainment portion of the foreign allowance, and to prepare family budgets for the use of the Foreign Service Inspectors. He felt that the amount meant for entertainment and other representational obligations should be separated from the foreign allowance and a certificate of expenditure needed to be furnished.
4. Chakravarty mentioned in the note that Nehru thought that a ceiling for the cost per meal per guest and the number of guests was quite unnecessary. All this should be left to the discretion of the Heads of Missions who should draw the money after certifying the expenditure. Nehru also advised him against over-administration.

## 7. To Thomas Gold<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 8, 1958

Dear Professor Gold,<sup>2</sup>

Some little time ago, our Consul General in New York<sup>3</sup> sent me your letter dated March 29, 1958 as well as the papers you had left with him. These papers deal with what is called the Nehru Election Campaign in the Cambridge University.

I wanted to read these papers before writing to you. I have now done so.

It was very good of you to send all these papers to me. I realise now how much trouble you took over this affair and feel a little guilty that I should have been the cause of all this trouble to you. I am convinced however that my decision not to stand for election was the proper one. Whether I won the election or lost it, it would have been embarrassing for me.<sup>4</sup>

Again thanking you,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Thomas Gold (1920-2004); Fellow, Trinity College, Cambridge, 1947-51; Principal Scientific Officer, Royal Greenwich Observatory, 1952-56; Professor of Astronomy, 1957-58; Professor of Applied Astronomy, Harvard University, 1958-59; Director, Centre for Radio-Physics and Space Research, Cornell University, 1959-81; Professor of Astronomy, Cornell University, 1971-86; Professor Emeritus of Astronomy, 1987; author of *Power from the Earth* and *The Deep Hot Biosphere*.
3. M. Gopala Menon.
4. This refers to the proposed candidacy of Nehru for the Chancellorship of Cambridge University. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 15 Pt I, p. 563 and Pt II, pp. 518, 661-662.



## 8. Extended Foreign Scientific Expeditions Unwelcome<sup>1</sup>

I do not like this visit and would rather not have it. At the same time, I would not like to come in the way of real scientific work by scientists. But this kind of rural mission for a number of years presumably all over India, is certainly not desirable.<sup>2</sup> I think that we should tell the US Embassy that while we welcome scientific expeditions, we think that an elaborate mission working for a long period in various parts of India would not be suitable at present. Further, we cannot spare an officer.<sup>3</sup> Therefore, we will not be able to give the desired facilities.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary S. Dutt, 12 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. On 28 May 1958, the US Embassy in Delhi had forwarded a proposal by US Fish and Wildlife Service regarding a programme of introduction of foreign game birds into the United States. Accordingly, biologist Dr Gardiner Bump with a five-member team would spend three to four years in different parts of India to select 100 to 750 individuals of three or four species of birds for shipping alive to the US for trial acclimatisation.
3. S. Dutt reminded Nehru in a note on 12 August that a Government of India representative should be associated with any scientific exploratory mission from a foreign country and that the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs was unable to spare an officer for this purpose.

## 9. On his Forthcoming Visit to Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

I am afraid my ideas in regard to travel and visits abroad are much simpler than Shri Apa Pant's.<sup>2</sup> I dislike big parties and pomp and ceremony. Nothing is more inefficient and delaying than a big party on the move across the mountains. Most of the pleasure of touring is lost in this way. Therefore, the party should be strictly limited to the minimum.

My personal party will consist, as I have stated previously, of Mrs Indira Gandhi, a PA, a doctor, a Security Officer and Hari,<sup>3</sup> that is, six including me.

In addition to this, Shri Apa Pant will of course accompany me. I do not think it is necessary for a stenographer to go with us. I rather doubt if the Cypher Assistant is necessary, but I am open to conviction about him.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 16 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Political Officer in Sikkim and Bhutan, 1955-1961.
3. Hari Lal, the personal attendant to Nehru.

The local Security Officer is not necessary so far as I am concerned. I suppose, however, that the Security people have ideas of their own and they do not usually accept my advice in such matters.

As for Cultural Attaché, Shri Ganju,<sup>4</sup> I do not know what kind of exhibition of paintings and photographs Shri Pant intends having. Much would depend upon this.

Shri Chibber<sup>5</sup> should meet me at Yatung. There is no need for him to go with me to Bhutan.

As for Shri Rustomji,<sup>6</sup> it is not necessary for him to accompany me so far as I am concerned. But, as the Maharaja of Bhutan<sup>7</sup> has especially invited him, it may be a little discourteous to refuse the invitation. Foreign Secretary<sup>8</sup> can decide.

It must be remembered, and Shri Apa Pant should be informed, that my visit to Bhutan is by no means certain. At the most I can say the chances are fifty-fifty.

4. M. Ganju.

5. S.L. Chibber, the Indian Consul General in Lhasa.

6. N.K. Rustomji, the Dewan of Sikkim from 1954 to 1959.

7. Jigme Dorji Wangchuk, the Maharaja of Bhutan, 1952 to 1972.

8. S. Dutt.

## 10. Disapproval of Foreign Propaganda on Indian Soil<sup>1</sup>

Two questions have been raised in these notes. One relates to academic system, that is, the right of the Gujarat University to invite a professor from abroad to deliver lectures in the University. The other is the desirability from our point of view of the particular person mentioned being invited to speak on a particular subject.

2. If the Gujarat University is anxious to invite Dr George Fischer,<sup>2</sup> we do not wish to prevent them from doing so. But, if they seek our advice, as

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 18 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. (b. 1923); American historian and expert on Soviet affairs; grew up in Moscow where his father Louis Fischer was posted in the 1930s; served in the US Army, 1942-46; educated at Harvard University, 1946-1952; author of many books including *The Soviet System and Modern Society*, *Soviet Opposition to Stalin: A Case Study in World War II* and *Russian Liberalism, From Gentry to Intelligentsia*.



apparently they do, then we can tell them exactly how we feel about it and the possible consequences of such an invitation being accepted.

3. In regard to these consequences, I agree with the notes of Shrimati Leilamani Naidu<sup>3</sup> and the Foreign Secretary.<sup>4</sup> It is obvious that any such lectures would tend to be a part of the cold war approach. I do not know Dr George Fischer. But I do know that his father Mr Louis Fischer,<sup>5</sup> has made it one of his missions in life to speak and write against the Soviet Union. He has further strongly criticised India's foreign policy because we do not denounce the Soviet Union and remain unconnected with the power blocs. Further, the subjects for the lectures deal specifically with the Soviet Union. It is not as if in a wider survey, this question comes up.

4. If the United States Embassy had invited this gentleman for a course of lectures here and enquired from us if we had any objection, we would certainly have said that we did not approve of it. In the same way, if a Soviet professor came here and wanted to denounce the United States of America, we would disapprove of it and prevent it if we could. We have taken exception to this kind of propaganda even when it appears in the news sheets issued by the two Embassies.

3. Daughter of Sarojini Naidu and Director, AMS, MEA.

4. Subimal Dutt.

5. American journalist and author.

## 11. Reorganisation of High Commission in London<sup>1</sup>

I have read these papers and the notes on reorganisation of our High Commission in London. Broadly speaking, I agree with what has been said there. I shall be meeting the Finance Minister before he goes.

2. During the last few years, we have made repeated attempts to lessen the expenditure on our High Commission in London without much result. I have felt greatly concerned over this and, at the same time, rather helpless. That is not a satisfactory feeling to have.

3. It is desirable for a Work Study team to go there, and it is possible that they might produce some substantial results. But I think that two things should be aimed at. One is a change in the method of work, such as we have been suggesting here, so as to remove intermediate stages wherever possible and not spread out responsibility.

1. Note to Special Secretary B.N. Chakravarty, 19 August 1958. JN Collection.

4. The second is to transfer work from London to Delhi. London and the big capitals elsewhere are very expensive places, and we should do only such work as is essential there and cannot possibly be transferred to India. Our staff in London is amazingly big. They may be fully occupied for all I know. That depends on the manner of doing work. If simpler methods are introduced, this may well result in considerable economy as well as speed and efficiency.

5. Scales of payment will continually increase in these Western countries to keep pace with the normal scale there, which tend to go up. This is also a reason why we should reduce our staff abroad. In fact, staff in London is so big that it is very difficult to supervise it properly. It has become an unwieldy mass.

6. I imagine that it will probably be desirable for the Finance Minister to give some increments because of the dissatisfaction there. Perhaps, the Finance Minister can himself decide this question when he goes there.

## 12. Message to the King of Bhutan<sup>1</sup>

Thank you for your kind message. I am greatly looking forward to have the pleasure of visiting Bhutan and meeting you. There is only one difficulty that may come in my way. You are aware of the serious situation in West Asia which is being considered by a special session of the United Nations General Assembly now. I do not know how this situation will develop. I hope that the crisis will tone down. But, in the event of the crisis continuing, it may become difficult for me to go to Bhutan. At a time of crisis it is not easy for me to leave Delhi as decisions have to be made from day to day after full consultation with colleagues. You will, I am sure, appreciate my difficulty but I earnestly hope that this will not happen and that I shall be able to pay you a visit with my daughter Indira. She wishes me also to convey her thanks to Her Highness Queen of Bhutan<sup>2</sup> for the message that has been sent to her and which she appreciates very much.

With regards and good wishes,

Jawaharlal Nehru

1. New Delhi, 20 August 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through the Indian Political Officer in Gangtok, Apa B. Pant.

Jigme Dorji Wangchuk was the Maharaja of Bhutan.

2. Maharani Ashi Kesang Wangchuk.



### 13. To M.C. Chagla<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 21, 1958

My dear Chagla,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to ask you if you would be prepared to go to Washington as our Ambassador. We would like you to go there. As you must know, our Washington Ambassadorship is of the highest importance in our foreign missions and we have given a great deal of thought to it. In fact there has been no Ambassador there now for about two or three months.<sup>3</sup> There is a Minister functioning there, Harishwar Dayal, who is very good. So far as the economic side is concerned, we are making some special arrangements and B.K. Nehru<sup>4</sup> will be there as Commissioner-General for Economic Affairs.

Apart from your having to leave the Chief Justiceship of Bombay, there is another aspect about which I should like your opinion. You have been nominated on the Hague Court for the Portuguese case. It is obvious that in the event of your going to Washington, you will not be able to function at the Hague.

May I have an early reply?<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. M.C. Chagla Papers, NMML.
2. Chief Justice of Bombay High Court.
3. The previous incumbent, G.L. Mehta, returned to India in May 1958.
4. Secretary, Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance at this time.
5. Chagla sent his acceptance on 25 August 1958 and agreed to leave Bombay tentatively on 2 October. With regard to the position at the Hague, Chagla clarified that it was not strictly necessary under the Statute of the Hague Court that an Ad Hoc Judge should be a person occupying a judicial position. He cited the case of Portugal's representative who was the Managing Director of a Railway Company, and the Mexican Judge was Ambassador at some place or other. But Chagla felt that leaving Washington's posting would not be quite befitting and suggested that special permission be obtained from the Hague Court to appoint an Ad Hoc Judge in his place.

## 14. President's Asian Tour<sup>1</sup>

### Presents for Japan

I suppose that you have consulted our Ambassador in Japan<sup>2</sup> about this matter, more especially as to who should receive presents from our President.

I have nothing much to say about this list of presents for Japan except that it is always a great nuisance to be given anyone's photograph in a large frame. When I receive such photographs, I have to hide them in some luggage room because they are not fit to be displayed. The importance of a person need not be measured by the size of a photograph one gives him.

If any animals are to be sent, the President need not carry them with him. It would take time to get the animals. An elephant probably will be suitable. We should send one to make a pair with the one already there.<sup>3</sup>

I do not see the point of sending black panther cubs.

### Presents for Burma

Marble or even ivory models of the Taj are seldom good. They look cheap. I think that some smaller ivory piece would be more suitable.

The large silver frame might be avoided here also both for the President<sup>4</sup> and the Prime Minister.<sup>5</sup> I am quite sure the Prime Minister will be worried by such a large frame.

1. Note to the Chief of Protocol, 25 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. C.S. Jha.
3. A baby elephant 'Indira' was handed over to the Tokyo zoo on 1 October 1949 as Nehru had received hundreds of letters from the Japanese children asking for one. For Nehru's note regarding this, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 11, pp. 412-413.
4. U Win Maung, the President of Burma.
5. U Nu.



I do not know what is meant by carpets in the plural for the President and his wife. One carpet should be enough. It is a great nuisance to send a very big carpet. It does not fit in into the average room. A relatively smaller carpet is much more useful. The quality should be good. I should imagine that the maximum price for such a carpet for the President should be about Rs 2500 or even Rs 2000. Or there may be two smaller carpets.

The Prime Minister is a very simple man and if a carpet is to be given to him, it should be one small one and of good quality. This should cost about Rs 1200 or so.

I do not quite know who is to receive the Ambar Charkha. Apparently the Embassy in Rangoon has asked for them. There is no point in the President taking a large number of them. They can be sent separately.

## 15. Discussions of the President's Foreign Tours<sup>1</sup>

I saw the President today about his programme for visits abroad.

2. There is nothing much more to be said about the visit to Japan. He liked the idea of some members of his party going on ahead of him to Tokyo.

3. He was a little concerned about the language he should use when speaking at various places. Should he speak in Hindi and be translated into Japanese, or should he speak in English and be translated or not into Japanese? I suppose this will have to vary. To a University audience, I would suggest his speaking in English which probably will not have to be translated. To other audiences, and especially the so-called public meeting, there should be a translation in Japanese. I suppose you can settle this on the spot in Japan, when you arrive there, in consultation with the Ambassador. But we must decide about the initial remarks he has to make on arrival in Tokyo. I have suggested that the President might speak for two or three minutes in Hindi, and either himself say something in English also or have this translated into Japanese. I presume that our Ambassador will provide a Japanese interpreter.

4. The Burma programme has not been fixed, except for the times of arrival and departure.

### Visit to Indonesia:

5. The President approves of the date we suggested, that is, the first week of December, for his departure. You might, therefore, suggest the 5th or

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 29 August 1958. JN Collection.

6th of December for his arrival in Indonesia.<sup>2</sup> I should like him to return round about the 20th December, so that he can meet the Prime Minister of Ghana<sup>3</sup> in Delhi.

6. As soon as these dates have been fixed with the Indonesian Government, you should inform our Defence Ministry and Air Headquarters. We should like the President to go to Djakarta in the VIP Viscount. You might enquire then from Air Headquarters if the Viscount can fly direct from Calcutta to Djakarta without re-fuelling on the way. Probably, this is doubtful. If re-fuelling is required, should he stop at Rangoon or Kuala Lumpur. In giving the December dates to the Indonesian Government, it might be stated that if these dates are not convenient to them, early March might be feasible. You will, of course, express our regret for the mistake we made in suggesting February. You might mention that the reason for the President not being able to go then is that we are expecting Marshal Voroshilov<sup>4</sup> then, and he has to be here to receive him.

2. Rajendra Prasad arrived in Djakarta on 8 December 1958 on a 12-day state visit to Indonesia
3. Kwame Nkrumah.
4. The proposed visit of K.Y. Voroshilov, President of the Soviet Presidium, in February 1959 did not take place.



## V. GOA AND PONDICHERRY

### 1. To Lakshmi N. Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

29th July 1958

My dear Lakshmi,<sup>2</sup>

Your note about your visit to Pondicherry.

I do not think it is desirable for us to issue an ultimatum to the French Government about the date for *de jure* transfer.<sup>3</sup> That kind of thing will do us little good and may do us much harm. It will not, in fact, make much difference to Pondicherry. It is true that there is some uncertainty about the future and this comes in the way of certain political aspects of the question. But nobody is at all certain about Pondicherry continuing in India.

We made it quite clear that Pondicherry will not be absorbed in Madras State or interfered with in any other way unless the people themselves so wish.

The Aurobindo Ashram<sup>4</sup> there has certainly done some good work. They have very large resources to which they are continuously adding. Nevertheless, I do not consider the atmosphere generated in that Ashram as very desirable. No doubt they are pro-Indian now but they have been very anti-Indian in the past.<sup>5</sup> However, there is no reason why we should take advantage of what they have done.

About the other matters you have written to me, I am sending your note to the Foreign Secretary.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Deputy Minister in the Ministry of External Affairs.
3. The treaty for the *de facto* transfer of the French territories in India was signed in New Delhi on 21 October 1954. The treaty for the *de jure* transfer was signed on 28 May 1956, ratified by French Parliament in May 1962 and instruments of ratification were exchanged in New Delhi on 16 August 1962.
4. Founded on 24 November 1926 by Aurobindo Ghosh.
5. Nehru wrote two notes to Secretary General, MEA, on 13 and 22 December 1952 regarding this issue. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 20, pp. 530-531.

## 2. To U.N. Dhebar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 27, 1958

My dear Dhebarbhai,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of August 25th, which has just reached me. This is about Pondicherry. I have read through Shri Goubert's letters.<sup>3</sup> Since he wrote them, other developments have taken place, and it appears that some of the dissidents have joined the Opposition, thus reducing the Congress Party to a minority.<sup>4</sup> I do not know what the exact position is now, but I shall discuss it with the Foreign Secretary.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. President, Indian National Congress.
3. E. Goubert, leader of the Congress Party in the Pondicherry Representative Assembly, had written to Nehru on 28 June 1958 that the Congress Party was essentially a passive organisation adopting a defensive attitude in contrast to the well organised aggressive and offensive nature of the Communist Party. He stated that 15% of the public was with the Congress, 10% with the Communists and the rest were indifferent to politics. He cited lack of dynamism in the Congress, intimidation by communist agents and the inefficiency of the English and French Penal Code enforced in India as the main reasons for the pitiable state of affairs in Pondicherry.
4. All six Congress Councillors of the Pondicherry Government resigned on 6 May 1958 and the Chief Commissioner, M.K. Kirpalani, took over the administration on 23 May 1958. On 27 August 1958, the leader of the United Group in the Representative Assembly submitted a list of six names to form the Council of Government, together with a statement signed by 26 Members of the Assembly supporting them.



### 3. Question of Trade Embargoes<sup>1</sup>

I agree with FS. I am inclined to think that these trade embargoes that we have imposed on Goa do not help us much. There has apparently been a slight improvement in Goa in regard to the treatment of people there. Purushottam Kakodkar<sup>2</sup> has been allowed to go there. Mrs Sudha Joshi<sup>3</sup> has just been released. We shall have to consider this whole question of trade embargoes. But, for the present, the embargo as such may remain. We may, however, permit the transit of postal parcels to Goa as a part of international trade.

1. Note to Foreign Secretary Subimal Dutt, 29 August 1958. JN Collection.
2. Nationalist leader from Goa; arrested in Goa in 1946 and imprisoned in Lisbon till 1952; sent back to India in 1956.
3. Sudhatai Joshi (b. 1918); wife of Mahadevshastri Joshi; played an important role in the liberation struggle of the Portuguese Colonies in India; an active member of the Goa National Congress; presided over an open session of Goa National Congress, 1955; participated in the satyagraha, 1955 and arrested and sentenced by the Territorial Military Tribunal to twelve years' imprisonment; released due to the strong pressure brought by the Indian Government.

## PRESS CONFERENCES





1

Question: There has been talk of you visiting Tibet. Has anything been finalised about it?

Jawaharlal Nehru: There is nothing further that I can tell you about my visit to Tibet. You perhaps know, some months back the Chinese Government conveyed an invitation to me, I think from the Dalai Lama, which came through the Chinese Government, and no date was suggested, some time later in the year, and I gladly accepted.<sup>2</sup> I hope that a convenient date will be fixed. Nothing more has happened since then. I suppose that if I go this year, it will likely to be somewhere in the second half of September, because after that, I am engaged here, and before that the weather is not particularly suitable for flying purposes, because weather comes into the picture anyhow, coming and going.

Q: You said: "If I go to Tibet this year..." Does it mean that there is a possibility that you might not go to Tibet this year?

JN: That simply means that no date has been fixed, and because the period when one can go there by air is relatively limited because of climatic conditions. I hope to go this year, but I said if somehow it does not come off, it will be at some later date.

Q: There have been reports of efforts to cross the ceasefire line by some Pakistani leaders.....

JN: I really cannot tell you anything more than what you see in the newspapers. It is rather an odd story. I suppose you are referring to Mr Ghulam Abbas.<sup>3</sup> Obviously, no one can come across the ceasefire line, or attempt to come with any measure of success, unless he is permitted to do so, or the Pakistan authorities

1. Proceedings of a press conference, New Delhi, 3 July 1958. PIB files. Also available in JN Collection.
2. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 41, p. 672.
3. Chaudhary Ghulam Abbas, one of the leaders of 'Azad' Kashmir, had stated at a news conference in Karachi on 27 May 1958 that a movement "connected with the ceasefire line" would be launched shortly by the people of 'Azad' Kashmir to liberate their brethren in the 'occupied' Kashmir. Also see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 765-766.



look the other way; if they don't want him to come, he cannot come. There are various explanations for this. I do not wish to indulge in speculations about it and the motives. So far as we are concerned, of course we are not going to allow anyone to cross the ceasefire line. It is quite clear.

Q: Regarding this ceasefire line, if some of the Pakistanis come over, will they be treated as invaders or kept as civilians who have just trespassed into our territory?

JN: I do not quite know how they will be treated except that they will land themselves in prison. There is no doubt about that, and of course if there is any violence, then it is a different matter. They will be treated otherwise, but if they simply come over peacefully, they might be arrested and put in prison.

Q: There is a strong rumour that the I & B Ministry is going to be dissolved. And Mr Shiva Rao<sup>4</sup> has, on behalf of the newspaper employers suggested that the I & B Ministry should be handed over to the Home Ministry. What are your comments?

JN: Someone said that Mr Shiva Rao does not approve of it. I had vaguely come to realise that he does not like that Ministry. But in this matter he does not reflect the Government of India's viewpoint at all, as in many other matters. Therefore, the Information and Broadcasting Ministry is not only going to continue but going to continue strongly.

Q: Today's papers carried a report that besides France, Sweden and some other countries may also decide to enter the atomic club.

JN: I have no doubt that they will. The name of France of course has been mentioned in this connection for a long time past, but it is perfectly clear that, if some kind of settlements are not made, some agreements are not arrived at, other countries will make atomic or hydrogen bombs. There is no doubt about it. There are several countries which possibly have the knowhow but have not got the resources. They will get them also. It is likely that we shall have cheaper and cheaper methods to make the hydrogen bomb, and once more countries get to make them, then obviously the possibility of coming to some settlement, arrangement, restricting their manufacture will become more and more difficult and the terror that hangs over the world will become worse.

4. B. Shiva Rao, Congress Member of Rajya Sabha from Mysore.

Q: Scientists are supposed to meet at Geneva to discuss the atomic issue.....

JN: I hope that when experts meet, they will discuss matters more on the expert and the scientific levels than on the political level. It is relatively easier for scientists to agree than for politicians to agree. I think it is a good thing for these expert scientists to meet and consider this question of how atomic tests can be detected, that is, if they are done secretly.<sup>5</sup>

Q: This morning it was in the newspapers that Subhash Chandra Bose was alive and some deputation also met you.

JN: Not in this connection. The deputation met me about something else. It was I who mentioned to them that there were some people in the Forward Bloc who had come to me, in regard to Mr Thevar, who is, I believe, under detention as a result of the Ramanathapuram disturbances in the South. They came about him. I asked them about Mr Thevar, who used to say that he frequently met Mr Subhash Chandra and got instructions from him. Sometimes, he said, he even went to dinner with him. So I suggested to these gentlemen that a person who talks in this way cannot be taken seriously. Either his mind has gone wrong, or his motives are very wrong. One of the two must be there. Only that was the reference made to that subject.<sup>6</sup>

Q: There is a report in a London paper against the *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to India. What is your information on this?

JN: I do not think any importance need be attached to some messages which have appeared, I think, in the British Press. Odd individuals may talk in that way, odd Frenchmen may be, but I doubt if in Pondicherry you will find a dozen or two dozen persons who may say that, Frenchmen or others. But you know it has been a long wait for this business of *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry.<sup>7</sup> Four years, I think, is a long time. We have waited patiently, partly because the *de facto* transfer had taken place, and partly because we realised that there were internal difficulties in France, Governments changing and all that, and we

5. See *ante*, pp. 81 and 543.

6. See *ante*, pp. 344-345.

7. The treaty for the *de jure* transfer was signed on 28 May 1956, ratified in May 1962 and came into force on 16 August 1962. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 27, pp. 220-221 and 224-231.



wanted to be considerate about the matter. Well, if it is four years, it is a long time for a country which has given its word to act up to it. After all, the *de facto* changeover took place as a result of a treaty, an agreement which was signed by both parties.<sup>8</sup> And that too was signed, mind you, after a long discussion, and after some kind of a consultation with the people of these places, on this subject. I mention this because even the technical reasons, sometimes advanced then on behalf of the French Government, were fulfilled, apart from the patent fact that the vast majority of the population wanted it. There is no question about it. But I do not think that it is the French Government that is going behind it. The French Government has always assured us that they will honour this. So there has been no question of going behind that at all. And I do not quite know how this matter has arisen. Some odd individual may have spoken to some newspaper representative.

Q: How long are we going to wait for this?

JN: We are very patient about this matter. What exactly do we do if we do not wait? We must consider these matters realistically. The only thing one can do is perhaps to shout a lot. Well, that is the habit of immature people and immature nations, and perhaps immature politicians.

Q: During this interregnum, the citizens of Pondicherry are facing a lot of difficulties: because they are not citizens of India, Indian laws cannot be made applicable to them. Does the Government of India propose to take any steps to solve this problem?

JN: That is perfectly true. It is embarrassing for the people of Pondicherry, with regard to legal and other matters. But how can we take this up with the French Government? That itself means we accept a long interregnum period. And, after all, there is nothing to prevent us from doing many things which we have not done, even in regard to laws I mean. As a matter of fact, so far as the development of Pondicherry, etc., goes, there has been a good deal of it. We have spent a lot of money over it. It is making progress, much more than it did previously, so that many of the important things are being carried on. The only real difficulty is that Pondicherry is not represented in our Parliament.

8. An agreement for the *de facto* transfer of the French settlements in India was signed on 21 October 1954 and the settlements were transferred on 1 November 1954.

Q: After the advent of de Gaulle what concrete steps are you taking in regard to this?<sup>9</sup>

JN: We have not taken any concrete steps except perhaps our Ambassador<sup>10</sup> has reminded one of the Ministers of the French Government about it.

Q: How do you view the Lebanese situation?

JN: It is a very curious state of affairs in Lebanon. A civil war is going on, and yet, so far as one knows, the Lebanese army has not played any very important part yet. It may have protected people but, broadly speaking, the Lebanese army has been rather looking on except for giving protection here and there. It is obviously a civil war, and it is obviously a question better decided by the Lebanese themselves without intervention from outside. Apart from the normal undesirability of intervention in such matters, in the present case an intervention is likely to lead to all manner of consequences, which may spread the conflict much further. I should imagine—I do not know of course—it is very difficult to be sure that the chances of foreign intervention have greatly lessened, partly as a result of the UN observers team there, and the visit of the Secretary General of the UN.<sup>11</sup>

Q: What about the disturbances in Ceylon?

JN: What has happened in Ceylon has been very distressing. It is not for me to discuss Ceylonese problems. We wish them well, the people and the Government there. They have gone through a bad time, and we hope that normal conditions will be restored, not only externally, but in people's minds too. With these disturbances, Indian nationals were not concerned at all. They suffered certainly, in the sense that their shops were looted. They suffered a good deal of damage. So far as I know, one Indian national was killed, but this was rather because, without wishing to do so, they got entangled in these disturbances. But they were out of them. They were not part of the disturbances on either side. Mainly, the conflict was between the Sinhalese and the Jaffna Tamils, who as you perhaps know, have been there for hundreds and hundreds of years, and who

9. Charles de Gaulle assumed power as Prime Minister of France on 1 June 1958.

10. K.M. Panikkar.

11. In June 1958, UN Secretary General Hammarskjöld announced the establishment of the UN Observation Group for Lebanon. The UN Secretary General visited Lebanon from 19 to 22 June 1958. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 630-633.



are 100 per cent Ceylonese people.<sup>12</sup> There is a third lot of people there, chiefly comprising of estate labour, who are the cause of the long controversy between India and Ceylon, and who according to us should be Ceylonese citizens, but who have not been registered as such, and therefore, who are almost stateless people practically. But these are separate questions.

Q: The Tamil-speaking people there have just demanded a separate state in Ceylon. Are they in any way politically connected with the Dravida Kazhagam?

JN: So far as I know, their demand is not a separate state, but some kind of autonomy within the federation of Ceylon, or some such thing. I do not know about any precise contacts, but individuals may naturally have contacts with this movement in South India. I should not attach much importance to it. I am afraid some people in South India talk very irresponsibly sometimes about these matters.

Q: What is your reaction to Mr Namboodiripad's speech mentioning civil war?

JN: That speech has been explained at some length by him more than once. As a matter of fact, I wrote to him about it, and he sent me a long reply, to which I sent a longer reply. That is where matters stand. It is not really a question of an odd speech, but rather the basic thought behind it. That is what I was driving at, and there is a very basic difference in this approach. The difference is there anyhow, but in India it becomes more marked, because we have been accustomed so much to talking in terms of peaceful methods and all that. So, there is a double difference here, in this thinking. It is not Mr Namboodiripad only, but some other leading members of the Communist Party of India, Z.A. Ahmed who have delivered speeches of that type, although they have not received so much publicity.<sup>13</sup>

12. Following the decision by the Government of Ceylon to make Sinhalese the sole State language, the Federal Party, an organisation of Tamils, launched on 29 March 1958, a campaign demanding equal status for the Tamil language. According to official records, in the ensuing strikes and violence which also involved the pro-Sinhalese groups, 159 people were killed by the armed forces and the police between 26 May and 26 June 1958. Also see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 640-643.

13. See *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 394-395, ante, pp. 330-335 and post, pp. 665-666.

Q: How do you view the execution of Imre Nagy and some of his colleagues in Hungary?

JN: When I came here the other day I expressed my deep distress over it.<sup>14</sup> I was shocked when I learnt of it, and I was greatly worried, in addition to that, by the consequences that might come, by consequences I mean the increase in tension. It is obvious that this has resulted in passionate feelings, increase in tension, charges, counter-charges, so that, in effect, it has taken us back from that movement which was going towards what I might say the lessening of tension. I think it has been very unfortunate. We avoid, as you know, criticising other countries or interfering, even though we may hold strong opinions about what happens in other countries.

One of the things about this matter has been the question that has arisen in my mind, how far the *Panchsheel* is being acted upon by people who talk about it? We try to act up to it. I do not say that we do not make mistakes but we do not wish to intervene in other people's affairs. But we have to express our opinions, when we feel them, without any intention of intervening.

And, above all, we have always to remember that we have an objective in view, the objective being getting away from this horror of war, reducing tensions, getting some settlements about the stopping of atomic tests and generally a settlement or giving up atomic and hydrogen weapons. Now, that is an objective, as it is the biggest objective in the world today, the assurance of peace, because the only alternative to it is annihilation. It is a mad world when we discuss these matters in this way. But there it is; because of fear and suspicion and hatred countries indulge in activities, which, unless checked, are bound to bring about a conflict. So, our objective, and I believe the objective of people all over the world, is to put an end to this horror and to lessen tensions, etc. Now, keeping that in view we try to say things which help that objective and avoid saying things which add to tensions. Those who are dead are dead, but I earnestly hope that this process will not continue, because I believe that there are people in prison elsewhere.

Q: It was believed that Mr Khrushchev represented a trend towards liberalisation in the Soviet Union. Can it be said now that the recent happenings in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, including these executions, indicate a reversal of that trend?

14. Imre Nagy and his supporters were executed in Budapest on 16 June 1958. For Nehru's reaction, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, p. 650.



JN: All this is in the nature of speculation. None of you can give precise answers to any question relating to trends in any country. I cannot, I can guess here and there. It is not for me to say what the trends happen to be now in the Soviet Union, and sometimes there are contradictory trends in evidence at the same time. I earnestly hope that the trends towards liberalisation or democratisation will continue. I believe also that basically they are bound to continue, because basically they depend upon all manner of new conditions produced in the Soviet Union in the course of the last generation or so. Please remember that the biggest liberating agency for human beings in any country is education. It is a great liberator, and the Soviet Union is a very well-educated country, and they are educated people. Therefore I say that these tendencies towards liberalisation have a strong basis; even though they may be diverted here and there, they come from the roots, from the people.

Q: It is reported in the Press that the Home Minister expressed the opinion that the Nagy execution is a reversion to Stalinism.<sup>15</sup> Was it his personal opinion or that of the Government of India?

JN: That is his guess work.

Q: Do you believe that India's denunciation of the execution in Hungary will lessen international tension or will it bring India in the orbit of the cold war?

JN: I cannot understand this question, whether this will happen or that will happen. I do not want to be dragged into the cold war. That is obvious. Because I think that is not only harmful in itself, but it puts an end to such possible good work that we might be able to do in regard to peace.

Q: Could you amplify the reference to *Panchsheel* because after all the execution is an internal affair of the Hungarian people?

15. In his inaugural address to the West Bengal Pradesh Congress Political Conference held at Calcutta on 29 June 1958 G.B. Pant said: "though Mao Tse-tung said that let a hundred flowers bloom, yet today in some communist countries only one flower is allowed to bloom. The execution of Imre Nagy and others in Hungary is a concrete example of this. But I can assure my countrymen and the world that anything like this will never happen in India."

JN: I know it is not that. I was not thinking of the execution. But you will remember what the *Panchsheel* was. One of the principles was non- interference in the internal affairs of a country, political, economic or even ideological. Ideological was added a little later, but it was more or less accepted. It was specifically mentioned, but it was presumed before that too. By that I mean that if any country interferes with another in regard to internal affairs even in the ideological domain that does not fit in with *Panchsheel*. Of course, in these matters it is very difficult for me to discuss Marxist dialectics, because I am no professor in them nor am I a Marxist, so who am I to discuss what is the straight and narrow path and what is not?

Q: Your remarks on the current Yugoslav-Soviet controversy, ideological controversy: have they a bearing on the present.....

JN: That is the controversy about Marxist dialectics, about revisionism and all that.<sup>16</sup> Not being a Marxist, if I may say so, I am constantly revising myself.

Q: Can the execution of Nagy and others in Hungary be an excuse for not holding summit talks?

Q: My question is related to it. In regard to Nagy particularly, would it be relevant to call it an internal affair of Hungary? In the circumstances in which he was arrested by the Russian forces and then kept in prison in Rumania, does it become a purely national affair of Hungary or an international affair?

JN: It is a completely different question from the other question. You have mixed two things up. I think it will be very unfortunate if the execution of Imre Nagy becomes a reason or is used as a reason for not meeting together at a high level to discuss matters. It is true that, as I said, it has created greater tensions, more suspicion, greater difficulties in the way of talks. But if we allow our talks to be given up, then we give up all hope of ever coming to a settlement. Therefore, it should not be construed in that way, I hope.

As for the other question which our friend has put, you can argue this matter, what is internal and what is external. In strict law, what is happening, what has happened, in Budapest presumably is strictly an internal matter of the Government of Hungary. I suppose so.

16. For Nehru's views on Yugoslav-Soviet controversy, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol.42, pp. 676-677 and also Vol. 35, pp. 470-471.



I don't know all the facts, but I presume so; just as things that happened in Algeria may be said, in strict law, to be internal happenings within the French State. But sometimes things happen which, however internal they may be, have powerful external repercussions in the minds of people. The result is they have repercussions, just as what is happening in Algeria, and what has happened there, has powerful repercussions.

Q: There was a report that you have received a letter in this connection from Marshal Tito.

JN: No, I have received no letter.

Q: The editor of the communist weekly, *The New Age*,<sup>17</sup> while giving his personal comment on the Imre Nagy execution, has suggested that Imre Nagy's guilt was even less than that of Sheikh Abdullah. What is your comment?

JN: Guilt was less or more?

Q: More. His actual words are to this effect that what Sheikh Abdullah has done is not any less than what Imre Nagy has done.

JN: Does he want us to do the same thing to Sheikh Abdullah? I don't know what he is driving at.

Now, somebody asked a question about food prices.....

Q: How do you propose to check the rise in food prices?

JN: I suppose that the rise is not likely to continue or remain where it is. There is no doubt there has been some rise, and we have kept it in check, and it may not rise much more because we have plenty of stocks. But the fact is that the damage caused last year by drought, floods and all manner of other things was on a very big scale. It reduced production considerably. And last year, coming, as you may well remember, after two other bad years, was worse than the previous two. It was an extraordinary run of bad luck. Considering all these natural calamities, I think we have been, on the whole, successful in holding the

17. Bhupesh Gupta, Communist Party Member of Rajya Sabha from West Bengal.

fort; and we shall hold it, of course, because we have got plenty of stocks, and we are getting some more. But, obviously, the real answer is more food production. Practically, this has become the very first priority for us over everything else that we may be doing. We have laid stress on big industry or small industry but unless we have a stable agricultural foundation, unless our agricultural production is adequate we cannot achieve it. Obviously, it is only then that we get a surplus for industry. So as you know, we are concentrating a great deal on that, whether it is in the community projects or in other ways.

It has taken a long time, if I may say so, for people to realise this, even for the State Governments to fully realise it. But at last, they have come to a full appreciation of this and are working hard to that end. It is a basic thing in India today—more agricultural production, particularly more food production; everything else flows from that. I have no doubt there will be more food production. Unfortunately we have not quite discovered how to control the elements yet; and a time may come when, in spite of every kind of bad weather, we are strong enough to deal with the situation. For the moment, a very bad monsoon does knock us on the head. We hope this year we shall at last have turned from the bad luck we have been having for the last three years. So far as prices are concerned they will not go up much because we have got plenty of stocks.

Q: The Food Minister at Naini Tal blamed the anti-social elements like the hoarders, the blackmarketeers and speculators for the present rise in food prices, because, he said, though the harvests were there, the food was not coming into the markets and *mandis* in ample quantities.<sup>18</sup> Do we take it then that the Government is too weak to tackle these people?

JN: Yes, it is not easy to tackle them. We can tackle the big people, the big hoarders; it is not difficult to tackle them. But a large number of small ones are much more difficult to be tackled.

18. In an interview with the press at Naini Tal on 20 June 1958, Food and Agriculture Minister A.P. Jain said that the present rise in the prices of foodgrains, apart from some shortage, had been due to hoarding and speculating tendency. He added that the Government of India had issued orders, applying Sub Section 3A of Section 3 of the Essential Commodities Act to MP, UP, and Rajasthan in respect of wheat and UP and Bihar for rice. Under these orders Government could now requisition stock from trade at the average of the preceding three months prices. "If necessity arises we shall not hesitate to take action under these orders," A.P. Jain declared.



Q: The Food Minister at Naini Tal also talked of surpluses. Was he aware of the three bad crops?

JN: What do you mean by surpluses?

Q: He meant surplus for export purposes.

JN: I don't remember what he said exactly, but we have to work for surpluses, obviously, because it is on the basis of that agricultural surplus that we would build up our industries; that is a simple equation.

Q: But is it not tall talk when the country is importing food, and it is likely to import it for years to come, and when the Foodgrains Enquiry Committee also has said that the position is not going to be easy? Is that not just talking like some unrealistic person? That is why we object to the Food Minister's statement, not that we do not want to export to other countries.

JN: If you object to the Food Minister's statement, you should object much more to many statements that I have made on that subject.

Q: But with you we have it out here. The Food Minister never calls a press conference.

JN: It is not only tall talk but it is a tall claim and it is only by our fulfilling that tall claim that we will survive. That is the point. In the whole context of things, the problem that faces us involves difficulties, hard work, not merely some legerdemain but hard, solid work. And in the final analysis, quite apart from any particular policy, it does not matter. I will go so far as to say this whether you are a communist, or a capitalist or a socialist or anything, the basic thing remains the same, greater production. That does not change. That remains the same, and we cannot change it by leading articles or slogans. We have to produce, otherwise we cannot have any surpluses, and we cannot add to our industry or add to our living standards. It is patent. You see, you can call it an unrealistic statement if it is patently unrealistic; but I say that it is patently realisable provided we work hard. And again, take our food production. The rate of production per acre in India is one of the lowest in the world, for various reasons. That is a very bad thing. On the other hand, because it is low, there is a great deal of room for improvement. We have not reached the optimum or anywhere near the optimum. We can double it or treble it, and yet not suggest anything which is unrealisable. Certainly it is difficult but not unrealisable. Therefore, when we

said in this Five Year Plan about a 35 per cent increase in food production, it is a patently realisable thing.

But again a realisable thing may become unrealisable if you do not work for it, that is a different matter entirely. That is why one has to create a psychology of work right down from top to bottom. An eminent economist has pointed out that the difficulty with India is that we do not work hard enough and he made a list of the people who do not work hard enough: the peasants, workers, employers, teachers, students, nobody works hard here; and he said, the politicians except a few at the top. In this country there are more holidays than anywhere else in the world; it is perfectly true and people clamour for more holidays still. I do not know, but I think it is 150 days in the year or something; it is amazing. And then the quality of work, the content of work is not so intense. After all, what we produce is the result of our efforts and work. If we do not do that, people seem to imagine that somehow by some trickery of phrase, one can do it.

Q: At the last press conference you envisaged a meeting between Indian officials and Pakistanis about the border issue. One meeting has taken place at Dacca. Could you throw some light on this?

JN: That meeting at Dacca cannot be described as brilliantly successful. I think the Chief Secretary of Assam met the Chief Secretary of East Bengal. The difficulty with these meetings at that level is that there is no room for talk. The official certainly on the Pakistan side simply repeats his Government's attitude and he says, "I will have to refer everything else to my Government", and there the matter ends. It is almost as if you send a letter and you get a reply, so that all that they said there was, they exchanged some pious platitudes and said, "Well, we will refer this matter to our Governments." It is proposed to have a higher level meeting of Secretary to the Pakistan Government and our Secretary, I forget exactly when, but in the near future.<sup>19</sup>

Q: What was the issue tackled? Was it about firing or was it about demarcation?

JN: Border issues; that is to say, the East Pakistan and Assam border issues. They mainly repeated each other's position there, and they agreed of course that they should honour the agreements about ceasefire and all that, and that there should be no firing, but no particular issue was settled.

19. They met in Karachi from 30 August to 2 September 1958.



Now, about Fazilka, the two Commissioners met, the Commissioner of Jullundur Division and from the other side, the Commissioner of Multan. They did not agree; that perhaps might have been expected, but what was rather surprising was that the Pakistan representative did not agree to exchange reports. Our man had his report and the Pakistan man presumably had his report. Our man said, "let us exchange reports; let us see what you have said; you take my report, let us see." But he said, 'no'. He did not give his report. What is one to do? He has referred his report to his Government, and our man referred his report to our Government, and we agree with our man's report and we have drawn the Pakistan Government's attention to this, and pointed out that this was a gross case and they should give compensation. That is the position.<sup>20</sup>

Q: About this eastern border, may I know if there is any encroachment into Indian territory and what is being done?

JN: All the trouble is about charges of encroachment either by India or by Pakistan. So far as I remember, there are no large-scale encroachments but there are small encroachments; for instance, there is trouble about a river as to whether the middle of the river is the boundary of this side or that side; then there is trouble about a tea garden; a bit of a tea garden has been encroached upon by Pakistan. It is not a question of any large area being encroached upon, but slow infiltration into a little bit here and a little bit there.

Q: Have you got any information about the Foreign Mission, which has been referred to by the Orissa Government in its complaint about foreign intervention in the affairs of the Government of Orissa?

JN: Well, we have seen the document of the Orissa Government. The charges made in it are rather general and vague. We have not been able to get any specific detailed information on the subject yet.<sup>21</sup>

Q: Despite your severe criticism of certain State Governments for their failure to accord due recognition to Urdu and the subsequent resolution passed on this subject by the Congress Working Committee, the Urdu controversy in UP continues unabated. Recently a UP newspaper published interviews of Dr Sampurnanand and some UP Ministers and point out the basic differences in the language policy of the UP Government and the one

20. See also *ante*, pp. 513-514.

21. See *ante*, pp. 347-349 and *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 430-431.

enunciated by the Working Committee in its resolution.<sup>22</sup> I would like to know from you in view of these differences, what concrete steps you are going to take to ensure a fair deal to this language, the cause of which you so strongly advocated during the recent AICC session.<sup>23</sup>

JN: I have not seen these interviews you referred to and, in any event, I would not carry on an argument, through a press conference, with my colleagues. Without seeing it I am merely perhaps guessing many of the things that Dr Sampurnanand says that are correct, in regard to the policies laid down by the UP Government. The difficulty is about their implementation by his own officers. But, in the main, I think this whole question has been and perhaps is being considered on a wrong basis, on a wrong level, with a wrong approach. I want to take it out of that approach, as if there is a controversy between two languages, Urdu and Hindi, or any other. There is no such thing. Hindi has got a supreme position in India, nobody challenges that. You can look at the question of Urdu either from the point of view of our Constitution or from the point of view of a literary man, interested in the culture of India, or thirdly from the point of view of the common man who speaks it and reads it. These standards you apply to any language.

Now constitutionally it is guaranteed as a national language. Actually, and from a literary point of view, there is no doubt about it that it is a rich language, a vital language, today. If you take the 14 languages of India mentioned in the Constitution, there are many languages among those 14, whose literature and whose numbers that speak them are much smaller than those of Urdu. Thirdly, we must get out of the habit of thinking that Urdu is a language of the Muslims. It is completely absurd. It may be that Muslims attach more value to it for various sentimental reasons. If there was not a single Muslim in India, Urdu would still be a language of India, to be nourished and preserved and encouraged because it is a language of India, because it is a part of our culture, because its influence on other languages is considerable and good, because it adds to the richness of our lives, just like other languages, and because it does not come into conflict with any other language. Knowledge and culture add to the richness

22. Sampurnanand stated in the UP Legislative Assembly in July 1958 that Urdu could not be considered a regional language in Uttar Pradesh and added that Urdu's rivalry with Hindi would not be allowed and reminded the proponents of the Urdu that the country had suffered immensely because of the controversy over Urdu. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 218-221.

23. For Nehru's speeches at the AICC meeting, see *Selected Works*, Vol. 42, pp. 515-528. See also *ante*, pp. 218-221.



of life. Take Delhi. You are newspapermen. It is a simple test. How many Urdu newspapers are there in Delhi?

Q: They are advocating the cause of Hindi.

JN: It is a misfortune. You will find, as in Punjab or as in Delhi, Urdu newspapers advocating the cause of Hindi. You may, without much difficulty, come to the conclusion that a gentleman knows neither Urdu nor Hindi or knows some kind of a feeble amalgam which is neither literature nor good language, may be journalese and that is a fatal difficulty. That is the trouble today that we are forgetting the real quality of a language in our arguments and getting the most wretched stuff, which we call Urdu or Hindi or whatever it may be.

There is no doubt about it that Urdu has been in the past the essential hallmark of Delhi. Just like various other cities, it has been a city language of course, but not a village language. Villages have been affected. Essentially it has been a city language. When I speak in Lucknow or Allahabad or Delhi, my language is more Urdu in a sense than Hindi. If I speak in Banaras or Patna, my language is more Hindi than Urdu. It depends on the background where I am. So one must not look upon this question as controversial. I do not see the controversy about it. It is only the narrow-minded bigot who does not know anything about language at all, who considers it from a controversial point of view.

Q: May I read a sentence from the editorial comment in the *New Age* and ask a question? "Pandit Nehru does not claim fairness to be any virtue and with US aid and loans mounting up, he is likely to slip more easily than ever from the position he has so far held firmly."

May I know whether we are going to depend immediately, or in the long run, entirely on US loan for our Second Plan to be carried out? And what will be the extent of that loan? Is there any fear that our foreign policy will be affected by it?

JN: In the long run we are going to depend on no loan. We shall stand on our own feet. The difficulty is in the short run, not in the long run. In the short run, we shall take loans from any country that is prepared to give them to us, and we have made it perfectly clear that our policy is not affected by it and is not going to be affected. I do not know why you ask me that question because the answer is obvious. We feel that small credits and loans, helpful as they may be, are not good enough. We want to plan ahead. Therefore we would like, and we are endeavouring, to get large credits for the next few years, and we shall welcome

credits, from the United States as also from other countries. The United States are probably in a position to give more credits than other countries. But I would like to repeat here what the Finance Minister said the other day that if you just look at the entire picture of our economy, it is one of the soundest in the world, in spite of our present difficulties. One of the evidences of this soundness, apart from the general things that you can see round about, is the position of the rupee, which is one of the very very few sound currencies in the world, and the fantastic nonsense of some people talking about the devaluation of the rupee; I have never heard this nonsense in my life. That is not going to be done whatever happens. The rupee is one of the best currencies in the world. It is not my opinion, but the opinion of hard-headed foreign businessmen in other countries. In other words, the economy of India has a very sound basis. It is encountering rough weather, and the weather may do us much injury unless we get over it, and in order to get over it, we are not only taking measures inside the country, a number of them, but as you said, trying to raise big credits and loans which every country has done when it was so situated in the past. But having got over this rough weather in the course of the next few years, and when our production apparatus starts functioning well, then we shall have difficulties of course, but not of the same certain type. There will be smaller difficulties.

Q: What is your opinion about the developments in Cambodia?<sup>24</sup>

JN: Old complaints of conflicts between Cambodia and South Vietnam are there. We have our Commission there. I believe they have done a good job of work. They investigate some of these complaints and by this mere fact they tone them down and keep them from becoming more bitter.

24. While the National Assembly passed a censure motion against the Government of the Premier, Sim Var on 22 June 1958, paving the way for Prince Norodom Sihanouk being again asked to form a new Government, tension between Cambodia and her southern neighbour, Republic of Vietnam, increased following reports that South Vietnamese troops had entered and occupied several Cambodians border villages on 25 June 1958.



# III<sup>1</sup>

Question: What is your assessment of the West Asian situation?

Jawaharlal Nehru: I prefer not to go into the long story of the Middle East for a variety of reasons, specially because when one is searching for peace one should not say anything which might come in the way of peace. But, broadly speaking, everybody knows our views. We do not think any good can come out of foreign forces remaining in any country.<sup>2</sup>

It is said that one of the main reasons for some of the western countries being interested in the Middle East countries is oil. But there appears to be no obvious reason of there being any difficulty for them in getting oil, whatever happens. The present Government of Iraq has said so, and so also others. So far as Iraq is concerned, every report or information points to the fact that the present regime in Iraq is well established, stable and popular.

Mind you, at the present moment it would be wrong to imagine that we have passed the danger point. All that one can say is that there is some softening and we don't expect the possibility of a war overnight. That, certainly, is an improvement. But all the elements of explosion and anger are there. That is why there is this urge to have this kind of a high level conference.

Q: Will the proposed summit conference help solve the problem?

JN: In three or four days' time it will be known whether the conference is going to be held or not. Quite apart from the so-called summit conference, the point is that a situation has arisen, which is very dangerous. That situation has to be resolved. We cannot leave it hoping that it would be solved of itself. The summit conference is one of the methods intended to help this resolution. By people merely meeting together nothing necessarily will happen. It depends on with what intentions they meet, what their ideas are and what they intend to do.

Q: Is it true that you have accepted the Soviet suggestion to attend the summit conference?

JN: It will be hardly correct to say that I have already accepted it. I have of course accepted the suggestion of Mr Khrushchev and that is that if India's

1. Press Conference at the Raj Bhawan, Calcutta, 27 July 1958. From *Amrita Bazar Patrika* and *The Hindu*, 28 July 1958.
2. See also *ante*, pp. 460-511.

presence is considered necessary by the parties concerned she would accept it. But the position now is that nothing has yet been finally decided in regard to the conference, though it is likely to be held, I suppose. I do not know under what conditions, if any, the invitation will be issued. If it is issued, then we will consider it and give our answer. Broadly speaking, I have indicated that the matter is so important, vitally important, that we should like to help if such help is considered necessary.

But so far as I personally am concerned, the time suggested for the conference—middle of August—is inconvenient to me. Parliament will be in session and we have many important matters at hand. Moreover, I have never been out of India on 15 August. In fact, I have been on the ramparts of the Red Fort on that day since Independence.

Q: It has been suggested by some that a UN police force should be sent to Lebanon and Jordan.....

JN: I am not in favour of any kind of a so-called police force being sent by the UN. I am not in a position to predict the future but in the present state of affairs such a police force, instead of helping, might itself become a cause of dispute. Patently, armed forces should not be sent to a country against its will.

India does not like a military approach, an approach of military alliance, like the Baghdad Pact and other pacts, which instead of bringing security, invariably brought trouble in their train and which disrupted things as in the western area, and which in a sense, range against the powerful and dynamic forces of Arab nationalism.

Q: Isn't it time for the world to recognise Arab nationalism?

JN: Arab nationalism must be recognised by other countries. It is an obvious, patent and clear fact, which cannot but be recognised. There have been many failures in the past for the lack of understanding of this force. Of course, there is nothing very special about this Arab nationalism except that it is in the area covered by the Arab countries. But it is the same thing we find elsewhere.

Q: Is there a proposal to call another session of Afro-Asian conference of the Bandung model on this issue?

JN: There is no immediate chance of a meeting of the Bandung countries. But the meeting will be held some time or other, because it represents a definite urge, an idea not merely political but includes other matters too.



Q: Has your proposed visit to Tibet by the end of September been postponed indefinitely?

JN: I have written to the Chinese Government asking them to fix a definite date for my visit immediately or postpone it to a later date. I have since been informed by the Chinese Government that the visit may take place at a future date to be notified later.

Q: Is it because of the West Asian crisis?

JN: The postponement has nothing to do with the crisis.

Q: There have been reports of a police firing in Kerala. Will the Central Government interfere to prevent the situation from going out of hand?

JN: I don't think there is any necessity for it. There had been a police firing but I do not know all the facts beyond the newspaper reports.<sup>3</sup> But, yes, I have received many complaints from Kerala about the general situation there. Some of these complaints mention some kind of coercive methods employed in labour matters or others. There were also complaints that the Communist Party was adopting a very aggressive attitude to other groups and parties resulting in conflicts. I have also received some complaints from the Communist Party also.

Q: Would you call Kerala a 'nightmare'? Is there a civil war like situation in Kerala?

JN: Kerala is not a nightmare nor do the conditions there amount to civil war. Petty conflicts between two parties cannot be called civil war. In fact, Kerala is a peaceful part of India. People there do not normally break each other's heads or indulge in violence. It is, therefore, all the more unfortunate that these peaceful people are indulging in such acts of violence.

Q: Is the Union Government contemplating any measures to deal with the situation in Kerala?

JN: A case of mere firing does not justify any intervention from the Centre. I will write to the State Government of Kerala if there is anything abnormal.

3. See *ante*, p. 329.

Q: Is there any truth in the speculation that your visit to Calcutta now is linked to the local Congress affairs?

JN: Not at all. When I threw out the idea of retiring from the Prime Ministership for some time I was very anxious—frankly speaking, a bit selfishly—to have some time for myself out of the busy day-to-day activities. I wanted to be away from the Capital for some months and I wanted to utilise the time in visiting different parts of India not as Prime Minister but unofficially in the old way in meeting people and discussing with them the country's problems and their problems. I decided to come to Calcutta first and spend a few days here and in other parts of Bengal too.

That idea fell through when my proposal to retire for some time from Prime Ministership collapsed.<sup>4</sup> Then I took a decision of coming to Calcutta and I wrote to Dr Roy early about this. So, there is nothing new about this visit to Calcutta. Originally I said I will stay here for three days or so and I requested Dr Roy not to have too many engagements for me. I wanted to meet people and to get in touch with them psychologically and emotionally and also their problems. Then the West Asian crisis came. Just on the day report came I was in Allahabad and was due to visit Lucknow. I cancelled my Lucknow programme because messages were coming in from all over and it was difficult to carry on with that.

That was no time to come to Calcutta with messages continuing to pour in like that. But soon I again informed Dr Roy that I would like to be in Calcutta at least for a day because the Mandal Congress Conference was fixed up<sup>5</sup> and also that I had given a promise to many people who wanted to see me. I intend to come back to this city for a longer period.

From my long experience, I know it is dangerous to interfere in local party affairs for a shake-up or to push some people out. Of course, I am naturally interested in the Congress. People from West Bengal Congress including many Members of Parliament have expressed a variety of views and some dissatisfaction and this thing or that thing. It is but natural. I myself have publicly expressed dissatisfaction of things in India or in the Congress.

Anyhow, I have not come to Calcutta to push Shri Atulya Ghosh from the PCC Presidentship. Atulya Babu has been a tower of strength to the Congress in West Bengal. He served it loyally and effectively with considerable sacrifice. He

4. For Nehru's desire for retirement and subsequent Manali vacation, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 501-514 and 816-840.

5. See *ante*, pp. 380-383.



is a fine organiser. I think the Congress in this State is fortunate in having him. So there is no question of pushing him out.<sup>6</sup>

But I have a humble suggestion. In the twenties we had started in the UP a convention of rotating office-bearers of the Congress. This principle, in fact, has not been in practice in most of the States. But in UP they have regularly changed their PCC President every year. Sometimes the same person returned after a gap. I myself have been President three times, but every time after a gap. The idea was to give a chance to all the senior and experienced people to guide the affairs of the organisation. It was a good system. Of course, sometimes it created difficulties also. But in spite of them it is a good idea. In the last AICC, I had put forward this view although not with reference to any particular State. Atulya Babu has been the President for the last seven, eight years. I will not like if the Congress here was deprived of his advice and fullest cooperation any time.

Q: What about the Congress in UP?

JN: Well, I am not very happy about the Congress in UP. In my own city, Allahabad, I am the least happy about the way the Congress functions. There is this tendency of forming groups in the organisation and the doors of the Congress is shut in respect of some.

A living organisation must have its roots in the past principles. That is essential. Apart from that, it must be active in regard to the new problems that arise and it must also have an appeal to the young. An organisation of old men naturally tend to lose its force. So, to retain its position as a live organisation the Congress should attract thinking and sensitive youths.

Personally speaking, I keep thinking of one rather dangerous tendency about myself. It is that I might not realise the effect of old age and imagine myself to be fit for good work. The difficulty is that one cannot look objectively at oneself. That is also the case with the Congress. The problems of the country and of the world are novel and there is tremendous disillusionment all over the world including Europe and America.

In the world today there is a great need for understanding among the old and the new. It is no use blaming young men. There is an imperative need to understand the mind of the next generation.

6. Nehru was shown a cartoon at this time depicting Nehru as Mark Antony and West Bengal PCC Chief Atulya Ghosh in the garb of Julius Caesar with the caption "I come to praise Caesar and not to bury him."

You have often heard the question 'After Nehru, who?' I have often heard such questions are asked as if I am some royalty. Frankly speaking, I don't quite understand the question. This may apply to a totalitarian country or in a monarchical country. In a democratic country like India, the more people are trained in leadership the better for all concerned. What is important in India is the question of giving training to a wide strata of people. The training for leadership should begin from the lowest rung of society, i.e., the village level. There should be as many persons trained in leadership as possible so that the country might benefit by such training. In this respect, I attach great importance to the role of *gram* panchayats.

### III<sup>1</sup>

Jawaharlal Nehru: I have no special announcement to make. It seems to me people think that when I have a press conference, it is for a very special purpose, but I am trying to follow the monthly routine. In a few days the Parliament is meeting<sup>2</sup> and because I would not have time, I had it now. Of course, there are a large number of matters of great interest happening in the world. I have nothing very particular to say.

Question: Have you received any latest message from Marshal Tito?

JN: The last one I received from him will be called the latest. We correspond with each other, with Prime Ministers, sometimes with Heads of States. I have not received any communication in the last 48 hours or 72 hours, as far as I remember.

1. Proceedings of a press conference, New Delhi, 7 August 1958. PIB files.
2. On 11 August 1958.



Q: What is your reaction to the meeting in Peking of the Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung?<sup>3</sup>

JN: My reaction to the meeting of Mr Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung! No particular reaction, except that I was naturally surprised. I myself did not know anything about it previously. It was a very well guarded secret, obviously.

Q: Can you throw some light on the recent developments in West Asia?

JN: It seems to me, I can't throw any particular light on any recent developments. You have been following them. I imagine that it almost appears as if we are having a new version of the *Arabian Nights* now, the thousand and one nights, only not quite so amusing as the previous one. Daily new developments take place and new gestures are made, new moves, new counter moves and basic changes take place. As a person deeply interested in the sweep of history, I am interested in this from the historical point of view, of all what is happening in West Asia. It really began at the end of the First World War, with the break up of the Ottoman Empire. As a practising politician, I am naturally interested in it in regard to its effects, present effects, above all the possibilities of large-scale conflict or war that this position may hold. Our natural desire is to avoid this. There are other interests because of our contacts with many of these countries that are involved there.

Broadly speaking, our desire has been, here and elsewhere, not to interfere, to keep out of other peoples' troubles except when they raise wider issues, and even then, it is when we feel that we can be of some possible help and our presence is desired, that we accept any responsibility, or even express any opinions on issues. Many things happen in the world which we like, many which we dislike. Normally speaking we don't go about shouting our dislike of things that happen in the world, or of condemning countries because we imagine that they do not do much good—condemning people. Sometimes we have to express our opinion which is in condemnation, whether it is in the United Nations

3. Khrushchev and Mao Tse-tung held talks in Peking from 31 July to 3 August 1958 and issued a joint communiqué on 3 August 1958 calling for summit talks and demanding the immediate withdrawal of American and British troops from Lebanon and Jordan. The two leaders said that the only way to ensure peace was to achieve disarmament, a ban on nuclear weapons, liquidation of foreign bases, and disbanding of military blocs. They warned that if the "imperialists" started a world war, "the peace loving people" would unite to crush them. The two parties expressed full confidence that the daily growing forces of peace and socialism would certainly be able to overcome all obstacles in their way and win great victory.

or elsewhere, but the general desire is not to go about condemning people even though we intensely disagree, because that does not help in affecting them or influencing them. Sometimes this attitude is perhaps misunderstood, but it is a basic attitude, this desire to help rather than to increase tension, help in lessening tension rather than increasing it.

Someone asked me about the General Assembly. I really have nothing to say; if the General Assembly takes place, naturally, our representatives will participate in it.

And, so far as the West Asian issues are concerned, our desire is that the countries there should live their own free, independent lives, without interference from outside, wherever it may be, and that the foreign forces that are there should be withdrawn, and no other armed forces should come in, including those of the United Nations or of others. It is bound to be resented, bitterly resented, by the people there. That is obvious. And the result is that you produce a strong reaction among the people against what you yourself seek; you seek calming down of tension, you seek security for the people there, and all that, and the very reverse happens.

That is broadly our approach. I do not know what kind of moves will take place in the General Assembly when it meets.

Q: President Eisenhower has stated that Heads of Government might participate in the General Assembly meeting. Is there any likelihood of your going there?

JN: General Assembly meeting? None whatever. I have no intention of going unless I am convinced that I can be of some use, unless I am wanted. I do not want to push myself in, I have much more fairly important work to do in my own country.

Q: Have you any views on what the General Assembly should discuss? America wants to discuss the question of interference in Lebanon and West Asian issues in general; the Soviet Union has tabled resolutions just on the withdrawal of the American forces.

JN: Why not discuss both and see that nobody interferes and all forces are withdrawn, and that nobody interferes with Lebanon, Jordan or Iraq or any of the countries in future?

Q: Do you think that the General Assembly can seriously discuss the Western Asian question and reach a solution?



JN: They can discuss it very seriously and very vituperatively. Whether it will lead to anything or not is another matter. Generally a question like this is not easy to solve in a large assembly; sometimes, it may be, I cannot say, it depends. But, generally, of course, complicated issues like this are considered informally by smaller groups and then they should come to a larger group.

Q: What is the position about summit talks? Has it faded out?

JN: I am afraid the summit has disappeared in the clouds—it is the monsoon season now.

Q: Was there any special factor which influenced the Prime Minister of India to take an optimistic view of the holding of the summit conference last week?

JN: There were no particular factors which you do not know, because, that time, the principal countries that counted—the USA, the USSR, and the UK—all, in varying degrees, appeared to be in favour of it. And when those Great Powers were in favour, one thought that it was likely to take place, apart from the fact that the situation was a critical one, and that makes individuals and even Great Powers to think furiously.

Q: Do you consider the situation not critical now?

JN: Well, I do not think it is critical in the sense of expecting war round the corner, but I think it is basically worse. I do not mean to say that war is going to happen but it is basically worse, hostile groups dug in their toes and other kinds of things. I am not all happy about it.

Q: May I know whether one of the reasons for the summit conference not taking place is due to the fact that the United States and the Western countries were not very much in favour of India participating in a Big Five meeting?

JN: I do not think so. Surely, there were other major reasons.

Q: Last week, in one of the meetings, you said that you might probably be not here on August 15, and then came the statement by Mr Dulles showing that the United States was not prepared to invite India, expressing

a sort of unwillingness.<sup>4</sup> But when you said that you were probably not going to be here on August 15, were you thinking that.....

JN: I did not say that. I will tell you what I said. What I said was that there is a date suggested, August 12th, I think was suggested. And I said that this date is such, that if I had to go, I would not be here. I was not saying that I would not be here. It was a reason for my saying that I was not likely to go, I was so keen on staying here for August 15. But there is no doubt at all in mind there was the vague possibility of my having to go.

Q: Was it your impression that the USA will not be objecting to India being invited to the summit conference?

JN: How am I to answer on behalf of the USA? But I think you should take Mr Dulles's words for it. What Mr Dulles said was, something to the effect, that they had no objection to India coming in, but there were others trying to push in, and he found some difficulty in meeting this situation.

Q: Do you think that the refusal or the suggestion by Mr Dulles that India should not participate, will in any way influence the present Indo-American relations?

JN: Mr Dulles did not say that really. As I said, he said, and which I believe is an absolute fact, that quite a number of other countries were knocking at the door, chiefly because India's name had been mentioned, and that had created difficulties. I have no doubt that this is a fact. And I do not see why that should affect Indo-American relations. They are not quite so thin as to be affected by that. Anyhow, we do not function in that way in India.

4. Addressing a public meeting at the Ramlila Ground on 31 July under the auspices of the Delhi Pradesh Congress Committee and also at a press conference in Calcutta on 27 July, Nehru referred to the possibility of India's participation in a summit conference. John Foster Dulles, the US Secretary of State, said in a statement on 1 August that, "one would have to consider that if India were invited, so many other countries would also want representation that the conference would become practically unmanageable." He also stated that, "if India attends, it was expected that Pakistan would request representation. The other two Muslim members of the Baghdad military Pact—Turkey and Iran—would not like to stand idly by while problems of West Asia in which they live were discussed."



Q: Have you any views on what is called 'indirect aggression' which has been introduced in international relations? Do you have any special information about indirect aggression or intervention by the UAR?

JN: Indirect aggression or anything of that sort is always something difficult to measure or weigh. It is obvious that ever since the Baghdad Pact, this unfortunate pact which has brought so much trouble, wherever it has appeared on the scene, it divided up the Arab world and the West Asian world. Ever since then there has been a continuous cold war there in West Asia and the Arab world, that is, between the Baghdad Pact group and the other group led at that time by Egypt. Cold war, radio war, newspaper war, important people, statesmen talking against each other and in very strong language all that is indirect aggression, on either side, in a language that attempts to influence the public against their own governments. And that has been happening throughout this period, and happening on both sides.

Nuri el-Said Pasha,<sup>5</sup> to the best of his ability, as far as he could do it, wanted to pull down President Nasser. President Nasser disapproved of Nuri el-Said. These are patent public facts.

But I suppose when you talk about these you probably mean the sending in of arms. Is that what you mean?

Q: The United States which has made this allegation of indirect aggression, and which has played on the word so much lately, has not really defined it.

JN: If it means that arms used to come in, I cannot say anything, I have no doubt that some arms have been coming in—in what quantity or to what extent, I do not know. There have been common frontiers in Syria and Lebanon, more or less an open frontier. No doubt, in the past, arms must have come in, in the normal private way, apart from the governmental way. When the Opposition in Lebanon wanted to have some kind of an uprising they tried to get arms from where they could, and Syria was the nearest place to get them. But in what quantities they might have got, I cannot say. But I can say from the reports of the UN Team of Observers in Lebanon that this arms traffic became very little, while they were there, and it was gradually tapering off. That is their report.

Q: In addition to the phrase, 'indirect aggression', the word "subversion" has also been used.

5. Prime Minister of the Arab Federation of Iraq and Jordan.

JN: I know. It is subversion, if the radio or the newspapers are trying to subvert the Government, whether Nuri-el Said Pasha's Government subverting Nasser's or Nasser's Government subverting, you may use these words as you like.

As I said, this is a cold war between the Baghdad Pact countries and those opposed to that pact. The Baghdad Pact, which was loudly proclaimed to be meant to bring security in Western Asia, was about the most potent instrument devised to do everything contrary to what it was intended to do. It was really extraordinary. It resulted in doing the very reverse of it. I can see it step by step, from the day the Baghdad Pact came into existence. I have no doubt so long as the Baghdad Pact exists it will continue to undermine the policy which it is supposed to represent.

Q: I believe the United States of America has maintained that indirect aggression existed previously and the Baghdad Pact came into being in order to stop it.

JN: Has it stopped it or made it worse? It is a valid question, I put. My point is that nothing begins suddenly in history or in individual or human lives; it has a background. If you want to study the history of the Middle East, you have to go at least to the year 1918 after the First World War, when the Ottoman Empire ceased to be, and since then the Arab countries have been trying to find their feet. In some countries they had kings or other regimes imposed upon them, without the least attempt to find out what the people wanted or felt. Then there has been resentment, and this bungling, and all these things have happened in Egypt and Syria. There was the struggle with the French long ago. All this has been developing for the last 40 years nearly.

Indirect aggression and direct aggression, all this has been happening. But while we talk about indirect aggression, we might remember that direct aggression is after all something more than indirect aggression. It is an obvious thing, while indirect aggression may be veiled.

And, there is something very solid there, which has developed very recently, and that is this Arab nationalist feeling, Arab nationalism. It is not a question of a person liking it or disliking it. It is a fact and it is a further fact that, in the present, President Nasser is the symbol of Arab nationalism. These are patent facts. One may like a person or dislike him, that is a different matter.

Q: In the context of the cold war, radio and newspaper warfare, I think, some years ago, you said that you did not like the cold war to be carried on inside Indian territory. Is there any written convention or understanding about the publication of the bulletins by the various embassies? If the object



of these bulletins is publicity of their own activities, one can understand. But one in the series of these bulletins goes on giving news about every other country, except its own. It gives news as to what is happening elsewhere in the world but not what is happening in its own country.

JN: It is rather difficult to answer such a question precisely. Broadly, we do hope that Foreign Missions in India will not carry on a cold war here, against other countries. At the same time, they are entitled to give their communiques, their news, etc. It is for one to judge when they cross the line beyond that. We can then quite politely tell them that they have gone beyond the line.

Q: In this connection, I may say that some of the story books are being circulated in Delhi about the foreign yoke, the Red Bear coming in and eating the food, and about the people who are under the protection of the Red Bear and all that. These are being circulated to Indian children.

JN: Published where?

Q: Published in foreign countries.

JN: I have not come across them.

Q: There are many newspapers and story books, hundreds and hundreds of them, which have been imported from foreign countries and it would seem actually that the cold war is being carried on inside India.

JN: So far as books are concerned, it is a difficult matter. We cannot stop the books from coming in or rather have a strong censorship which we do not normally like. All we can do is to discourage certain tendencies of propaganda here, especially insofar as foreign countries are concerned.

Q: Generally the Western reaction to the recent meeting of Khrushchev with Mao Tse-tung has been that it is an intensification of the cold war. What is your reaction, do you agree with it?

JN: I would say that almost every statement issued, every step taken by the countries of the West or by the countries of the other side—I do not like calling it East, because for me it is not East and it is confusing for an Indian to get used to these phrases—almost every move or a counter-move taken by either side is a move in the cold war, and it has its own impact whether it is justified or not

and is coloured by the cold war outlook. Because the cold war is there, that outlook covers every move and becomes rather a dangerous international game of chess. One does not quite know when a sudden check may come.

Q: You said that the Indian representative will participate in the General Assembly session which is going to be a special kind of session. Do we take it that our representative will be a special kind of person?

JN: So far as we are concerned, all our representatives are very special kinds of persons.

Q: Is there going to be a special session of the General Assembly?

JN: That is going to be decided by the Security Council this evening. Under the rules, a special session can be held within 24 hours of the decision. For instance, if they decide today, they can hold it tomorrow evening or the day after tomorrow.<sup>6</sup>

Q: Can we come to internal affairs, Kerala? The fundamental issue is whether it is possible for an undemocratic political party to function within the framework of a Constitution based on democracy?

JN: It is possible for it to function, so long as it does not come in conflict with the democratic apparatus of the country. If it does, then one survives; both cannot. But that is a theoretical question.

Perhaps you want to know how I feel about it all. Some days ago, I was in Calcutta, and at a press conference. I had said, rather casually, that the refugee situation in Calcutta was a nightmare as one talks casually, not attaching a precise meaning to every word. In that connection I was asked, if the Kerala situation was a nightmare. I said: No, nothing, I hope, is a nightmare to me.

6. The Security Council meeting on 7 August 1958 decided by unanimous vote to convene an emergency session of the UN General Assembly on the Middle East situation, to open on the following day. The General Assembly accordingly met in emergency session on 8 August under its president, Leslie Munroe. After a speech by Leslie Munroe and a brief statement by Hammarskjöld, it was agreed to adjourn until 13 August to enable the other delegates to assemble. Representatives of over 50 countries took part in General Assembly's debate, which lasted for a week from 13 to 20 August 1958; the Assembly was also addressed by Hammarskjöld, who outlined some of the "basic needs for action" in the Middle East area.



Rather deliberately I refrained from expressing any strong opinion in regard to the Kerala situation then. I occupy various positions: I am the leader of the Congress party. In fact, it is that party that has made me Prime Minister.....<sup>7</sup> The party could not do so unless the country wants it. The party is the channel through which it is done. So, insofar as I am capable, I am trying to function as a Prime Minister; though a party man, still, to some extent, apart from the party too. I want to take particular care that I am not unjust in my judgement of another group or another party, because of my partiality for my own party. So I was cautious. I did not quite know all the facts, recent facts, I mean the facts of the last two weeks or so.

I find that some unfair advantage was taken of that and my statement was used in a distorted form in Kerala by some of the local communist partymen. It was somewhat distorted and changed; a phrase was added as if to show that I was supporting the Government there in what they had done. Of course, that is completely wrong. Even now, I would rather not say very much, except that I am distressed at what is happening there and at the atmosphere that has been created there. Some things have been happening there. Some murders have been committed which are brutal in the extreme and they are horrifying. In a conflict, suppose the police fires, it is bad, but that is under the stress of the moment and people get frightened and killed. Cold-blooded murders are something entirely different. And if for political reasons such murders are committed, the situation is pretty bad. An atmosphere is created or spread where people get afraid and they think that they have no security. To some extent that seems to me to have taken place there.<sup>8</sup>

I am not discussing basic questions such as those I was asked. The basic approaches are different of course. But it is not a question, mind you, of economic theory. One may accept any economic theory. But it is rather a question of, shall I say, a certain technique. A technique also which involved basically, thinking in terms of conflict and violence. There is plenty of conflict and violence in the world. There is class conflict. Many people want to get rid of the class conflict and to have what they call, a classless society. We do certainly.

But the point is: can we get rid of class conflict by intensifying it? Can you get rid of violence by intensifying violence and crushing everybody who disagrees with you? Or are there other ways, relatively peaceful, to achieve it? That is the basic thing; this mental approach. I do not say that a Congressman is better than a communist. That is an individual matter. He may even be more violent occasionally as an individual; he may misbehave. But I do say that the whole

7. A voice quipped that "the country made you the Prime Minister and not the party."

8. See also *ante*, pp. 330-333.

outlook that has governed the Congress, since Gandhiji's day and to some extent, before too—but then the Congress was a small organisation—has been one of recognising the fact of conflict and trying to get over it in a peaceful way; recognising the fact of conflict between Indian nationalism and British imperialism, and trying to get over it by peaceful approaches; recognising the fact of conflict between, let us say, the zamindar and his tenant, that is a class conflict, and trying to get over it in a peaceful way. So we recognise the fact of conflict between different classes of society, but we try, to the best of our ability, to get over it in cooperative and peaceful ways. We do not succeed 100 per cent but the approach is there. We do succeed, if not 100 per cent, at least 50 per cent.

The mere fact that we solved the problem of Indian states was a remarkable achievement, I think, without parallel, of solving such a problem in a peaceful way. You may sit down and say that we gave too big privy purses to the Princes. I agree with you. It was painful to me to have to pay these large sums of money which we agreed to pay. But you should realise that we agreed to pay. Thus we avoided the terrible conflicts and the curse of a civil war. I have no doubt that we could have removed them in the other way too. It would have left a bad trail behind. So, it comes up again and again: attempts to settle things by big-scale conflict and big-scale pressure.

Regarding the land problem, we are not very happy at the pace of it, here and there. We want to push it. But frankly, the major difficulty has been, apart from certain legal difficulties that come up in the courts, our desire to proceed peacefully and it seems to be a basic difference between the communist and our approach. They seem to think that in order to cure an ill they have to increase the illness, maybe in some systems of medicines that might succeed, but in increasing the illness there is also the slight danger of killing the patient. If you do not kill the patient, at any rate, you create certain forces or encourage certain forces, which follow you like the devil afterwards and create new problems.

The essence of the peaceful approach to problems is, of course, you may call it idealistic, but it is not an idealistic approach but a practical approach; it is essentially, fundamentally, a practical approach. It has always been a practical approach, though it may be overridden by other factors as every practical approach may be. While it was in theory a practical approach in the past everywhere, in the world of atomic weapons of today, it has become a practical approach in every sense of the word, because the moment you think of violence, one violence tops the other, until you reach the ultimate stage of violence, simply liquidating the world or a greater part of the world. And that is why, if I may say so with all respect, I do not think this method of the cold war solves any problem. If it is between a powerful country and a relatively smaller country, it is not a cold war. Then of course, the powerful country either frightens the



smaller country into submission or actually, in a military way, suppresses it. But, even so, the weaker country remains in ferment and creates a tremendous deal of trouble, and ultimately has its way; it may take years in modern conditions. Where two or more powerful countries face each other, neither succeeds in frightening the other by threats; in fact, the result of a threat is, the other party becomes more aggressive; each becomes more and more aggressive and that does not solve anything. Looking at it from the scientific, theoretical, mathematical points of view, you can say it does not solve anything. It only leads ultimately, possibly, to a big war, which everybody says, will not solve anything.

May I say, as you have made me think on these lines, that I am not talking in terms of Gandhian nonviolence? Although that may colour my viewpoint. I am not talking in terms of countries suddenly disarming themselves, and thinking that thereby they have solved a question. Well, humanity has not developed that far. I do not expect any country to take risks of that type. No statesman can. But, keeping that in view, I do feel, and feel strongly, that the military approach does not solve any problem and, as a practical aspect, does not pay. I would beg you to look at the history since the last Great War and see, repeatedly, how the military approach has not paid. Even if it seemed to pay for the time being, it has laid the seeds of trouble for the future.

Q: In view of what you have said about Kerala, would it be correct to assume that a situation has reached where the Government of the State cannot be carried on under the Constitution?

JN: No. I cannot say that. The government of the State is being carried on well or indifferently is another matter. All I can say is that a large section of the community there feels unhappy and insecure. They feel that they are not getting a fair deal as every citizen is entitled to. What the future developments may be depends on the future, I cannot say.

Q: Is there any need for a summit meeting at the internal level to meet with the cold war? My question is, is there any provision under the Constitution by which we can meet a situation like this? You have said that the party in power has not come in conflict with the democratic apparatus.

JN: I said in law, if the party comes in conflict with a democratic apparatus, in the end only one will survive.

Q: The theory put forward by the Kerala Congress leaders is that though in letter the party in power has not come in conflict, in actual spirit they have been violating the Constitution. Is there any provision in our Constitution to deal with this situation?

JN: Normally, the Constitution does not deal with the things of the spirit.

Q: It has been specifically said that the Kerala Communist Government has been interfering with administration, it has been transferring police officers, magistrates, etc. Has the Centre cared to investigate this charge either through the Governor or through some other machinery so that the public may know the truth?

JN: Yes. It is not a question of investigation. Whenever such charges have come, we ask the Kerala Government about them, and that process is done from time to time. They send their replies, which may or may not be satisfactory. I personally have a feeling that some of these charges have not been adequately explained by the Kerala Government.

Q: You got the report about the Kerala events from the Governor<sup>9</sup> of that State. Could you tell us, in some precise terms, how the events that have taken place in Kerala are different from such happenings in other States where Congress Governments have been ruling, and respect for human life has not been as much as in other civilised countries?

JN: I do not know where the Governor of Kerala comes into this picture.

Q: When the students in Kerala were being fired at, almost concurrently the students in Lucknow were being fired upon.<sup>10</sup> We want to know what is the basic difference between the chain of events in the two States.

JN: I said, I do not know why you have brought in the Governor of Kerala.

Q: I have brought in the peaceful approach to problems.

JN: How does the Governor of Kerala come into the picture?

9. B. Ramakrishna Rao.

10. See *ante*, pp. 369-370.



Q: You have got a first-hand report, which we have not got.

JN: The poor Governor of Kerala was not in Kerala all this time.

Q: You have got other sources of information.

JN: I have got plenty of sources of information; I have got excellent information about things.

Q: You said that there is a sense of insecurity in Kerala. Is it your view that for this sense of insecurity the Communist Government alone is responsible?

Q: I would add to it. Perhaps you may be aware that since the announcement of the land legislation and also the enforcement of the Agriculture Minimum Wage Act there have been a number of murders of peasants. Is it the peasants' organisations murdering the peasants?

JN: Unless you tell me something about the incidents, I cannot tell you. All kinds of people are there, some may behave well and some may behave badly but one sees certain dominant trend, and that is why I told you about this dominant trend there, which is different, I believe, from other places. My friend talked about firing. Now firing is a pretty bad thing. But, if I may say so, firing is the least of the bad things. We get excited about it. For my part, there should not be any firing whatever happens. Almost whatever happens I will qualify slightly. In fact, I have come to the conclusion that the police should not have firearms at all on them. The armed police may, but the normal police should not have firearms. I do not blame the police as a rule, for firing, although it may be very regrettable, because half a dozen are hemmed in by crowds, they are frightened out of their lives and they fire and then there is a tremendous hoo-ha about it. I do not blame these policemen. I do blame the people responsible for that situation to be created, in which this happens. That is quite a different matter. But I have begun to feel that firing is essentially bad in regard to its consequences. The policemen should not have firearms at all so that this contingency does not arise.

Q: The police might be killed.

JN: There is that danger. But they might be killed when they fire too, they will probably be killed. They have to take the risk. I used the word almost because

there are certain contingencies, when I cannot rule out firing completely. But in normal demonstrations and the like, I would deal with the situation differently if I was on the spot.

Q: About these developments in Kerala, do you think they have any relation with the Chief Minister's earlier statements<sup>11</sup> and subsequently by the Communist Party General Secretary<sup>12</sup> about defending their own Government by people's committee?

JN: They may have some connection. I think there is a very radical difference between the police or some local authority behaving badly or losing its head, resulting in some wrong action and a policy which leads inevitably to certain results.

Q: Many people in Kerala think that an immediate visit by you to that place as Prime Minister will be very helpful to the people of Kerala.

JN: May be, but I do not think that will be right. I do not think that will help in the long run, my dashing about from place to place, and, no doubt, my being exploited by one group against another. I do not want that to happen. In a situation of this kind, I do not think that will be right at all. If my visit will be helpful, I can go in the future whenever it may be so.

I have no anti-communist feeling at all, in the sense of a cold war I mean. I have only a pro-India feeling. But if a communist or an anti-communist comes in the way, well I have to face him, and I have to struggle against him, anti-communist. I was thinking of communism as such, an economic theory. I have no anti-anybody feeling. I dislike these anti-feelings. I am a positive person, not a negative one.

Q: Is it your view that this sense of insecurity in Kerala is created by one party alone?

11. Five persons were killed in a clash between volunteers of a communist jatha and a group of persons stated to be non-communists at Varandarappilly in Trichur on 26 July 1958. Chief Minister E.M.S. Namboodiripad told the State Congress leaders that "if they are sincere in their desire to see that peace is maintained in our State, they should not resort to this tactic of closing their eyes to the actual hooliganism resorted to by their own followers and repenting their charge about communist violence."

12. Ajoy Kumar Ghosh.



JN: I should say so, largely. Of course, other parties may by their activities add to it. That is, other parties may either submit to things as they are, or if they do not submit, naturally there is conflict. I dislike, sometimes, when I see the speeches of other parties in Kerala. I don't like the tone or the content of their speeches. That is a different matter. I am personally opposed to students' agitations whether they are in Kerala or Lucknow, or anywhere of this type, regardless of the merits of the question. The merits should be inquired into, but this type of agitation seems to be completely wrong. I am not for the moment passing any opinion, when people begin to feel that they cannot get protection from the police, or from organised authority, then the very plank on which a person seeks to save himself from drowning goes. When people who commit crimes are not proceeded against, or are let off or prosecutions are withdrawn, it may affect only a relatively few persons, but it creates a certain feeling of insecurity and fear on one side and a certain feeling of licence on the other; it is a bad thing. I do not think that whatever the failings of Congress or Governments may have been, in regard to policies or programmes, that particular type of thing has happened. And individual Minister may fail, may show partiality, that is a different matter, but not a Government following a certain policy. In Kerala, the Congress is certainly a major party in the Opposition, but there are a number of other parties, some nowhere near the Congress. Even they have been tremendously upset by all these things.

Q: A visit by you was suggested not to inquire into the charges and counter-charges of political parties, but to remove the sense of insecurity to which you yourself made a reference.

Q: A charge has been made that the Communist Government have been indoctrinating the students by introducing in the textbooks something about the Communist revolution in China or Russia but nothing about the Indian revolution. The Communists there have said that they are willing to abide by the judgement of Dr Radhakrishnan if the Government of India agreed.

JN: I have seen the charge, I have not seen the books, nor did I know about this.

Q: Although you have diplomatic relations with Israel for, I think, two or three years, you have not exchanged any diplomatic representatives on an embassy or any other level. Is there any special intention in this attitude or is it just a chance?

JN: This attitude was adopted after a careful consideration of a balance of factors. It is not a matter of high principle, but it is based on how we could best serve and be helpful in that area. We should like this problem to be settled peacefully between Israel and the Arab countries. In the balance, and after careful thought, we felt that while recognising Israel as an entity, we need not at this stage exchange diplomatic personnel. As I said, it is not a matter of principle, and it is not a matter on which two opinions cannot be held. That, in the balance, is the decision we arrived at, and we still think it is a correct decision.

Q: What do you say about the Indo-Pakistan border incidents?

JN: I do not know what to say about border incidents. Well, they happen from time to time. They are very irritating, very objectionable, sometimes mischievous, and we deal with them quietly, as a rule. The recent one was on the Tripura border and the border has been closed suddenly. Of course it is not merely a border incident, but it causes enormous upsets to passengers, traffic, everything going to Tripura and I think it is totally unjustifiable. It is just an attempt to show that they can create upsets and trouble. But that is not the way a great country behaves. I do not know how to characterise it.<sup>13</sup>

Q: Are they all isolated incidents or is there something more about them?

JN: I cannot say what is isolated and what is not. I suppose they must have got some encouragement. Otherwise they would not occur.

Q: For the last four months, it has been continuously happening; they go on in the east or in the west.

Q: Are you aware of Pakistan's complaints about the incidents on their border?

JN: I am aware of their statements. You see our border is partly demarcated and partly not. We came to the conclusion that these should be demarcated. It is a laborious process because every yard of it has to be measured with various instruments and all that. Several hundred miles have been demarcated, but I do not know how much remains.

13. See *ante*, pp. 427-431 and 512-525.



Now, when this demarcation started, we came to an agreement that any exchange of territories, following demarcation the small bits on the border I mean, should take place simultaneously. Some small bits of territory which, according to the demarcation, should go to Pakistan are in India's possession, and some parts of the territory, which should come to India, are in Pakistan's possession, and the demarcation process is going on.

Now, as I told you, it was decided that these transfers should take place when this demarcation was finished, on both sides simultaneously.<sup>14</sup> Pakistan has done two things: one is, where a piece of territory of very small patches are likely to go to them as a result of demarcation, they want to occupy them forcibly now, before the formal transfers on both sides, which we object to, which is a unilateral way of doing it. Second, in some places they have occupied territory which they have no right to even from that point of view. Of course they make various claims that India is adopting aggressive tactics. I do not think they are correct in that.

Q: A deputation of citizens met you in regard to the Banaras Hindu University. There seems to be discontent about the report being one sided. Do you think that the standards in the Banaras Hindu University will improve simply by changing the court and nominating an outside committee?

JN: The Commission that was appointed to enquire into the Banaras Hindu University matters was of the highest standing and quality, with some of the leading educationists who have all along been opposed to State interference in university matters being in it. They stood for autonomy. When such a Commission presents the report which they did, there was no choice left for the Government but to accept their recommendations as a whole.<sup>15</sup>

Q: But do you think that by excluding people of eastern Uttar Pradesh from the Banaras Hindu University, either students or teachers.....

JN: Who is excluding people?

Q: That is what they say that you must not get a large number of students from eastern Uttar Pradesh.

14. As decided in the Bagge Tribunal, formally known as Indo-Pakistan Boundary Disputes Tribunal.

15. See *ante*, pp. 198-205.

JN: What they said was—I am only quoting from memory—that a certain group or clique from eastern Uttar Pradesh had dominated the affairs of this national university. Eastern Uttar Pradesh is a very fine part of Uttar Pradesh and India.

Q: The words “Hindus” and “Muslim” from the names “Banaras Hindu University” and “Aligarh Muslim University” should be dropped.

JN: I am in entire agreement with you. As a matter of fact, about six or seven years ago, Maulana Azad actually sponsored a Bill to that effect. But there was so much outcry against it that he withdrew it, both in Banaras and in Aligarh, more in Banaras, I believe, than in Aligarh, but both, I think, are anomalous. It is not quite in keeping with the times to keep these names.

Q: Then the name of the paper *Hindu* will also go away?

Q: It seems to me that we have escaped a world war by a hair's breadth. I may be wrong, but sitting in Delhi, that is my impression. Now, I do not know whether we can be lucky again. The point is, do you think that the leaders of the world, the Big Powers as they are called, are at all anxious to take steps to prevent such things recurring, and if they are, do you think that there is any hope that we shall ever come to the end of this fear and pride?

JN: I think it is true that during the last three weeks, the earlier part especially, we were very near a world war. We escaped it, and it is always possible for such situations to recur. It is possible that if they recur we may escape a war still, but if they go on recurring, it is at least possible that we may not escape once. And once is enough; we do not come back after that. I am quite sure that there is no responsible leader of any country, and certainly no people of any country, that wants a war. You might say that some react more strongly than others against the idea of war. But nobody wants a war, because every intelligent person knows the consequences. But so great is the atmosphere of fear created by this cold war that everyone has to remain on his toes; you might say that every country involved in the cold war has to remain on its toes all the time lest the other party may do something unawares. It is an exhausting process for the mind, and psychologically for the country, and that is really more dangerous, because that may lead at any time to some kind of an incident which leads to a conflict. I cannot answer that question any more than that.



Q: Do you believe that in order to maintain peace in West Asia, the West Asian countries should have peace with Israel?

JN: I just said that I hoped that, some time or other, some peaceful settlement will be arrived at between the Arab countries and Israel. I do not indicate what the terms of that settlement may be, but obviously that involves the continuation of Israel, and the acceptance of Israel by the Arab countries and other countries round about. In fact, any conflict between them will also have the possibility of extension becoming a world affair, as every conflict like that may well have.

Q: Do you foresee the possibility, immediate or in the near future, of these great men getting together to settle things?

JN: That is sheer guess work. I think there is some possibility that they may get together or circumstances may drive them to that. There certainly is a possibility.

Q: The Home Minister in a recent speech at Gauhati said that if Pakistan did not behave, we will have to demonstrate our strength and this statement has been objected to by Pakistan leaders. Do you have any comments to offer on this?<sup>16</sup>

JN: What the Home Minister said is not before me, the context, etc. That depends always on the context. The Home Minister, as the correspondent, no doubt knows, is one of the most peaceful persons, far more peaceful than I am.

Q: Is the faulty construction of the multi-storeyed and other buildings in Delhi responsible for the recent floods?

JN: It is surprising that there are so many buildings still above water. The most extraordinary thing that has come to my mind for the first time is that no really proper contour map of the surroundings of Delhi has been prepared at any time, to my knowledge. It is now being done. Of course, there are bits of contour maps, but there is really no complete contour map, with the result that in putting up our big colonies and big buildings, people did not quite realise what the contours up and down of Delhi are. It does not speak well of course of those responsible.<sup>17</sup>

16. See *ante*, p. 517.

17. See also *ante*, pp. 314-317.

Q: Is there any scope for any Indian State seceding from the Centre and calling for international intervention?

JN: Are you talking in terms of the Constitution or otherwise?

Q: Both.

JN: The answer from both points of view is a very definite 'no'.

Q: Is there any possibility that the Russian Prime Minister, Mr Khrushchev, will pay a surprise visit to Delhi.

JN: If it is a surprise visit, as the one to Peking, you would not know.





## LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS





1

New Delhi  
July 13, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

My fortnightly letter to you today will be a brief one, but I am attaching to it a note which is for the present incomplete.<sup>2</sup> I may add to it later. It represents really some kind of loud thinking on my part and an attempt to clarify my own mind. I am venturing to share this with you.

2. More and more I have a feeling in international affairs that logic and reason have been pushed out by some kind of madness which is continually driving the world into dangerous directions. In spite of the abundance of goodwill and desire for peace that people in all countries possess, they are being driven to the brink of the precipice. Nearly all of us shout at each other and one country or group condemns the other, although it is obvious that this cannot lead to any peace or relief from the present tensions. Disarmament, so vitally necessary, seems a dream which has no reality.

3. In the Lebanon, a curious situation has arisen and is continuing. There can be little doubt that some kind of a civil war is raging there, a war in which the regular army has played little part thus far. There is still talk of intervention which, if it takes place, will inevitably lead to the most dangerous consequences. Also, such intervention will mean a conflict with the majority of the Lebanese people and an attempt to suppress them. The United Nations Force of Observers and Secretary General Hammarskjöld have undoubtedly played a very helpful part in preventing dangerous developments. How far they will succeed in this, I cannot say.

4. In India, apart from the other great problems that face us, we are at the mercy of nature, that is, the rains. They have come in a large part of the country, but some of the drought-affected areas in Bihar, UP and some other places are still without rain. If adequate rain does not come within the next few days, we shall have to face a great disaster.

1. File No. 25(30)/58-PMS. These letters have also been printed in G. Parthasarathi (ed.) *Jawaharlal Nehru: Letters to Chief Ministers 1947-1964*, Vol. 5 (New Delhi, 1989), pp. 78-79, 97-105.

2. For this note, see *ante*, pp. 3-11.



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

5. Some little time ago, the Prime Minister of Pakistan delivered a speech which was somewhat unusual for him.<sup>3</sup> He talked in terms of peace with India and ruled out war. We welcome this. But his words have been belied by repeated attempts at aggression on the Indo-Pakistan border in the East. The actual incidents there cannot be considered major, but this tendency is a dangerous one and, obviously, we cannot supinely watch these incursions. We have to take steps to prevent them.

6. For the rest, I leave you to the note attached.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

3. Prime Minister Firoz Khan Noon of Pakistan said at a press conference in Karachi on 13 July 1958 that his Government was determined to prevent the crossing of the ceasefire line by the volunteers of the Kashmir liberation movement. Earlier on 6 June, the Associated Press of Pakistan had reported that over a hundred people from 'Azad Kashmir' had planned to cross the ceasefire line in July at various points "to join the forces of liberation on the other side."

## II

New Delhi  
July 26, 1958

My dear Chief Minister,

Twelve days ago, an event took place which, with the suddenness of an earthquake, shook the world and surprised the complacent chancelleries of the Western world. This was the *coup d'état* in Baghdad.<sup>1</sup> Thirty-six hours later, the United States troops landed in Beirut,<sup>2</sup> and after another two days troops from the United Kingdom flew into Jordan.<sup>3</sup> Other events followed in quick

1. See *ante*, p. 461.

2. See *ante*, p. 483.

3. See *ante*, p. 462.

succession—Soviet manoeuvres on the Turkish border,<sup>4</sup> Turkish manoeuvres,<sup>5</sup> Bulgarian manoeuvres.<sup>6</sup> A world which had grown rather blasé about crises realised that it was on the verge of war. It was the season when Great Wars began. Both the First World War and the Second World War began early in August and were preceded by events which took place in July. Why these months should be associated with the beginning of war, I do not know.

2. During the past ten days, we have lived on the verge of catastrophe. There appears to be some toning down of this tension now and we do not go to bed fearing the dreaded possibility of war breaking out in the course of the night. But this apparent improvement has little hope or promise of peace and the situation remains at danger point.

3. What happened in Iraq was, by itself, by no means surprising. Everyone with any knowledge of that country knew that the regime there, and more especially the Prime Minister, Nuri el-Said, were very unpopular. Some people described Nuri Pasha as one of the most hated men in Iraq. Yet he had given the impression of being solidly in the saddle and no one dared to take a step against him.<sup>7</sup> He was probably the chief architect of the Baghdad Pact and it was to a meeting of the Baghdad Pact in Ankara that he and his young King were preparing to go.<sup>8</sup> The collapse of the regime was not merely a local event; it was the collapse of the policies of the Western Powers in the Middle East. It was a triumph for Arab nationalism and the policy pursued by President Nasser. It was incidentally also to the advantage of the Soviet Union. And behind all this lay the empire of oil which had so long been securely controlled by some of the Western Powers.

4. The shock was great and possibly, without thinking out the consequences, it was felt in the United States and in the United Kingdom that

4. From 17 July to 7 August 1958, the Soviet Army and Navy carried out large-scale manoeuvres in the Black Sea, Transcaucasian and Turkmenistan military districts bordering the Turkish and Iranian frontiers.
5. On 19 July 1958, the Government of Iraq took strong exception to the movements of the Turkish army across its borders and five days later the Soviet Government warned Turkey "against any aggression in Iraq."
6. Joint Soviet-Bulgarian military manoeuvres along the Bulgarian-Yugoslav and Greek-Turkish borders were reported by Greek intelligence sources on 18 July 1958.
7. Nuri el-Said was the Prime Minister of Iraq five times between 1930 and 1957. In February 1958, he became Prime Minister of the Arab Federation of Iraq and Jordan. He became quite unpopular due to his anti-Arab and pro-West policies. He had banned all opposition parties in 1953 and imposed press censorship.
8. The meeting was scheduled to be held in Istanbul from 14 to 17 July 1958 but due to the coup in Iraq the venue was shifted to Ankara.



something had to be done to stop this rot, or else everything would go in the Middle East and so the American forces were sent to Lebanon, when the situation in Lebanon was slowly improving, and, soon after, British forces landed in Jordan. Probably there was a definite danger of a *coup* in Jordan because the King<sup>9</sup> and the Government there are also neither popular nor secure. What was the purpose behind these military moves? Partly just to show that they were not going to watch this kind of thing supinely and were prepared even for a major conflict if their vital interests were threatened; partly to save what they could; partly, I think, that it might become necessary to attack the new regime in Iraq. It may have been expected that there would be trouble in Iraq and the new revolutionary regime would have to face a counter-revolution. There was King Hussein of Jordan claiming to be the legitimate Head of the Union of Iraq and Jordan and so, if there was any trouble in Iraq itself, there could be intervention at the request of the legitimate Head.

5. But there was no trouble in Iraq and this great change passed off quietly, apart from the unfortunate tragedy at the beginning. The new Government of Iraq also behaved with extraordinary tact and wisdom and gave no chance at all to any other power to intervene.

6. So now the American forces sit in Lebanon and the British forces in Jordan, not knowing what to do and yet feeling that they cannot sit there indefinitely. There is always danger of the American forces coming into conflict with the opposition in Lebanon. President Chamoun and his supporters, at whose invitation the American forces went there, are now much weaker than they were previously because the people of Lebanon react strongly against foreign armies on their soil. If the Americans withdraw, then what happens to President Chamoun? So also, if the British withdraw from Jordan, what happens to King Hussein? So, the result of these foreign forces arriving there has been the very opposite of the one intended.

7. A period has ended in Western Asia and the countries that are really on trial are not so much the countries of that region, but the United States and the United Kingdom. They have great forces at their disposal, but it is clear now that one cannot win a people by armed might; one cannot even win oil in this way. All one can do is to destroy through war.

8. Mr Khrushchev issued a warning that war might come. He proposed a high-level meeting within two or three days and especially mentioned India in

9. King Hussein of Jordan had dismissed the liberal and pro-Arab Government in April 1957 and abrogated the Jordanian Constitution. In February 1958 he formed an Arab Federation with Iraq to counter the growing strength and popularity of the United Arab Republic under Nasser.

this connection. Since then, move and counter-move have taken place, and I do not yet know if there will be such a meeting. Probably, it will take place, as public opinion generally demands it. But it is clear that some of the Governments concerned are not enthusiastic about it. As I write to you, I do not know where and when this meeting will take place. In accordance with our policy, when Mr Khrushchev mentioned India, I replied to him that if our services are needed in the cause of peace and if the parties concerned wish our presence, we shall attend. But, obviously, I cannot give a definite answer till I know more precisely what the conditions are under which we might be invited.<sup>10</sup> So, we await developments. It is conceivable that I might have to go either to Geneva or to New York for this purpose. I am rather reluctant to leave India at this stage, but I cannot refuse to go if India is invited under proper conditions.

9. Behind all this lies oil. We must recognise the need of Western Europe for oil, and if that oil was denied, I have little doubt that war would take place. On the other hand, it is no longer possible to guarantee the supply of oil by threats of the use of armed force. I am sure that Iraq or Kuwait will gladly continue to supply the oil and profit by the transaction. But if war came, the first result will be the cutting off of oil supplies or even the destruction of the refineries and pipelines.

10. With my last fortnightly letter to you, I sent you a note which was an attempt on my part of thinking aloud. Naturally, my mind, as probably yours also, is full of our problems and the difficulties that we face. We may talk bravely on the international plane, but unless we make good in our own country, we can do little good elsewhere. Above all, I feel convinced that we must think clearly. Perhaps, one good result of the various internal crises that we have gone through or that face us today, is the compulsion to think about these matters, though I am not quite sure if many people yield to that compulsion.

11. In a recent article<sup>11</sup> by Professor Galbraith<sup>12</sup> of the Harvard University of the United States, there is an interesting discussion on rival economic theories in India. He points out how India's problems, or indeed the problems of any of the underdeveloped countries in Asia, are rather unique and can neither be solved by what is called the Western capitalist approach nor the Russian communist approach, though much may be learnt from both. He says that to talk in India of the virtues of capitalism, classical or modern, is to make little or no contact with the realities of Indian economic life. He points out that the

10. On 20 July 1958. See *ante*, pp. 482-483.

11. "Rival economic theories in India", published in *Foreign Affairs*, July 1958.

12. Professor of Economics, Harvard University, at this time.



phrase "people's capitalism" which is sometimes used in the United States is singularly inapplicable to India, whatever its virtue might be in the United States. He points out also, of course, how many of the communist approaches to these problems are equally unrealistic. In fact, India and countries like India have to develop their economic theory themselves keeping in close touch with the realities of the situation.

12. The reality in India is the peasant and the vast domain of underdeveloped agriculture and, at the same time, the growth of population which comes in the way of building up any surplus for investment. The Soviet Union, at tremendous cost in human misery, certainly succeeded in building up a great structure of heavy industry. But, even so, their success in agriculture was strictly limited. But, in any event, comparison of the Soviet Union with India in regard to agriculture brings out the great contrast between the two countries. The Soviet Union had a much smaller population and vast undeveloped areas, unused resources and virgin land. India has no such areas of land to develop, except some patches here and there.

13. Failure on the agricultural front in India<sup>13</sup> or in China has, therefore, far-reaching consequences, apart from its coming in the way of industrial advance. Thus, we come back to the vital importance of improving our agricultural yield at a rapid pace. There is no other way. It is only then that we advance on the industrial front and, at the same time, leave a margin for slowly increasing standards among our peasants. On the success of this, depends our entire future. The best way to tackle the agricultural front in India is through the community development scheme, provided that scheme is based on the people, and not on a few officials at the top. It is only when the people in the villages, through their panchayats and village cooperatives, feel that they are in charge and are going to profit by what they do, that we will move with some rapidity.

14. We face grave difficulties in regard to our foreign exchange, and we are making every effort to tide over them by credits or loans from abroad.<sup>14</sup> That is inevitable in present circumstances. But, we have to remember that we cannot live on credits or on help from others, unless we make good ourselves, more particularly in agricultural production.

13. Agriculture production in India fell from 68.03 million tons in 1956-57 to 62.23 million tons in 1957-58.

14. Sterling reserves declined by about Rs 5 crores per week from April 1958 compared to Rs 2 crores a week earlier. The US Government was approached for a grant of an additional \$300 million in aid to India in 1958, followed by \$600 million in the next year.

## LETTERS TO CHIEF MINISTERS

15. I saw today in a village, near Delhi,<sup>15</sup> something that may well have a far-reaching significance for India. This was an experiment, on behalf of the Ford Foundation, of using bullock-powered appliances for pumping water from wells, for electricity in the village and for a small factory. All this depends upon a new type of machine that has been especially invented for use in India with bullocks. We saw this machine functioning and pumping water from a well in considerable quantities. We saw also electric lighting. I do not yet know the economics of this, and these will have to be worked out carefully but the idea of using bullock power in this way is exciting, and if it is successful, then indeed we can bring about some kind of a revolution in our villages.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

15. Nehru visited Khanpur village near Delhi on 25 July 1958 to see a new experiment of generating power through bullock-powered generator developed by American experts.











## I. GENERAL

1. To S.S. Khera<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 1, 1958

My dear Khera,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for the information you have sent me about some of your mountain treks.<sup>3</sup>

Number 2 in your list refers to your having gone from near the top of the Zojila over Amarnath shoulder into the head of the valley above the cave. As a matter of fact, I attempted to do this in 1916. I do not know if the route was the same as the one suggested by you. I was at Matayan, the first stage from Zojila. Being told that the Amarnath cave was just on the other side of the mountain, I decided to make an attempt to get there. As a matter of fact I got to the top of the mountain. But the weather was bad and, in trying to jump over a crevice, I slipped and was pulled out by rope. As there were many other crevices like this and it was snowing which partly covered up some of these crevices, we thought that discretion was the better part of valour and returned. We had, I think, been more than three-fourths of the distance to Amarnath when we turned back.<sup>4</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Secretary in the Ministry of Steel, Mines and Fuel and President, Indian Mountaineering Federation.
3. While writing about his treks in the Himalayas, Khera mentioned that these had been done on short spells of leave. Being "a firm adherent of the '*gur* and *sattu*' school" these trips cost him little. Some mountaineers prefer to carry *gur* (jaggery) and *sattoo* (powdered roasted pulses and cereals) which make for an easy-to-carry, nutritious meal.
4. Nehru has described this incident of 1916 in his *Autobiography* on pp. 37-39.



## 2. To Takashi Yoshizaki<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 3, 1958

Dear Takashi Yoshizaki,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of June 28th which I have just received. I am glad to hear from you and the other boys of your Correspondence Club at Hiroshima. I quite agree with you that the atomic and hydrogen bomb tests which take place from time to time, are very bad and injurious. We should try to induce the Great Powers to stop them. Indeed I would hope that the manufacture of such terrible weapons should also be stopped.

I well remember my visit to Hiroshima which was a symbol both of terrible destruction and also of hope because, inspite of the disaster that had befallen them, the people of Hiroshima built themselves again a great city.<sup>3</sup>

With all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. A student from Hiroshima, Japan.

3. For Nehru's speech at Hiroshima, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 583-585.

### 3. To T.H. Mody<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 4, 1958

Dear Shri Mody,<sup>2</sup>

Our Commissioner at Nairobi<sup>3</sup> has sent us your letter addressed to him, of the 5th June 1958, and a draft for Rs 1,325. This sum, I understand, has been collected by the teachers and pupils of your school for the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund here.

I am very happy to receive this sum, more especially as it has been collected chiefly by the children of the school. Please convey my thanks to them and give them my blessings and good wishes.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. T.H. Mody was the Headmaster of Madhvaninagar Indian School at Kakira in Uganda.
3. I. J. Bahadur Singh.

### 4. To Bhupesh Gupta<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1958

Dear Bhupesh Gupta,<sup>2</sup>

I have your letter of July 3rd in which you have written to me about Dr Amiya Banerjea.

This case had previously been referred to me, and I had then gone into it with some care. However, on receipt of your letter, I have looked into the facts again and consulted the Minister concerned, Shri Humayun Kabir.<sup>3</sup>

It is not our practice to penalise any person for holding political opinions. In the present case, however, we had to deal with something which distressed us and which we could not ignore.

1. JN Collection.
2. CPI Member of the Rajya Sabha, West Bengal.
3. Minister of State for Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs.



Dr Amiya Banerjea was arrested at Darjeeling on the 23rd January 1950 along with an absconder and detained in prison till the 23rd March 1951. He gave a false declaration at the time, stating apparently that he was not a member of the Communist Party, although in fact he was such a member and was indeed actively associated with it. It was this false declaration that chiefly led to the decision taken against him. He was also at the time actively associated with political work, although he denied this.

Shri Humayun Kabir met Dr Banerjea last month and I believe he met you also. He explained the position to you. He further made it clear that Dr Banerjea was not being dismissed but his services were being terminated. It would thus be possible for him, if occasion arose, to apply again for some work. I gather from Shri Humayun Kabir that Dr Banerjea was more or less satisfied with the position as explained to him.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

## 5. Maulana Azad: A Symbol of Composite Culture<sup>1</sup>

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad's death earlier this year produced a tremendous impact on the minds of the people of India and even in many other countries. Some glimpse of this could be had that day in Delhi when the people of Delhi in hundreds of thousands came to pay their respects to him.

We take many things for granted when we get used to them. We take many of our compatriots also for granted. It is only when such a person suddenly passes away that we realise what his life as well as his death meant to us. Maulana Azad was one of the persons who had grown through more than half a century with the national movement of India. He had seen and participated in its varying phases, its struggles and its failures, its triumphs and its accomplishment, an intimate part of it and one who moulded it to a considerable extent; yet he remained the scholar and the individualist, a rather isolated figure in the crowd of Indian humanity. His leadership of the national movement through all these long years would itself have given him a high and abiding place in our nation's history.

1. Message sent to the Urdu monthly *Aajkal* for its "Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Number," New Delhi, 5 July 1958. File No. F-9/2/58- PMS. Also available in PIB files.

To these he added a rare scholarship and a mind of an amazing keenness which refused to be swept away by gusts of passion or prejudice. Above all, he became a symbol of something which represented the manifold culture of India influenced by the many currents that had come from abroad and enriched it.

In some ways he was essentially modern in his thinking. In other ways, he was steeped in the past and reflected the thinking of what are called the ages of enlightenment. Altogether he was a very remarkable person who brought high distinction to the cause he served throughout his life and he brought it in a way which none other can emulate. The old order passes and we cannot repeat what has been, but we can learn from it and so we can learn a great lesson from Maulana Azad's life and his teaching even as we cherish his memory.

## 6. To Sital Parshad Jasmine<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1958

Dear Sital Parshad,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of July 4th. I appreciate your sentiments. There is no doubt that practically everybody in our country is opposed to nuclear tests. This does not require any demonstration.

But, if our voice is to prevail in international matters, we should build up our own country. It is only then that we can speak with some authority.

Should you and your colleagues wish to see me, I shall gladly meet you. You can see me at 12.00 on the 14th July in my office in External Affairs.<sup>3</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. A resident of Gurgaon.

3. A delegation of students from Gurgaon apprised Nehru on 14 July 1958 about their movement to end nuclear tests. According to the newspaper reports, an appeal, written by 500 students in blood and sent to Eisenhower and Harold Macmillan through the US Ambassador and UK High Commissioner in Delhi, expressed the sentiments: "Save this planet from becoming the grave of man. Banish these demons of death from this planet." Nehru asked them to devote their energies towards building up their nation, fighting communalism and uplifting the people.



## 7. To K.P.S. Menon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
8th July, 1958

My dear K.P.S.,<sup>2</sup>

I wrote to you two or three days ago and sent you a copy of a telegram I had received from some place in the Soviet Union. This telegram invited me to the birthday of my god-daughter, Tanya, on the 3rd August. I repeat the telegram below:-

“ LESNOE

3.7.1958

Jawaharlal Nehru,  
Prime Minister,  
New Delhi

Highly respected Nehru I invite you on the birthday of your god-daughter Tanya on the 3rd August this year. Please inform me—Soviet Union, Kalinin Oblast, Lesnoe, Goncharov Ignat Semenovich.”

In my last letter to you I requested you to send something on my behalf to this little girl.<sup>3</sup> I am now arranging to send you by air freight the following three articles:-

- (1) A little padded elephant;
- (2) A figure of man (I think this is supposed to be Shivaji);
- (3) A small hand-woven skirt.

Would you please have these articles sent to Tanya? The address is given in the telegram which I am quoting above.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. India's Ambassador to the USSR.

3. In an earlier letter on 4 July, Nehru had asked Menon to arrange to send something for the little Russian girl Tanya, apart from the gifts that he would be sending.

## 8. Message to the International Air Transport Association<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that the next Annual General Meeting of the International Air Transport Association is going to be held in New Delhi.<sup>2</sup> We shall be happy to welcome the delegates who come here, bringing with them the breath of the new world of the air which is already enveloping our globe. Soon, it may be that humanity will be launched on the next stage of the great adventure of travelling far beyond the earth on which we live.

Air travel, and all that goes with it, has introduced a new dimension in our lives and in our thinking. It has made the world closely knit, even though political differences separate. It has made all of us each other's neighbours. This has its advantages and disadvantages. While it should inevitably lead to a greater understanding and a closer cooperation among nations, it leads also in the present to the possibility of greater conflicts. I hope that air travel will help to lessen the barriers and tensions that separate different nations and thus lead to an era of peaceful cooperation.

1. New Delhi, 13 July 1958. File No. F9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The 14th annual general meeting of the International Air Transport Association was held in New Delhi from 27 to 31 October 1958.

## 9. To Ronald Bannon<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 20, 1958

Dear Ronald Bannon,<sup>2</sup>

I am happy to receive the letter which you and three other children have sent me and I am delighted to receive the six koala bears. I shall pass on these bears to children here and tell them that they have come from children in far off Australia. I am sure they will be delighted to have them and this will make them think of you and Australia.

I send you all my good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Bannon was a youngster from South Australia.



## 10. Dearness Allowance for Anand Bhawan's Staff<sup>1</sup>

I have been feeling for some time past that many of our old servants in Allahabad with large families are having a hard time because of the rise in prices. In fact, it was because of this that I give them occasionally a full month's salary as bonus. This time, again, there was a deputation to me from all of them and I felt that I should raise their salary. I should like to err on that side rather than on the other. Therefore, I told Munshi<sup>2</sup> that the salary of the working employees should be raised by Rs 10. I gave him a paper to this effect. I think you better get that paper or a copy of it. Some additions were made to the pensions too. But I forget what they were. They were not at the rate of Rs 10 and at least one of them the wife of Abul Hasan,<sup>3</sup> got no increment.

Please, therefore, get this paper from Munshiji.

I am inclined to think that it would be better to describe this increment to salaries as a Dearness Allowance.

I did not know about Kishori Lal's<sup>4</sup> refusal to go to the blind school. It is very foolish of him.

1. Note to M.O. Mathai, 20 July 1958. JN Collection.

2. Munshi Kanhaiyya Lal (1904-1983); worked in the AICC office at Swaraj Bhawan, Allahabad, 1937-48; imprisoned during the Quit India movement for three months; was on the staff of Kamala Nehru Hospital, Swaraj Bhawan and Anand Bhawan.

3 & 4. Old retainers of Anand Bhawan.

## 11. To Govind Ballabh Pant<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

July 21, 1958

My dear Pantji,

You will remember the case of P.N. Kaul who was sentenced to five years imprisonment in one of the Insurance cases. As you know, he has been very ill. He spent 21 days under oxygen in the hospital. Again he had to go under oxygen. He has had several attacks of coronary thrombosis. He is nearly blind. He has had hemorrhages all over his body. His wife died last year broken hearted. He is now 63 or 64 years of age. I think he has served about two years in prison. He is at present on parole which will expire on the 30th September.

1. JN Collection.

The question had arisen previously as to whether we cannot discharge him because of his illness from which he is hardly likely to survive. At that time it was said that this may be difficult, but he would be given parole which can be extended from time to time. He is at present in the Ganga Ram Hospital. I have again received a piteous appeal on his behalf. There is a possibility of his being sent to Europe for treatment. Some of his friends wish to arrange this. Personally I doubt if he can survive. He may carry on for a little while longer. His daughter is looking after him.<sup>2</sup>

I am told that a third case has been started against him. This is on the civil side though apparently for the same offences for which he has been punished twice previously. I do not quite know what this is, but it does seem a bit too much to pursue a man in this way when not only has he been punished but he is practically on his death bed.

Can we not do anything in this matter? That is, not only about this third case, but in effect let him go and have himself treated elsewhere if he so wants.

Yours affectionately,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

2. In March 1958, P. N. Kaul's daughter Vimla Kaul had sent a petition praying for the remission of the remaining period of imprisonment that P. N. Kaul, who was on parole till 16 March 1958, had to undergo. Pant informed Nehru on 1 April 1958 that as P. N. Kaul had been convicted by the courts in Bombay, only the Bombay Government had the power to grant parole or to remit the whole or part of the sentence. Pant made the necessary reference and telephonic consultations with the Home Secretary, Bombay, who agreed to an immediate extension of parole by one month and gave assurance for its further extension. Pant wrote that "I trust that even if sentences are not remitted the parole will be extended as long as necessary." Pant further emphasised that the authority to remit the sentences was vested in the Governor of Bombay and not in the President. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, p. 188.



## 12. To Edwina Mountbatten<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1958

Dear Edwina,

I am writing to you about the programme of the Harewoods.<sup>2</sup> I understand that a tentative programme has been sent to you by J.K. Atal<sup>3</sup> with his letter dated the 17th July. I have just seen this programme. We will make any changes in this that you wish.

I am inclined to think that the extra day in Calcutta can be cut out. Also, it is hardly necessary to go to Mysore from Bangalore. We can thus save two days. Agra has been given practically two full days. Should they so wish it, this can be reduced to one day. It will thus be easily possible for them to go to Chandigarh and also perhaps Bhakra-Nangal.

In Bhakra, the dam has gone up now and, although it is not completed, the big lake has already been formed. From engineering point of view, it is well worth seeing, but I do not know if this would interest the Harewoods.

You will see that Bhubaneswar has been included. From there, Konarak Temple can be visited. I think this should remain as it is. Bhubaneswar itself has some very fine temples.

In Madras, they will visit Mahabalipuram.

Should they so wish it, an extra day can be given to Bombay. Ajanta and Ellora have been given practically two days, which should be ample.

I am enclosing a rather unusual article by an Australian professor. It is rather odd that an Australian should write as he has done. Perhaps, this article might interest you and the Harewoods as they are likely to visit Konarak.

Yours,  
Jawahar

1. JN Collection.

2. The Earl and Countess of Harewood were expected to visit India in October 1958 and would stay at the Rashtrapati Bhavan in Delhi and at the Raj Bhavans in the State Capitals. See also *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 42, pp. 725 and 871.

3. Joint Secretary, MEA, 1957-59.

### 13. To Oscar Ciarlotti<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 31, 1958

Dear Commander Ciarlotti,<sup>2</sup>

Our Ambassador at Buenos Aires<sup>3</sup> has forwarded to me your letter of the 27th June.<sup>4</sup> He has also sent me the typescript of your Spanish translation of part of my book *Glimpses of World History*.

Thank you for your friendly letter. It is difficult for me to reply to it as you have spoken so generously of me.

So far as I know, no translation of *Glimpses of World History* has thus far appeared in the Spanish language. I am, however, trying to make sure of this. I would indeed be happy if this book appeared in Spanish.<sup>5</sup> I admire that language although, I regret to say, I do not know it. But, apart from the language, I would be happy if my book would help me to get more in touch with the people of South America.

I have long wanted to visit the countries of South America. This is partly because I think those countries have a growing part to play in the world, but more so because I feel that there is a certain kinship between India and those

1. JN Collection.

2. Oscar Ciarlotti (b. 1922); Lieutenant Commander, Argentine Navy, 1954; Professor of Antisubmarine warfare in Post Graduate Navy Officers Schools, La Plata, 1958.

3. N. Raghavan while forwarding Ciarlotti's letter wrote to Nehru on 23 July that in translating *Glimpses* Ciarlotti had no financial interests and had "left the matter of publication entirely to us."

4. Oscar Ciarlotti, having admired Nehru for his wisdom, good sense, courage and his knack of explaining complicated and dull facts of history as written in *Glimpses of World History* in a simple and logical way, wrote that "at present nobody could have less vested interests and more general comprehension for the events in this part of the world than yourself." Explaining the reason for the translation of *Glimpses* in Spanish he wrote that he wanted his children to have the privilege of going through his book and asked Nehru to accept his translation "that has no other merit than being written as a study of history." He also asked Nehru to contribute a couple of letters similar to those of *Glimpses* dealing with Argentina, specially during this century, which would be read by his family and himself.

5. Nehru asked his Private Secretary N.K. Seshan on the same day to make sure that no Spanish edition of *Glimpses of World History* had come out so far and to get someone who knew Spanish to go through the translation. Nehru also wrote (not printed) to the Indian Ambassador to Argentina N. Raghavan on 31 July that the usual terms for royalty for the author were ten per cent on the price of the books actually sold.



countries far from us. I hope that I shall be able to pay that visit some time.

You ask me to send you a couple of letters concerning your country during this century. That is a difficult task for me and I would not presume to write about your country to a person who must obviously know far more than I do. Also, as you perhaps know, my writing has almost all been done in prison where I had the leisure to write. I have now got out of the habit of going to prison which perhaps is not too good for me. I can hardly find time to read much, much less to write.

Thanking you again and with all good wishes,

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

#### 14. Foreword to German Edition of 'Glimpses of World History'<sup>1</sup>

I am glad to learn that a second edition of the German version of my book *Glimpses of World History* is likely to come out soon. As an author, naturally, this pleases me. But what is more important is that perhaps this book may help in creating a greater understanding among the people of Germany of India and her people. I value that understanding greatly, and I should like it to grow in both these countries.

Germany, like most other countries, presents many faces to the world. In the early days, India came into contact more especially with that facet of German life which was represented by scholars and orientalists. We were grateful to them for the deep interest they took in our ancient literature and philosophy and the great language in which this was enshrined. We remember these past contacts on the intellectual plane. But the problems of today require in addition a deeper understanding and wider contacts.

I was happy to pay a brief visit to Germany two years ago.<sup>2</sup> That was much too short a visit. But I remember it well because it helped me a little to understand the new Germany that had arisen and the tremendous vitality of her people. I was received by them with affection which moved me.

1. New Delhi, 1 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. Nehru visited West Germany from 13 to 16 July 1956 while on a month-long tour of Europe and West Asia. For details, see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 34, pp. 269-296.

This book was written more than a quarter of a century ago.<sup>3</sup> These years have seen vast changes in the world and in most of us. Reading the book now, I feel almost that it was written by someone else, someone I knew rather well, but yet some different person. That itself is a measure of how I have changed. But it is difficult to look at oneself objectively.

I trust that the readers of this book will bear in mind not only that it was written in prison, away from libraries and books of reference, but also that it was written long ago, and will therefore judge it with some charity. As I said in the preface to the original English edition of this book, I do not claim to be a historian. I wrote for my little daughter<sup>4</sup> who herself has now grown up.

If the youth of Germany find interest in this book and think of India and her people, I shall be happy.

3. *Glimpses of World History* was first published in 1934.

4. Indira Gandhi.

## 15. To K.C. Reddy<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 4, 1958

My dear Reddy,<sup>2</sup>

A day or two ago, you wrote to me about the crown over the canopy of King George's statue near the India Gate. I replied suggesting that you might delay removing this crown.<sup>3</sup> Today, however, I had a good look at this crown. I felt that it was wholly inappropriate and should not be allowed to continue where it is. Also, that it should be fairly easy to remove it. Therefore, you might go ahead and have it removed quietly some night.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Union Minister of Works, Housing and Supply.

3. Nehru replied (not printed) on 2 August that he thought that the task of removing the crown should not be undertaken at this time as a number of international conferences were going to be held.



## 16. To N.G. Ranga<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 12, 1958

My dear Ranga,<sup>2</sup>

I have received your letter of August 12 about the World Association of Parliamentarians for World Government.<sup>3</sup>

I believe that all sensitive persons who try to look ahead a little realise that there will be no final solution of the world's problems except in the closest cooperation between nations and, possibly some evolution of a world authority. Therefore, I accept this as an ideal to be aimed at, though I am by no means sure as to the nature of that world authority.

But there is an initial difficulty. We cannot deal with a world situation by passing a resolution at a conference, nor can we create a World Government in this way. Today we see not only the cult of independent national States, each jealous of its independence, but also a cold war going on between rival groups of Great powers. Anything further removed from World Government, I can hardly imagine. I do not see how this cold war, etc., will be resolved by a conference.

In other words, the world authority may be the final result of numerous other steps which will have to be taken in the course of time. Among these steps is really changing the mental outlook of Governments and peoples. That is no easy task. To talk about a World Government now therefore seems to me to have little relation to reality.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/2/58-PMS.
2. Congress Member of the Lok Sabha from Tenali, Andhra Pradesh.
3. Ranga had invited Nehru to the Conference of Parliamentarians for World Government, to be held from 6 to 13 September 1958, or send a message.

## 17. Independence Day Appeal for the Prime Minister's Relief Fund<sup>1</sup>

On this anniversary of our Independence, I would like to appeal to all our people for contributions to the Prime Minister's National Relief Fund. Our country is unfortunately afflicted by natural calamities and other disasters bringing unhappiness and misery to vast numbers of people. The Prime Minister's National Relief Fund has played some effective part in helping those who suffer from such calamities all over the country. It has been privileged to receive generous contributions not only from within India but also from abroad.<sup>2</sup> The Fund is now nearly exhausted and is unable to meet the frequent demands being made upon it. I am therefore appealing again for contributions for this fund which is engaged in giving immediate help to those on whom some calamity suddenly descends.

1. New Delhi, 15 August 1958. JN Collection.

2. See *ante*, pp. 107 and 643.

## 18. To Z. A. Ahmad<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 21, 1958

My dear Ahmad,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of the 20th August.<sup>3</sup> I told you yesterday that I had seen a report of some speeches you had delivered. I have tried to find out these reports and I give below quotations from it:-

Addressing a meeting of party workers of Bihar on June 9, at Piro in Shahabad District, Dr Z. A. Ahmad stated that although the adoption of

1. JN Collection.

2. Leader of the Communist Party of India and a Member of the Rajya Sabha.

3. Ahmad informed Nehru that E.M.S. Namboodiripad had asked him sometime back if Ahmad ever said in a public speech that the Communist Party would crush all opposition if it came to power and that its report had been conveyed to Nehru. Ahmad explained that he could not say anything of this nature which was against his deep-seated political convictions on this issue. He wrote that it was an irony of fate that such remarks should have been attributed to him at a time when he was actively campaigning for the opposite point of view in compliance with the Amritsar resolution of the Party.



peaceful and democratic methods depended on many conditions, in view of the growing strength of the socialist camp in the world the communists now envisaged the possibility of establishing socialism by peaceful means. Nevertheless, there could be a civil war in the country if the government and the capitalists started repression.

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In pursuance of a decision of the Uttar Pradesh Provincial Committee, the Eastern Zone Convention was held at Ghazipur from May 31 to June 1. Dr Z. A. Ahmad (CECM) explained the decisions taken at Amritsar and said that if once the party succeeded in gaining a majority, it could never be ousted from power. He added that the change-over to peaceful methods for achieving socialism did not mean adoption of Gandhism; it was only one of the ways of trying to establish socialism. The adoption of peaceful methods, in the ultimate analysis, depended upon the conditions prevailing in the country at any particular time.

Whether these are correct or not, I do not know, but it was on the basis of these reports that I wrote to Namboodiripad.<sup>4</sup> I could not, of course, have referred to this matter in public without having confirmation, but as I was writing a personal letter to Namboodiripad, I casually referred to these reports of your speeches.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. For Nehru's letter to Namboodiripad, the Chief Minister of Kerala, see *ante* pp. 333-335.

5. On 25 August 1958, Z. A. Ahmad replied to Nehru that the quotations in question were a complete distortion of what he actually said in those meetings as there were no official reporters present in either of these meetings. "As always happens," Ahmad added, "in such cases the local Intelligence staff collects scrappy information from here and there and basing themselves partly on hearsay and partly on guesswork prepare a report for the higher authorities." Ahmad clarified that in both the meetings he spoke at length on the problems of a peaceful transition to socialism dealing with the subject politically and historically.

## 19. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

Aurangabad

23rd August, 1958

Nan dear,

I am writing this letter to you from Aurangabad, of all places. The pressure of work in Delhi was very heavy and I went on postponing writing. I have now come here by a rather devious route for the opening ceremony of a new university, the Marathwada University.<sup>2</sup> I could not fly up here direct because the airfield here which is *kutchra* could not be used. So I went by air to Bombay and from there by train to Manmad, changed in the middle morning. Sri Prakasa<sup>3</sup> came with me. Tonight again I return to Bombay and early in the morning tomorrow I go to Mysore for the International Conference of Agricultural Economists.<sup>4</sup> I return to Delhi the next day.

In spite of a fairly heavy programme here, I stole two hours to go to Ellora which is sixteen miles from here. Ajanta was too far. Anyhow a visit to Ellora was worthwhile as it always is and I returned impressed as ever.

I do not know if you have been to Aurangabad. It is a very attractive place with a lovely background of hills, with flat tablelands on top, as one often finds in this Deccan area. It is particularly attractive now because everything is green. The climate is pleasant as the altitude is nearly 2,000 ft. high. Aurangzeb is buried here.<sup>5</sup> I suppose the name of the city derives from him. This area is the Marathi-speaking area which used to belong to Hyderabad State but which has now been transferred to the new Bombay State.

Talking about Bombay State, the linguistic controversy goes on here and there is much trouble again in Gujarat, especially in Ahmedabad where people have misbehaved terribly and burnt down very important public buildings.<sup>6</sup>

I received your letter about Betti some time ago. I had read about the dog incident in a brief passage in the newspapers here. I cannot quite understand

1. JN Collection.

2. Marathawada University was inaugurated on 23 August. See *ante*, pp. 209-216.

3. Governor of Bombay State.

4. Tenth session of the International Agricultural Economists' Conference inaugurated in Mysore on 24 August. See *ante*, pp. 82-91.

5. Aurangzeb's grave lies in the middle of a stone platform, rising about half a foot from the floor. Unlike the tombs of other Mughal rulers, Aurangzeb's tomb is not within a large mausoleum, instead he was interred in an open air grave. A gateway and domed porch were added in 1760.

6. See *ante*, pp. 53 and 308-309.



how she managed to bring a Tibetan dog from America to England. Anyhow, the dog is I suppose having a long rest in quarantine. Did any further development take place about it?

In two-three days' time, Morarji Bhai is going to London on his way to Canada and America.<sup>7</sup> You will be seeing him soon and I suppose he will be staying with you. This is his first visit abroad and I suppose it is natural for him to feel a little odd about it, more especially as his habits are very special to him. However, he told me that he was making some change in these habits. He is putting on for the first time a *sherwani* and he has agreed to take ordinary sugar which he does not do now. I think he will adapt himself to some extent to conditions there and you will, of course, help him to do so. He has a reputation of being rather a hard and rigid man. That is so, but underneath this he is not so hard. He responds to fair and affectionate treatment.

He will of course go to India House and meet your Heads of Departments and perhaps discuss various matters with you in connection with India House. We really are very anxious to do something to reduce the staff there which is enormous and otherwise reduce expenditure.

I hope you are keeping well.

Yours,  
Jawahar

7. Morarji Desai left New Delhi on 26 August 1958.

## 20. To Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 25, 1958

Nan dear,

On my return to Delhi today, I received your letter of August 22nd.<sup>2</sup> I wrote to you two days ago from Aurangabad.

I am sorry to learn that G.D. Birla tends to throw his weight about. This will not be good for Morarji. Unfortunately, quite a large number of engagements

1. JN Collection.

2. Mrs Pandit had written that G.D. Birla, the leading industrialist, met her in London and told her that he had been asked by Morarji Desai to "introduce him to business circles in London" and was arranging an interview for Desai with the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Mrs Pandit added that Birla had been trying to give the impression that Morarji's visit was due to his own efforts.

have already been made on his behalf both in London and in the United States. Still, you might gently mention to him as to what is proper and what might not be considered quite proper. I had a talk with him some time ago generally about his visit abroad, and gave him some vague indications, without discussing particular engagements.

He is leaving tomorrow evening. I shall be seeing him before he goes, and shall have another talk with him.

As for Karaka of *Current*, this man is completely impossible and should not be encouraged in the slightest degree.<sup>3</sup>

Yours,  
Jawahar

3. Vijaya Lakshmi Pandit informed Nehru that the Editor of *Current*, D.F. Karaka, had sent a letter to the High Commission saying that he was coming to cover the Finance Minister's visit in London, New York and Canada "though he was travelling on his own steam", and that he had Desai's approval. Karaka also suggested in his letter as to what Morarji should see and do in London.

## 21. To S. Radhakrishnan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 26, 1958

My dear Radhakrishnan,<sup>2</sup>

I have just received your letter of today's date, which surprised me.<sup>3</sup> It is true that the *chaprasi* came to me. But what is wrong in this? In fact it was the quickest way of reaching me. It never struck me that something unusual had happened. Please do not worry about these minor matters.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.

2. Vice-President of India.

3. Radhakrishnan had written that he had asked his *chaprasi* to tell Mr Mukharji, his Secretary, "to request you to meet me at my chamber." The Secretary later told Radhakrishnan that the *chaprasi* went straight to Nehru without informing him. Radhakrishnan regretted the incident.



## 22. To H.S.L. Polak<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 27, 1958

My dear Polak,<sup>2</sup>

Your letter of August 23rd.

I made enquiries about Ladha Singh.<sup>3</sup> You will remember writing to me about him some years back. At that time I enquired into the matter and we made arrangements to help him. In fact he has been receiving some help from us regularly.<sup>4</sup> I realise that it has not been very much. In addition to this, he got some compensation from our Rehabilitation Ministry. But he used this rather foolishly and lost the money. It is not feasible to arrange for a truck permit. Apart from the fact that there are certain rules about this which we do not wish to break, it is obvious that he cannot use this permit. Somebody else will use it. I do not think he can manage his affairs at all. The best course is for him to be given an adequate monthly allowance which we are arranging.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. British solicitor and companion of Mahatma Gandhi in South Africa.
3. Polak had requested Nehru to arrange some political pension for Ladha Singh Maini who was 80 years old and was getting a monthly allowance of Rs 50 from the Gandhi Smarak Nidhi. Polak reminded Nehru that Maini had saved Mahatma Gandhi's life when he was attacked by the Pathan Mir Alam during the Satyagraha in South Africa. Maini underwent imprisonment in South Africa and later in India during the freedom movement. Polak was surprised that the man who rescued Gandhi never received any public recognition or support from the Indian Government. Polak mentioned that Maini had asked for a truck permit also.
4. It was found that various payments had been made to Ladha Singh Maini previously by the Rehabilitation Ministry, the Home Ministry through the AICC Office and by the Gandhi Nidhi. Nehru asked M.O. Mathai on 16 August 1958 to send someone to find out Maini's requirements and also give him Rs 150 for the time being.
5. In this regard, Pant informed Nehru on 28 August that he was depositing Rs 100 per month into Maini's account. But Nehru suggested to Pant on 30 August that the amount should be increased to Rs 150.

## 23. Message to the Mayor of Hiroshima<sup>1</sup>

Hiroshima has become a symbol and a warning. It is a constant reminder to us not only of the terrible tragedy that occurred there twelve years ago, ushering in what is called the Atomic Age, but it tells us also of the grave dangers that confront the world today if nations persist in relying on nuclear weapons. If the world is to survive and if civilisation is to continue, nuclear weapons should be given up. To begin with, nuclear test explosions should be stopped.

1. New Delhi, 31 August 1958. JN Collection. This message was sent through Indian Ambassador in Tokyo, C.S. Jha.

## II. PRESS AFFAIRS

### 1. To M. Chalapathi Rau<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 5, 1958

My dear Chalapathi Rau,<sup>2</sup>

As you know, I have not been in touch at all with the affairs of the *National Herald* for a long time past, partly because it did not seem to me proper to be connected with a newspaper while I am in my present position. Also I found the petty problems of the *Herald*, chiefly connected with finance, most uninteresting.<sup>3</sup> The Directors and others of the *Herald* were good enough to respect my wishes and hardly ever referred this subject to me. My contact with the *Herald* thus has been only to the extent that I have tried to read its leading articles fairly regularly.

1. JN Collection.
2. Editor, *National Herald*.
3. A number of newspapers, including the *National Herald*, were adversely affected by the decisions of the Wage Board for Working Journalists announced on 11 May 1957. For details see *Selected Works* (Second Series), Vol. 39, pp. 333-336.



A few days ago, Indiraji<sup>4</sup> mentioned to me that she had had a message from Uma Shankar Dikshit<sup>5</sup> to the effect that you had decided to resign from the editorship.<sup>6</sup> This news, coming suddenly, naturally took me by surprise and I wanted to know why you had so decided or what had happened. I suggested to Indira to invite you to come here for a couple of days for some quiet talks. I hope you will come.

I have just seen your letter of resignation addressed to the Board of Directors of the Associated Journals Limited which Dikshit has sent to Indira. I have read it, if I may say so, with a great deal of sympathy. I can very well understand your feeling of tiredness with the work you had carried on, in not very congenial surroundings, for a long term of years. I think it is remarkable that in spite of the various difficulties that you have had to contend against, you managed to maintain a high editorial standard. I have often read your leading articles with pleasure and profit.

I am writing to you to tell you that you need not think that I shall try to bring pressure upon you to do anything against your own wishes in this matter. But I do want to have a talk with you about many matters, including, of course, yourself. I want you, therefore, to come here without feeling that you will be embarrassed in any way. Come as a friend and an old colleague to discuss various matters of common interest to us.

I am thinking of going to Lucknow for a day or so on the 17th July. On 15th and 16th, I shall be in Allahabad. I do not think I shall have much time to have a talk with you when I go to Lucknow. But, of course, I would like to meet you there also. It is for this reason that I would much prefer you to come here before then. I would like you to stay with me as this will give me more opportunity for talks.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

4. Indira Gandhi was a Trustee of the *National Herald*.
5. Managing Director, Associated Journals Ltd., Lucknow, and Member, Rajya Sabha.
6. Chalapathi Rau had resigned from the *National Herald* on several occasions before. In 1946 he embarked on his editorship, he writes in his autobiography *Journalism and Politics*, carrying his "salary in one pocket and resignation in the other." Thus, he resigned from his position as the editor in 1948, 1950, 1952 and 1954 citing varied reasons. In 1958 he resigned citing fatigue with Lucknow, *National Herald* and journalism as the cause. He also argued that the staff ought to be able to run the newspaper without him. However, this time too he was persuaded to stay.

## 2. To B.V. Keskar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
July 8, 1958

My dear Balkrishna,<sup>2</sup>

I have just seen some papers relating to the appointment of a representative of the AIR in London. It appears that Shelvankar<sup>3</sup> has been such representative, but, because he is also the representative of the *Hindu*, it is considered desirable to appoint someone else and Tahmankar's<sup>4</sup> name has been suggested.

There can be no doubt that Shelvankar is one of the ablest newspaperman abroad. He is something more than a mere reporter. There is no comparison between him and Tahmankar.

I have nothing much against Tahmankar. I do not think he ranks high in ability. Some years back his messages from London were chiefly in criticism of our Government and our High Commission. These were rather irresponsible.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. JN Collection.
2. Union Minister of State for Information and Broadcasting.
3. K. S. Shelvankar (1906-1996); journalist, author and diplomat; London correspondent of the *Hindu*, 1942-68; India's Consul General to North Vietnam, 1968-71; Ambassador to Soviet Union, 1971-75, and to Norway, 1975-78; author of *Problems of India and Ends are Means*.
4. D.V. Tahmankar (d. 1982); journalist and author; London correspondent of the *Deccan Herald*, the United Press of India; the *Kesari* and *Mahratta*; author of *Lokamanya Tilak: Father of Indian Unrest and Maker of Modern India*, *The Ranee of Jhansi* and *Sardar Patel*.



### 3. To R.R. Diwakar<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi  
August 4, 1958

My dear Diwakar,<sup>2</sup>

Thank you for your letter of the 2nd August with which you have sent me the resolutions of the All India Newspaper Publishers' Conference.<sup>3</sup>

I do not propose to express any opinion about their resolutions. But I have had something to do with this matter during the last year or so. Our Home Minister and some other Ministers have been intimately connected. For months and months we tried hard to get some agreement which would be advantageous to all. Pantji told me that the attitude of the newspaper publishers was unsatisfactory in the extreme. It was really because of this wholly non-cooperative attitude that we were driven to take some steps. I confess that I have no sympathy left for these big newspaper publishers because of this attitude that they have taken up repeatedly and their attempts to sabotage every approach to a settlement.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 43(103)/57-62-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Chairman, Gandhi Smarak Nidhi.
3. The resolutions passed by the All India Newspaper Publishers' Conference at New Delhi on 31 July 1958 criticised the Working Journalists (Fixation of Rates of Wages) Ordinance promulgated by the President as "objectionable, unconstitutional and unprecedented" and demanded that an order be issued for a fresh inquiry into the capacity of each newspaper unit to pay. It was also stated that it was unjust on the part of the Government to direct the Committee appointed under the Ordinance to regard the Wage Board's decisions as the basis of inquiry.

#### 4. To R. Venkataraman<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 20, 1958

My dear Venkataraman,<sup>2</sup>

I am writing to you about the strike in the *Hindu* office resulting in the stoppage of the *Hindu* for some days.<sup>3</sup> I know this matter is over and, therefore, nothing remains to be done. But its repercussions continue, and we have suffered somewhat in the estimation of people even in far off England, because of this strike. Or, rather, it will be more correct to say not because of the strike, but the violence that accompanied it and the forcible siege that was laid on the *Hindu* office.<sup>4</sup> It may be that I do not know all the facts but such facts as have reached me, have disturbed me. In fact, our opponents, including those in Kerala, are making much of such incidents. It becomes difficult for us to

1. File No. 43(129)/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.
2. Minister of Industry and Labour, Government of Madras.
3. On 29 July 1958, the Management of the *Hindu* office dismissed Balasundaram, Lino-Operator who was also the Vice-President of the *Hindu* office and the National Press Employees Union. The case of the workers was that the change of shift was illegal being contrary to the Industrial Disputes Act. On 5 August, Kasturi Srinivasan, the Editor of the *Hindu* issued a statement saying that, on the 30/31 July they had received information, that a section of employees had stopped work. By the evening of 31 July the crowd had become unmanageable with the consequent risk to the safety of person and property. By 4 August, almost every employee who attempted to come to duty was severely beaten, indecently manhandled and forced to return home. It was in these circumstances that the management decided to stop work and suspend the publication of the *Hindu* which had been published without interruption for over 80 years.
4. Employees of the *Hindu* had to stay in a state of 'siege' till the afternoon of 5 August, until they were "permitted" by the crowd outside to be escorted home in police vans.



criticise them when they can retort in kind. One of the unfortunate aspects of this matter is that people imagine that the Congress was behind the strike and that even the Madras Government to some extent favoured it.<sup>5</sup>

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

5. C. Rajagopalachari described the recent events that led to the suspension of publication of the *Hindu* as "very unfortunate" and expressed the hope that it was the last time that "open violence had been permitted..." He said that there had been cases of violence before but they had been immediately disapproved by the Government and action taken. But in this case, it had been going on without disapproval, if it was not actual approval. It was, he stated, "most unfortunate that such a fall in moral values have taken place. Whatever may be the object, if the Government tolerates violence, then that is the end of morality in the country. I would therefore consider this as a very unfortunate thing. The *Hindu* has started again. They have been compelled by the inactivity of the Government to make up with their men, because they cannot allow distress to go on among their employees. But the issues remain intact: Can violence be permitted by Government itself looking on and doing nothing?"

## 5. Subscribing to a Periodical<sup>1</sup>

I do not know what circulation or influence the *Eastern World*<sup>2</sup> has, but, from time to time, articles from this periodical are reproduced in our daily World Press Review. I have found some of these articles very well written and explaining our case with lucidity, more especially in regard to Kashmir. I have not myself seen any anti-Indian article in it. Some criticism of Indian policy need not be objected to by us. In fact, that would give the periodical a position of impartiality.

2. Broadly speaking, I do not like subsidising a newspaper or periodical. But buying a number of copies for circulation is a very indirect way of subsidising.<sup>3</sup> If these copies are really worthwhile from our point of view, then there appears to be no particular harm in this procedure. The question would then be as to how many copies we should subscribe.<sup>4</sup>

3. I do not understand what is meant by our commissioning articles on special subjects. Is it suggested that they should be commissioned for this periodical or for any newspapers or periodicals?<sup>5</sup> This method might be occasionally useful. But I am not at all clear that generally it is a helpful way.

4. I see from today's World Press Review that the *Manchester Guardian* has quoted the *Eastern World* in regard to Tibet.

5. I think that we should not take any sudden step just at present. In any event, we are committed till the end of March. We should ask our High Commission in London as to what they suggest about this matter.

1. Note to Commonwealth Secretary, M.J. Desai. New Delhi, 27 August 1958. File No. 24/3/58-XM, MEA. Also available in JN Collection.
2. The monthly magazine *Eastern World* was owned and edited by Hans C. Taussig, a British national of Czech origin.
3. R. Goburdhun, Director, External Publicity, noted on 26 August 1958 that on recommendations of the High Commission, London, in November 1952, the Government of India authorised the purchase of 300 copies of *Eastern World* with a view to lend financial support to the journal in the hope that its articles and reviews would progressively reflect pro-Indian sentiments and attitudes. The copies of the magazine were distributed to different missions abroad.
4. In 1954, the number of copies purchased was reduced to 200 on the advice of the Indian High Commissioner in London. However, Taussig wrote to the Secretary General, MEA, on 22 February 1955 suggesting that the Government of India should order "500 copies as was first proposed by Lady Mountbatten." Following this, the number was restored to 300 but the Deputy High Commissioner objected to this restoration and the subscription was again reduced to 200.
5. Goburdhun suggested that when the time for renewal of subscription came in March 1959, the number could be reduced further to 100 copies.



## 6. To Edatata Narayanan<sup>1</sup>

New Delhi

August 27, 1958

My dear Narayanan,<sup>2</sup>

I have delayed thanking you for sending me the first issue of *Link*. I did not write immediately as I wanted to read it first, and this took a few days.

I found it a good issue. What I appreciated most in it was that it had some real content and there was no vituperation. Right journalism now appears to consist of using strong language. I am afraid I am too old to appreciate this.

Your second issue has also come. But I have not been able to look through it yet.

Yours sincerely,  
Jawaharlal Nehru

1. File No. 9/2/58-PMS. Also available in JN Collection.

2. Journalist and freedom fighter; Editor, *Patriot* and *Link*, a left-wing newsmagazine.

## GLOSSARY

bajra	a kind of millet
bhangi	name of a community of sweepers
Bharat Mata ki jai	Victory to Mother India
bhoodan	voluntary donation of land, refers to a movement initiated by Vinoba Bhave
chaprasi	an orderly or official messenger, peon, attendant
charpoy	a string cot, a bedstead
chhatak	a measure of weight (about 60 grams)
Dasara	a Hindu annual festival celebrating triumph of good over evil
gram sewak	village extension service worker
halal	meat of an animal slaughtered according to the Islamic law
illum	a Namboodiri household
jatha	a political march or procession
jowar	sorghum
karuna	compassion
katra	an enclosed and inhabited piece of land
kharif	monsoon crop, mainly paddy, the autumn harvest, autumn crops
kisan	a cultivator, a peasant, a farmer
kurmi	a peasant community in eastern, central and north India
kutchra (airfield)	a temporary airstrip
mai-baap government	a paternalistic government
mandi	a wholesale market
maund	a measure of weight (about 38 kilograms)



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

nirvana	a state of perfect happiness, salvation
panchsheel	five principles of international conduct
pothikhana	a library of manuscripts
prajna	wisdom
rabi	winter crop, mainly wheat and gram
ragi	a variety of millet
satyagraha	Gandhian technique of passive resistance
seer	a measure of weight roughly equal to a kilogram
sherwani	a long buttoned-up coat
tazia	a representation of Ali's tomb made of wood bamboo and tinsel
tehsil	sub-division of a district
waqf	a religious or charitable endowment, a statutory body for the administration of such endowments

(For the sake of historical authenticity the old names of places are retained in this volume. Here is a list of places with their new names.)

Alleppey	Alappuzha
Banaras	Varanasi
Bangalore	Bengaluru
Bombay (city)	Mumbai
Bombay (State)	Divided into Maharashtra and Gujarat
British Guiana	Guyana
Burma	Myanmar
Calcutta	Kolkata
Cambodia	Kampuchia
Ceylon	Sri Lanka
Cochin	Kochi
Cutch	Kutch
Czechoslovakia	Now divided into the Czech Republic and Slovakia
Dacca	Dhaka
Deviculam	Devikulam
Djakarta	Jakarta
East Bengal	Bangladesh
East Pakistan	Bangladesh
Formosa	Taiwan
Gauhati	Guwahati
Madras (city)	Chennai
Madras (State)	Tamil Nadu
Mysore (State)	Karnataka



## SELECTED WORKS OF JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

Peking	Beijing
Pondicherry	Puducherry
Poona	Pune
Rangoon	Yangon
Trichinopoly	Tiruchirapalli
Trichur	Thrissur
Trivandrum	Thiruvananthapuram
Yugoslavia	Divided into Bosnia & Herzegovina, Croatia, Macedonia, Montenegro, Serbia and Slovenia

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The volume starts with the note 'The Basic Approach'. Here we see Nehru agonizing over the complex issues of the day. While envying those with "fixed ideas" based on "some religion or ideology" who "are not troubled with...mental conflicts," he chooses not to be complacent with fixed ideas but struggles with the myriad contradictions of an age seeing rapid and momentous changes and reiterates his faith in the Gandhian approach of peaceful attempts at social transformation.

During the period from 1 July to 31 August 1958, covered in this volume, the world was on the brink of a possible major conflagration on account of multiple crises in West Asia and the intervention of the Great Powers. This led to a flurry of diplomatic activity and Nehru was in the thick of it all.

On the domestic front, food scarcity and inflation posed a major challenge to Nehru who went around the drought affected areas exhorting the farmers to produce more food, advising them to form village cooperatives to increase productivity and asking the administration to take effective measures against hoarding and profiteering.

Nehru was quite disturbed and distressed by the developments in Kerala. The agitation against the government, police firings and incidents of violence created a sense of insecurity among the people. All this found an echo in Nehru's correspondence with Chief Minister Namboodiripad.

Nehru spelt out the policy on the promotion of Urdu, and his views on the position and role of the Governor. Baffled by the burgeoning bureaucracy, he instructed the Cabinet Secretary to improve the efficiency of the administrative machinery to avoid delays.

Education, cooperatives, community development schemes and the need to enhance productivity, all these were constant refrains in many of his speeches during this period.



## **From Reviews of Earlier Volumes**

The 847 pages of Volume 39 (Second Series) of *Selected Works of Jawaharlal Nehru* can actually be read as the story of the unfolding of this long and troublesome journey towards progress under Nehru's stewardship during the period August-October 1957....Here is an extremely important volume which gives us a good sense of the issues and problems India faced in the 1950s.

### **The Book Review**

Even a cursory glance at the contents pages of this volume (40) prompts one to ask which other Prime Minister in India or abroad had the same range of interests as Jawaharlal Nehru.... The series is a boon to students of the times and reveals the man who strode through them like a colossus.

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ISBN 0-19-807719-X



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